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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Giovanni Acuto. Storia d'un Condottiere*, per J. Temple-Leader e G. Marcotti. Firenze, 1889.
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IT has been said, with some truth, that the history of the Italian 'Condottieri,' or captains of mercenaries, is that of Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They played a most important, if not the principal, part in the political events of the Peninsula during that period. Among them were men not only great in the art of war, but eminent as statesmen, as statesmanship was then understood. Their lives are even in many cases fit subjects for romance. Their adventures, the tragic fate of some of them, the marvellous rise of others who, through their craft and valour, attained to princely rank and founded independent States, form episodes of the highest historical interest.

The 'Condottieri' or 'Capitani di Ventura' may be divided into three classes: foreigners, who had collected together men of every European nation, generally the very refuse and outcasts of society, and who, with their followers, took service under one of the Italian States. They led the first bands of mercenaries employed in the wars which desolated Italy during the fourteenth century. They were succeeded by Italian 'Condottieri,' into whose companies, as a rule—which, however, had many exceptions—only Italians were admitted. They also were

employed in the latter part of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth. Then came the better organized and better disciplined troops belonging to independent Princes, who hired themselves and their subjects to other States, receiving stipends and rewards for their services. We have the type of the foreign 'Condottiere' in the renowned Englishman, Sir John Hawkwood. Carmagnola, whose valour and skill were the admiration of his contemporaries, ranks amongst the most remarkable of the Italian 'Capitani di Ventura.' Sigismund Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, furnishes an instance of an independent Prince taking service under another State.

THE Life of Sir John Hawkwood—known in Italian history as 'Giovanni Acuto'—has been written in Italian, and has recently been published at Florence in a handsome volume by an English gentleman, Mr. Temple Leader, with the assistance of an Italian man of letters, Signor Marcotti. Mr. Leader, whose name was not unknown many years ago in English political life, has lived for a long period near that city. He has restored for himself one of those ancient feudal castles—that of Vimigliata—which dot the slopes of the Apennines, and which in the troublous times of the Italian wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sustained many a siege, probably from Hawkwood himself. He has had access to documents, in the rich Florentine archives, relating to the great English Captain, and to the events with which he was connected during his career. He has made good use of them, and his biography of Hawkwood is a valuable addition to the history of the times to which it relates.

After the final break-up of what remained of the Roman dominion in Italy, the Peninsula became divided into numerous small independent States, frequently consisting of a single city, with its surrounding territory, comprising small walled towns and castles, the residences of nobles, which, before the employment of siege artillery, afforded a safe place of refuge to their owners and their dependants in times of war and invasion.

In some of the principal cities, such as Florence, Pisa, and Siena, the democracy had driven out the nobles and had established a republic or Commune. In others, such as Milan, Padua, and Verona, some member of a powerful family had usurped the supreme power, and governed despotically, usually meriting the title which he received of 'Tyrant.' The Communes existed chiefly in Central Italy; the despots, such as the Visconti, the Carraresi, and the Scalas, ruled in the north. In the south the dominions of the Pope and the kingdom of Naples formed more extensive and permanent States.

These petty commonwealths were constantly at war with each

each other. The Communes were jealous of the riches and prosperity of an adjoining republic, or had a greed for its lands. The 'Tyrants' sought to extend their power and territories at the expense of their neighbours. In the conflicts which ensued, a local militia was called out. To bear arms was considered the right and duty of every citizen. When the war in which his city was engaged came to an end, he laid them aside and returned to his civic duties and employments. This militia in the republics was strictly democratic, and the nobles were excluded from it.* At the beginning of the fourteenth century it had fallen into decay. In the wealthy Republics the citizens had gradually lost their martial habits, and had given themselves to trade and other peaceful pursuits. When they were summoned to arms, few responded to the call. The city found itself consequently powerless for either defence or attack. On the other hand, it was the policy of the 'Tyrants' to disarm their subjects, and to crush out of them all warlike spirit, lest they should combine to overthrow the despotism to which they were exposed. A city thus deprived of its natural defenders found it necessary to have recourse to foreign aid and to employ mercenaries. Hence the origin of those companies of adventurers from all parts of Europe, under leaders of reputation for their valour and military skill, ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, and to shed their blood in the cause which promised the largest amount of wages and booty. They were simply organized brigands, and their wars organized brigandage. So that the Italian term for a foot-soldier, 'Masnadiere,' became synonymous with robber and outlaw.

As early as the year 1314 we find one 'Messer Falco d'Inghilterra' at the head of a company of 1500 horsemen, in the pay of the Commune of Pisa, then at war with the neighbouring Republic of Florence. The English mercenaries soon earned a high reputation for their courage, their warlike qualities, and their capacity to endure hardships, and were considered the best soldiers in Italy. Moreover, they were thought somewhat more trustworthy than those of other countries, who were at all times ready, for higher pay or better prospects of plunder, to betray their employers and to pass over to the enemy. But they were notorious for their cruelty and for being the most adroit and merciless of depredators. They did not

* See Ricotti, 'Storia delle Compagnie di Ventura in Italia,' the standard work on the subject; Canestrini, 'Documenti per servire alla Storia della Milizia Italiana,' in the 15th volume of the 'Archivio Storico Italiano'—a very important contribution to history, with a valuable collection of original documents; and Fabretti, 'Biografie di Capitani di Ventura dell' Umbria.'

mutilate and roast their victims to extort money from them, as was the habit of the Germans, the Bretons, and the Hungarians; but in other respects they appear to have surpassed all other nationalities in outrages upon women, in incendiarism, rapine, and murder. So that 'Inglese Italianato è un diavolo incarnato' became a popular saying in Italy; and a writer of the time declares that 'non era nulla di piu terribile che udire il solo nome degli Inglesi.'

In the middle of the fourteenth century one of these bands, chiefly composed of Englishmen, known as the 'Compagnia Bianca,' or 'White Company,' was the most renowned in Italy. The origin of the name is doubtful. According to some, it came from their armour and shields, which were polished so as to shine like mirrors; according to others, it was given them on account of their white uniforms and white standards, or of the white cross which they had adopted as a badge. The 'White Company' had been originally formed in France by one Bertrand de Crequi. Hence it had passed into Italy, led by a German named Albert Sterz, a soldier of ability and experience, who had been chosen for the command on account of his knowledge of the English language. In 1362 it had entered into the pay of the Pisans, who were then engaged in one of their many wars with the Florentines. It soon turned the scale in favour of the former. But the English mercenaries were dissatisfied for some reason with their German leader, and insisted upon their right of electing their own captain. Their choice fell upon Hawkwood, who was serving in the company, and had gained their confidence and admiration by his skill and conspicuous bravery. From that time to his death he played a foremost part in the annals of Italy, and became not an unimportant factor in the political events of his time.

Hawkwood was born about the year 1320, in the village of Sible Hedingham, in Essex. He was the son of a well-to-do yeoman, who possessed some land, but followed the business of a tanner. Having joined, as a common soldier, the army of Edward III. and the Black Prince in the invasion of France, he so distinguished himself by his bravery that he was knighted by the king on the field of battle, and promoted to a command. When, in 1360, a peace brought the war to an end, a number of Englishmen, finding themselves without employment, formed themselves into independent bands, and, under different leaders, devastated the country. Hawkwood joined one of them which crossed the Alps and united itself to the 'White Company.' He is described by contemporary writers as a man of a haughty and

and commanding bearing, of undaunted courage, of consummate skill, most fertile in resource, and, like some other celebrated captains, as great in conducting a retreat as in profiting by a victory. He appears to have been less ferocious and treacherous than other 'Condottieri,' although his career was marked by deeds of cruelty; but he was not inferior to any of them in rapacity and in greed for money, which he contrived to extract with great adroitness from friend and foe. The country through which he passed, whether it belonged to the enemy or to the State which he served, was laid waste with almost scientific method. Although always ready to sell his sword to the highest bidder, and utterly indifferent to the justice or merits of the cause in which he was to be engaged, he had the reputation of being more loyal to those whom he served than his brother 'Condottieri.' But even his loyalty was more consistent with the morals of the time than irreproachable.

His high qualities as a soldier consisted in his quickness in availing himself of the mistakes of his opponents, and in those stratagems and devices to deceive the enemy in which the art of war then mainly consisted. His contemporaries called him 'Gran Maestro di Guerra.' War was his profession, and he spent his whole life in pursuing it. Sacchetti, a Florentine writer of 'Novelle,' relates the following anecdote, characteristic of the man and of the times:—

'Whilst Hawkwood was one day taking a walk, he was accosted by two friars, who gave him the accustomed salutation of "May God give you peace!" He angrily replied, "May God deprive you of your alms!" When the poor friars, terrified, said, "Monsignore, why do you speak to us thus?" "It is for me to ask," answered Messèr Giovanni, "why you speak thus to me?" Quoth the friars, "We thought to speak well;" and Messèr Giovanni, "How can you believe that you spoke well when you came to me and asked God to let me die of hunger? Do you not know that I live by war as you live by alms, and that with peace I should starve?"'

He is said to have fought during his career in Italy twenty-three regular battles, in only one of which he was defeated.

The first care of Hawkwood on being chosen to command the 'White Company' was to improve its organization and to restore its discipline. Although Englishmen formed the great majority of the Company, it comprised many adventurers of other nations whom it was not easy to control. Most of the officers were Englishmen; the chief—the 'Conestabile Generale' as he was termed—being one William Gold. Their names are distorted in contemporary documents in curious fashion. Thus Knowles becomes 'Canelle'; Thornbury, 'Tomabarile'; Cook,

Cook, 'Cocco,' &c. Hawkwood's own name appears in an endless variety of forms. He was most generally known as 'Giovanni Acuto'—a happy version of his name, denoting his sagacity as a commander. But it was also converted into Augut and Hauto; in the Pisan Chronicles he appears as Auti; the Florentine Signoria, in a letter to the King of England, writes his name 'Haukkodue.' He signs his own letters, of which many are preserved in the archives of Florence and Mantua, indifferently Hawkwood, Haucwood, Haukuld, and Haucud, adding 'Miles Anglicus' to his signature. It is, however, very doubtful whether he could write, and his signature was probably appended by a secretary.

The 'White Company' was composed of horse and foot. The foot-soldiers were principally English archers—then so celebrated and formidable in war. They were armed with strong bows of yew, long arrows, a sword, and a heavy knife, and wore defensive mail of polished steel. They carried with them ladders in separate pieces of four steps each, which, fitted together, enabled them to scale the highest towers and walls. The horsemen were originally called 'Lancie,' or spearmen, from the arm they carried, and which they are said to have introduced into Italy: but this term was subsequently applied to a party of three men, each 'Lancia' comprising a 'caporale,' a 'cavaliere,' and a serving-man or page. The first two rode chargers; the page a pony. Of all the foreign mercenaries in Italy the English were the most lightly armed. By a resolution passed in 1369, the Signoria of Florence conceded as a favour to its stipendiaries that they might be armed 'all' Inglese—in the English fashion; but not their horses, which were to be protected by the heavy armour peculiar to the Hungarian and other foreign cavalry.

Villani, the Florentine historian, describes the mode of fighting and the tactics of the 'White Company.' The cavalry almost invariably fought on foot, leaving their horses in charge of the pages, who concealed them as best they could. They formed themselves into a solid circular body, with their long spears in rest, each spear being held by two men without shields. They advanced slowly with loud discordant cries, hoping thus to intimidate the enemy, whom they sought to drive back by the mere weight of numbers.

The Companies were subjected to some discipline. The 'Condottieri' in their contracts reserved to themselves the right to punish all crimes and misdemeanours committed within the precincts of their camp, leaving it to the civil authorities to deal with those committed in the towns and open country. The

Captain's

Captain's power over his followers was, however, to a certain extent limited. In grave matters he was bound to consult a council composed of his principal officers. When a Company was engaged in a campaign, it was allowed to pillage and illtreat without restraint the inhabitants of the country through which it had to march. Provision was rarely made to feed these mercenaries, who, like a flight of locusts, devoured everything within their reach. It is difficult to picture to ourselves the condition of the unfortunate peasantry of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—their wives and daughters outraged; they themselves subjected to the most cruel tortures to compel them to disclose the hiding-place of their savings; their crops, vines, and trees ruthlessly destroyed, and their houses sacked and burnt. Their only chance of personal safety was to abandon all they possessed, and to take refuge in a neighbouring walled town or castle. The Companies being without artillery, rarely attempted to besiege a place, however inadequately fortified.

The Company on its march was followed by a crowd of camp-followers, who took their part in the indiscriminate pillage, and by numerous women, driven from their homes, nuns carried off from their convents, and common prostitutes. It is related that at the battle of Brentilla, between the Veronese and Paduans (25th June, 1386), the latter captured no less than 211 courtezans, who were led in triumph into Padua, wearing garlands, and bearing nosegays in their hands, and were entertained at a banquet in the palace of Francesco Carrara, the Lord of the city.

The great Companies had in their service experienced ambassadors and eloquent orators, to be employed in diplomatic negotiations, treasurers to administer their finances, notaries, a regular chancery for carrying on official correspondence and for preparing contracts in legal form, and procurators and lawyers for the management of private affairs. The 'Condottiere,' before proceeding on an expedition, received the bâton of command from the chief of the State, with great pomp, and before the people, the magistrates, and the clergy. Usually he was to receive a fixed sum, including his own stipend and the pay of those who served under him. His contract was drawn up with great care and minuteness of detail, and was usually made for short periods—often for only six months. We find Hawkwood stipulating, that he should be supplied with sweetmeats and the best wines to enable him to make good cheer in camp. In addition to his stipend the 'Condottiere' had numerous other sources of gain. The most profitable was the

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ransom of prisoners, who, when persons of wealth and distinction, had to pay exorbitant sums for their release. Whilst, therefore, quarter was frequently refused to the common soldiers, every effort was made to capture alive those who could afford to pay for their liberty. However, in many contracts, the 'Condottiere' engaged to deliver up to the State prisoners of note and importance, as well as traitors to it, and the 'fuor-usciti,' or refugees, and persons banished for political causes. Another source of profit to the 'Condottiere' was the sums he exacted, by way of blackmail, not only from the friendly States through whose territories he had to pass, but even from his employers, to restrain his followers from committing excesses and illtreating the inhabitants. His share of the plunder, which frequently amounted to a very considerable sum, must be added to his gains. In little more than three months, in one of his campaigns, Hawkwood and his Company had exacted from Florence, Pisa, Lucca, and Arezzo, for his services, 174,800 golden florins, and from the Commune of Siena alone two millions and a half of francs—enormous sums in those days. In addition he was receiving an annual pension of 1200 florins from the Florentine Signoria. The successful 'Condottiere' lived with the utmost magnificence and display. He had numerous attendants; he drank out of vessels of silver or gold; his armour was the work of the most skilful artificers; and he wore robes of the most costly materials. When Braccio, one of the most celebrated of the 'Capitani di Ventura,' entered Florence on his return from a victorious expedition, he was accompanied by 400 knights, mounted on horses of great size, glistening with gold and steel, and wearing ample plumes, the richest garments, and breastplates splendidly embossed. At the head of the procession were the representatives of the cities and towns which had submitted to him. In the midst of his captains, of the ambassadors of friendly States, and of the magistrates of the Republic, rode Braccio himself, clothed in a gorgeous robe of purple, embroidered with gold and silver.

The common soldiers had their share in the spoil. They extorted money by torture from the wretched peasantry, and they sold to pedlars the valuable objects of which they had robbed churches and private dwellings. The wealth thus acquired was squandered in luxurious living and debauchery. They then had recourse to the usurers who flocked to the camp, and to whom they frequently pledged even their horses and arms. A large part of the Company thus often found itself disarmed. The consequences of this state of things were so grave that the Signoria of Florence established, in 1362, a loan bank, of which

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it furnished the capital, for the special use of the mercenaries in its employ.

When Hawkwood, in 1363, took the command of the 'White Company,' Pisa was at war with the Republic of Florence. It was in this war that he first showed his great capacity as a commander, and gained that reputation which led the principal states and princes of Italy to compete for his services. It would take us far beyond the limits of an article if we were to follow Hawkwood in his various campaigns, which are fully described by Mr. Leader, and which extended, without intermission, nearly until his death. During that time we find him engaged in almost every cause in Italy, but not always at the head of the 'White Company,' which frequently changed its captain. In 1365 he led that of 'San Giorgio,' subsidized by Bernabo Visconti, Lord of Milan. This unscrupulous and dissolute tyrant, with the view of attaching Hawkwood to the league which he had formed against the Pope, gave him in marriage one of his natural daughters, Donnina, whose mother, of the same name, was his principal favourite. Of such illegitimate daughters Bernabo had a large supply, and he turned them to account by bestowing them upon influential commanders and others whom, as a matter of policy, he wished to conciliate. According to the Milanese chroniclers, Donnina was exceedingly beautiful. The nuptials were celebrated at Milan with the greatest splendour, and the bride had a handsome dowry from her father. Among the gifts she received, the most costly were from Bernabo's legitimate wife.

Bernabo with his suspicious nature soon showed mistrust of Hawkwood, who revenged himself by joining a league against his father-in-law, at the head of which was the Pope, and at once began operations by devastating the Milanese. But the Papal Legate, the Cardinal William de Moellet, was more ambitious of adding some of the territories of the Republic of Florence to those of the Church than of warring with the Visconti; and Hawkwood, at the head of a company called the 'Santa' or Holy which he had formed, commenced a campaign against the Florentines. He was, however, bought off by them with 220,000 florins, and by the grant of an annual pension of 1200 florins. It was during his short engagement with the Cardinal that he was guilty of one of the blackest acts in his career. Faenza threatening to revolt, he was sent to enforce the Papal authority. He had no sooner entered the city without resistance than he gave it over to pillage. Neither sex nor age was respected; the women, even the nuns, were brutally outraged. Mr. Leader admits that in this affair Hawkwood's character
appears

appears in a lurid light, and the only excuse that he can offer for him is that he lost control over his followers. He did not remain long in the service of Pope Gregory IX., then at Avignon. Accustomed as he was to the excesses of war, there were horrors committed by the Holy Father, or his representative in Italy, to which even he could not reconcile himself. Compelled by the Cardinal Robert, Count of Geneva, afterwards the Anti-Pope Clement VII.—a monster of cruelty, and as vicious in character as he was deformed in body—to take part in the massacre of the inhabitants of Cessena, who had submitted to the Papal authority, he retired from the league. Having appealed to the Cardinal for permission to put an end to the slaughter, he received for reply, 'sangué, sangué'—blood, more blood. He succeeded, however, in saving the lives of some women, and in removing them beyond the reach of the brutal soldiery. He then abandoned the Papal party, and returned to the service of Florence.

From this time until his death he remained in the permanent employ of Florence, but in the wars between the Carraresi and the Visconti he accepted an offer of the former to be their Captain-General, and joined them with 500 horse and 600 archers, all Englishmen. It was when in command of the Paduan forces that he and his army were nearly overwhelmed by the waters of the Adige, the banks of which had been destroyed by the 'Condottiere' Del Verme, who was his opponent. The extraordinary skill, with which he withdrew his followers from their perilous position, was considered by his contemporaries as little short of miraculous, and is ranked among the most brilliant achievements recorded in the military annals of Italy.

Hawkwood was loaded with honours by the Florentines. He had already, as we have seen, exacted from them a pension for life of 1200 florins, to which they added a second of 2000, to be paid to him whether he remained in Italy or returned to his own country. They enrolled him among their nobles, and exempted him and his wife and children from all taxes and imposts. They elected him their 'Capitano della Guerra,' or Captain-General, for life; but, at the same time, with their usual suspicious caution, they limited the number of his immediate followers, fearing lest he might take part in their internal dissensions with a view to seizing upon supreme power for himself, or to aid some ambitious citizen in designs against the liberty of the State. But Hawkwood was satisfied with the fame of being the foremost captain of his time, and with extorting as much money as he possibly could from those who employed him and from those against whom he was employed.

employed. He might at one time, with the power and influence he possessed, have secured for himself an independent principality. But he even voluntarily surrendered the feudal seignory of Bagnacavallo and Cottignola, which Pope Gregory XI. had conferred upon him. He possessed, however, lands, houses, and castles, in many parts of Italy, given to him by the princes and cities to whom he had rendered services.

Grown too old for active warfare, Hawkwood resolved, after the marriage of his two daughters, to return to England, where he wished to die. He had preserved his love for his native land and his loyalty to his king. Considering the large sums of money which his success as a 'Condottiere' had brought to him, he ought to have retired a wealthy man. But he had squandered them away, and was obliged to sell and mortgage the lands and houses he possessed near Florence to support his wife and children. He was even unable to provide the dower of his daughters on their marriage. Whilst making his preparations to leave for England, he died suddenly on the 17th of March, 1394, nearly eighty years of age. He was buried in the 'Duomo' or Cathedral Church of Florence. His obsequies were celebrated with the greatest magnificence. Noble knights bore his coffin. His body was exposed to the public gaze clothed in cloth of gold. In one hand was placed his bâton of command, and on his breast a drawn sword. Men of all ranks and stations mourned the loss of their illustrious captain. The Signoria sometime before his death had decreed that a sumptuous sepulchral monument should be erected for him. A design for it was made by two of the most esteemed sculptors of the time—Agnolo Gaddi and Giuliano d'Arrigo; but it was never executed in marble as had been intended. Many years after his death, the celebrated Florentine painter, Paolo Uccello, reproduced the original design in fresco in an aisle of the cathedral. It still exists there, but detached from the wall and much repainted. It represents the great 'Condottiere' clothed in full armour, proudly advancing on his powerful war-horse, with the bâton in his hand.

The fame of the renowned Englishman induced King Richard II. to ask the Signoria of Florence to permit the removal of his remains to England. The royal request was acceded to in a courteous letter, and they were transferred to the church of Sible Hedingham. Of the monument believed to have been raised over them, only a few doubtful fragments now remain.

After the death of Hawkwood the 'White Company' was broken up, and bands of adventurers under foreign leaders
ceased

ceased to appear in Italy. The ravages and cruelties they had committed, their notorious treachery and bad faith, and the little use they really were in bringing the wars in which they were engaged to an end, proved to the Italian princes and republics that in employing foreign mercenaries they had little or nothing to gain. Their territories were laid waste, their towns and villages sacked, and their subjects spoiled for the benefit of strangers. Such was the lamentable condition to which these malefactors had reduced the fairest parts of Italy, and such the sufferings of the people, that Urban V. in 1366 induced the Communes of Florence, Bologna, Lucca, Siena, Pisa, and Perugia, and the kingdom of Naples, to pledge themselves, not only not to take foreign companies into their service, but to drive beyond the Alps those that already existed in the Peninsula, and to prevent the appearance of any other in the country. The Pope undertook to excommunicate these companies and all who took part with them, and to concede a plenary indulgence to all who served under the confederation, and even to their wives and children. Owing, however, to mutual jealousies, to the difficulty of organizing any joint action, and to the Pope's declared intention of calling the Emperor into Italy, the League, which was to last for five years, was unable to effect its object and was soon dissolved.

The first to strike an effective blow at the foreign companies was Alberico da Barbiano. He had convinced himself that Italians under proper discipline, and animated by patriotism, would soon prove themselves equal in war to the venal strangers, who sold their services to the highest bidder, and were influenced by no spirit of nationality or love of country. He was himself the lord of various fiefs in Romagna. Young, ardent for glory, fired by indignation at the sight of the calamities caused by the foreign mercenaries, and encouraged by St. Catherine—engaged in her great work of bringing peace to Italy and union amongst her rulers—he commenced the formation of an Italian Company, named the St. George, by bringing together a number of his own relatives and dependants, who were soon joined by others. His foresight was justified by a signal victory over a band of Bretons advancing upon Rome. The Pope rewarded Alberico by creating him a knight, and by presenting him with a standard, on which was a red cross and the motto '*Italia liberata dai barbari*,' a cry destined to be re-echoed in Italy exactly five centuries later.

The success of Alberico was such as to induce others of his countrymen to form similar Companies, which, although not exclusively composed of Italians, soon superseded those commanded

manded by foreign adventurers. During the fifteenth century all the 'Condottieri' in Italy were of that nation. The Italians were not more to be depended upon than the foreign mercenaries. They were, indeed, in some respects, more dangerous to those who employed them. But they appear to have been less cruel than the barbarians from the north of the Alps. Even with this improvement, their mode of conducting war was scarcely less fatal to Italy and to her populations. It consisted chiefly in pillaging the country to the very walls of the fortified cities and towns. When remonstrances were made to the 'Condottiere' Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Pesaro, by the Florentine Republic, on account of predatory incursions made by him into its territory, his characteristic reply was, 'In time of peace one must live.'

The Italian 'Condottieri' were the proprietors, as it were, of their companies, whilst the foreign Captains were usually elected by their followers. They were, too, of a different order of men. When not engaged in war, they withdrew to their castles and feuds. The more ambitious of them, such as Francesco Sforza, sought to avail themselves of the power and influence they had acquired to establish themselves as independent Princes. War, as carried on by them, became, to a great extent, a game, in which the object of each leader was to outwit his opponent by stratagems and devices, and to avoid a decisive action which might bring the campaign to an end. As regards moral character and conduct, there was little to choose between the Italian and the foreign 'Condottieri.' They were equally unscrupulous, faithless, treacherous, dissolute, and greedy of gain.

One of the most famous of the Italian 'Condottieri' of the fifteenth century was Carmagnola. We select him as the type of his class, both on account of his renown as the most skilful commander of his time, and of the new light thrown upon his history and tragic fate by Signor Antonio Battistella, in the work which we have placed at the head of this article. This gentleman is one of those students who has sought, by diligent research in the rich archives of Italian cities, to solve doubtful questions in the history of Italy with judicial impartiality. Among these questions there are few which have given rise to warmer dispute than the motives and conduct of the Venetian Senate in putting to death their celebrated Captain-General.

Francesco Bussone was commonly known as Carmagnola from the small town of that name in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, in Piedmont, in which he was born.* He was said to have

* Probably between the years 1380 and 1385.

been the son of a common swineherd ; but Signor Battistella believes his father to have been a small farmer or landholder. At any rate he was of low origin, and could neither read nor write. He was induced to leave his home as a mere boy, and to join the Company of Facino Cane, a 'Condottiere' of great fame. He soon distinguished himself by his courage and abilities, and acquired the reputation of being not only brave but singularly astute and daring. He rose so rapidly that, on the death of Facino, he was selected to succeed to the command of his Company. Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, had married Facino's widow, Beatrice di Tenda, with a view to securing its services. Carmagnola became his principal captain. He was well fitted to serve one of the most truculent, unscrupulous, and cruel of the many tyrants who have disgraced the annals of their country. He was employed by the Duke in many a bloody deed, and was suspected of having been concerned in the murder, by her husband, of the unfortunate Beatrice. His credit and power rapidly increased, and he soon rose to the highest rank and position. He was granted the privilege, like others who had rendered important services to the family of the Visconti, to quarter their arms on his shield. He was appointed Captain-General of the ducal armies, and first councillor of State, and received as a gift a palace in Milan. In addition to these honours, the Duke bestowed upon him the hand of a near relative, Antonia Visconti, the widow of Barbavara, the Minister of Gian Galeazzo.

Carmagnola's rapid rise was extraordinary even for those times. He had, no doubt, rendered great services to Filippo Maria. When but a common soldier, he had been instrumental in saving the Duke's life. He had succeeded by his valour and prowess, in not only recovering for his master his hereditary territories, which had been usurped by the successful captains of his predecessor, Gian Galeazzo, but in adding to them the city and district of Genoa.

'In the course of ten years,' says Signor Battistella, 'he had proved himself indefatigable. He had acquired for Visconti the entire dukedom of Milan, had passed with prodigious rapidity from one war to another without any interval of rest, without showing any signs of fatigue, without any diminution of his early energy, profiting by that friendly fortune which lavished her favours upon his feverish activity, his intrepidity, and his sagacity. He had subjected some twenty cities, he had overthrown some ten powerful feudal lords, he had occupied an extraordinary number of towns and castles, he had defeated in innumerable engagements the forces of his enemies exceeding his own in numbers, and constantly reappearing. All these exploits appear to be rather the work of a long reign than that of

of one man, and we seem to be witnessing a wild career, which we should have difficulty in believing to be real, had we not actual proofs of it.*

This summary of Carmagnola's career during the time that he served the Duke of Milan gives a very high idea of his military capacity. It must, however, be remembered that many, if not most, of his successes must be attributed more to his craft than to his generalship. But this did not detract from his reputation as a soldier at a time when cunning and perfidy were reckoned amongst the highest qualities of a commander. Most of the strong places which he captured were either treacherously delivered up to him, or had surrendered upon conditions which he shamelessly violated. His crowning achievement was the victory of Bellinzona. The Swiss Confederation claimed that town, which was held by Carmagnola for the Duke of Milan, and the cantons of Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne sent 4000 men-at-arms against him. Although inferior in numbers to the ducal forces, they relied upon the dread with which their ferocious appearance and mode of warfare had inspired the Italians, and upon their discipline and valour, which, since the battle of Sempach, had gained for them the reputation of being the most formidable soldiers in Europe. On the 30th of June, 1422, they were defeated with great slaughter by Carmagnola.

Carmagnola had now reached the pinnacle of his glory and fame. It is not surprising that Filippo Maria Visconti, himself a master of treachery and an adept in all the arts of deceit, who trusted no one and was distrusted by every one, should have been suspicious of his successful and powerful Captain-General. He deprived him of the chief command, and sent him to Genoa, as Governor of that city. He performed his duties with signal ability, and treated the inhabitants with so much justice and consideration that he earned their gratitude and affection. Through the influence he thus acquired he was able to induce them to fit out a fleet to meet that of Alfonso of Aragon, who was preparing for a descent upon the Italian coasts. He expected to be appointed to its command, and his surprise and anger were great when he learnt that the Duke had named to it one Torelli, a 'Condottiere' then in his favour.

Carmagnola had been Governor of Genoa for two years, when he was called to Milan to organize an expedition by land against Alfonso. By a lavish expenditure of his own resources he had succeeded in raising an army, when Filippo Maria

* 'Il Conte Carmagnola,' p. 60.

changed his mind, and ordered it to be disbanded. This sudden abandonment of an enterprise in which Carmagnola expected to acquire further glory and fresh profits, added to his feeling of indignation against the Duke, which was further increased when he learnt that Francesco Sforza—a young ‘Condottiere’ who had already acquired fame in Italy—had been engaged to enter the service of the Visconti. He suspected that Filippo Maria wished to be rid of him, and he well knew that this unscrupulous tyrant was never at a loss for the means of removing those whom he feared. Full of resentment, he asked for leave to retire from the Duke’s service. His request was granted, and he withdrew to his estates in the country, to meditate upon a plan of revenge for the slights to which he had been subjected.

Such appears to have been the true cause of Carmagnola’s wrath against Filippo Maria, and not, as some writers have assumed, his removal from Milan by his appointment as Governor of Genoa.* He was a proud, impetuous, and vindictive man, and the suspicion that he was to be supplanted by a rival was well calculated to excite his fury. Having obtained his release from his engagement to the Duke, he was at liberty to seek employment elsewhere. But he was bound, according to his contract and to custom, to allow some months—known as ‘di rispetto’—to elapse before doing so. Impatient, however, to revenge himself, he suddenly abandoned wife, children, and property, and presenting himself to the Marquess of Saluzzo—to whom he was by birth a liege—offered to recover for him the territory of which he had been wrongfully deprived by the Visconti. His offer having been declined, he next addressed himself to the Duke of Savoy, but with a similar result. He then resolved to offer his services to the Republic of Venice, and, suddenly arriving in the city, presented himself before the Senate. He was well received, and his offer accepted, but only after solemn debate, forty Senators voting against him.

A good deal of bargaining took place over the conditions of his engagement. He demanded the command of all the forces of the Republic, with the honours, stipends, and emoluments appertaining to it. The Senate was, however, too prudent and sagacious to place so much power in the hands of a soldier of fortune, who was notorious for his bad faith, and for whose fidelity it had no sufficient guarantee. It refused to name him Captain-General, alleging that, as the Republic was not in a state of war, there could be no need for such an appointment.

* See a brilliant essay on ‘Carmagnola,’ by Mr. Horatio Brown, in ‘Venetian Studies.’

Carmagnola, having vainly endeavoured to obtain his own terms, took the oath of fidelity to the Republic, and, in obedience to the orders of the Senate, went to reside at Treviso. Filippo Maria Visconti had confiscated his lands and property, had placed his wife and children under restraint, and had imprisoned some of his relatives. Not satisfied with thus avenging himself upon his former favourite, he sent an agent to concert a plot with one Aliprandi, who was connected by marriage with the Visconti family, and was living as a fugitive at Treviso, to poison Carmagnola. It was discovered, and a confession extorted by torture from the accused. Aliprandi was beheaded, and his accomplices were hung. This attempt upon his life served to increase the exasperation of Carmagnola against the Duke, and removed the doubts of the Senate as to the sincerity of his hostility to his former patron and friend.

Carmagnola now redoubled his efforts to bring about a war between the Republic and the Duke. At his instigation, Venice entered, with Florence, into a league, which had been formed by some of the Italian States, to restrain the ambition of Filippo Maria, which threatened their independence. This was tantamount to a declaration of war against him, and he at once prepared for it. The Venetians, on the other hand, named Carmagnola Captain-General of their forces, with a monthly stipend of 1000 golden ducats. The 'Gonfalone,' or standard of the Republic, was placed in his hands, with great solemnity, in the church of St. Mark. He then left the city to take the command, and immediately commenced the siege of Brescia.

Filippo Maria, finding that he was not in sufficient strength to contend with the League, had recourse to his usual practices, and proposed conditions of peace which, if accepted, he had no intention of observing. He opened private communications with Carmagnola, through an agent and two Venetian prisoners whom he released. The Captain-General informed the Senate of these overtures, and was told, that although it placed little faith in the Duke, and even suspected some design against his life—and it earnestly entreated him to be upon his guard—it had so much confidence in him that it was willing to leave to him negotiations for peace. They dragged on without result; the only object of Filippo Maria being to gain time. He sent repeated messages to Carmagnola, who referred them to the Senate, which had no reason to suspect that he was betraying his trust. On the other hand, it was faithful to him. The terms of peace it offered invariably included the restoration of his wife, family, and property—a condition to which the Duke

refused to agree. The greater part of the city of Brescia, with the exception of the castle, having fallen, the Senate expressed itself highly satisfied with the success which had attended Carmagnola's operations. His health having suffered from his exertions, he asked leave to take the baths of Abano, near Padua. Permission was somewhat reluctantly granted to him, and he left his army. During his absence the command was taken by Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, the Lord of Mantua, who, as a 'Condottiere,' had taken service under the Republic, and who succeeded in reducing the castle after eight months' siege.

Brescia having fallen, and a further invasion of his territories being threatened, the Duke found it necessary to accept the conditions of peace offered to him by the Venetian Senate, including the surrender, within fifteen days, of Carmagnola's wife and daughters, and of his confiscated property. Carmagnola was accused of wishing to continue the war. But he had recovered his family and his estates, and he had triumphed over Filippo Maria. He had been created a Venetian noble, and had received from the Republic the highest honours and rewards that the most trusted and successful of 'Condottieri' could obtain. He had thus fully avenged himself upon the Duke and his enemies. But, whether he desired or not the continuation of the war, it was speedily renewed through the usual perfidy of Filippo Maria, who failed to observe the terms of the treaty.

Carmagnola again received the command of the forces of the Republic; but, being in ill health, he was desirous before entering upon a campaign to return to the baths of Abano. He obtained leave to do so; but the Senate, fearing that his absence from the army might lead to delay, sent two patricians to Brescia to act as 'Provveditori,' or Commissioners, to carry on the operations. This step may have caused offence to Carmagnola, as showing a want of confidence in him and an intention of interfering with his movements. On his return to Brescia, he found the Duke's troops besieging the castle of Casalmaggiore. Fantino Pisani, who held it for the Venetians, after in vain appealing to Carmagnola for succour, was compelled to capitulate. Although there was apparently no reason to suspect that Carmagnola had wilfully allowed the place to fall, as he was accused by public opinion of having done, he cannot be absolved from blame for his culpable neglect in not going to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. This first check in his hitherto successful career was followed by a signal defeat he experienced at Gottolengo from his famous rival, Piccinino, then

then in the service of the Visconti. This disaster was attributed to his want of prudence in allowing his troops—which had been victorious in the morning—to repose during the heat of the day under some trees, in face of the enemy, without taking precautions against a sudden attack.

These disasters were, however, compensated by successes subsequently obtained, which enabled him to occupy the ducal territories up to the Adda. He informed the Senate of his intention to cross that river, and to advance upon Milan. His design was highly approved, and he was urged to put it into execution without delay. And then commenced that mysterious part of his career which gave rise to serious doubts as to his fidelity to the Venetian Republic. Although in a position and in sufficient strength to do what he had himself proposed, he contented himself with insignificant skirmishes with the enemy without attempting to cross the Adda, and the summer was scarcely over when he commenced preparations for placing his troops in winter quarters. The Senate directed the 'Provveditori' to inform him that it had heard with grief and surprise, that it was his intention to discontinue the campaign, and to express its hope that the report was unfounded, and that by some exploit worthy of him he would make up for the time he had lost. They were further instructed to allude to certain rumours which had reached it affecting his loyalty. These rumours appear to have chiefly arisen from his having released the subjects of the Duke who had been captured, whilst the Venetians were still held as prisoners. He was again pressed to advance upon Milan without delay.

The Duke persisted in his policy of endeavouring to retard the operations by making secret proposals of peace to Carmagnola, sending him letters and messages, which, however, he appears to have communicated to the Senate. He was informed in reply that these proposals had been carefully considered, and were found to be neither reasonable nor expedient, but only furnished a fresh proof of the Duke's perfidy. He was warned not to allow the Agent sent to treat with him to remain in his camp, as designs might be entertained against his life, which was very dear to the Signoria. Urged by the 'Provveditori,' he advanced against the Milanese forces commanded by Carlo Malatesta, then a young man of little experience, but aided by two of the most eminent 'Condottieri' of the time—Sforza and Piccinino. A battle ensued near the village of Maclo dio or Maclo, in which the rout of the Duke's army was complete, and would have been even more disastrous had not darkness put an end to the pursuit. The Senate hastened to send two

special envoys to congratulate Carmagnola upon his glorious victory. It further presented him with a palace in Venice, and conferred upon him and his heirs the territory of Castelnedolo, in the Province of Brescia.

A large number of prisoners, including Malatesta, had been made in the battle. Carmagnola, without consulting the Senate or the 'Provveditori,' gave them their liberty with the exception of Malatesta. This proceeding caused serious dissatisfaction to the Venetians. A more serious accusation against him was his neglect to follow up his victory, thus losing the opportunity of advancing upon Milan. However, he brought the war to an end in the following spring to the entire satisfaction of the Senate. When he came to Venice to give up the 'Gonfalone' of St. Mark, he was received with great public rejoicing. At the conclusion of peace the Duke, desiring to be reconciled to Carmagnola, and to have him again as a vassal, restored to him his fiefs in the Milanese which had been confiscated on his flight.

Although Carmagnola had been guilty of inexplicable neglect and want of energy, there had been nothing in his conduct upon which a charge of deliberate treachery to the Republic could be founded. But during the peace of two years which succeeded the termination of the war, the Duke was apparently in constant secret correspondence with him. These communications, which became known to the Senate, were, if not actually of a guilty nature, highly imprudent, and naturally aroused its suspicions, and became the subject of discussion in the Council of Ten. Its doubts with respect to Carmagnola's fidelity were increased when he asked for leave to resign his command. The Senate was unwilling to lose so eminent and capable a commander, especially as it had good reason to fear that he would at once return to the service of its enemy, the Duke of Milan. It consequently declined to accede to his request. After prolonged negotiations he consented to remain in the pay of the Republic, exacting, however, very onerous conditions, to which the Senate, after a great deal of bargaining, thought it politic to agree. His appointment as Captain-General of the Venetian forces was then renewed for four years.

The Duke having, as was his custom, flagrantly violated the treaty which he had recently concluded, war became inevitable. The Senate invited Carmagnola to Venice, to consult with him as to the measures to be taken for carrying it on. He then, for the first time, betrayed those ambitious designs which led to his ruin. In his conferences with the Senate he demanded as a reward for his services such portions of the Milanese, including
Milan,

Milan, as he might succeed in wresting from Filippo Maria. In return he promised to be ever ready, in person and property, to obey the Republic. In reply he was told that, if by his means the Duke was deprived of his possessions, one of the cities beyond the Adda at his choice, but not Milan, would be assigned to him. This promise did not satisfy him.

At the commencement of hostilities Carmagnola, deceived by an offer from the warden of the castle of Soncino to surrender it on his approach, fell into a trap laid for him by the Duke's 'Condottieri,' Sforza and Tolentino. He was defeated with great loss, and narrowly escaped capture. This reverse, which caused a painful impression in Venice, was followed by the destruction of a flotilla of eighty-six armed vessels sent up the Po by the Signoria, under the command of Niccolò Trevisan, which had reached the neighbourhood of Cremona. The Venetians lost several thousand men, slain and made prisoners. Trevisan had in vain appealed for aid, to Carmagnola, who was encamped at a short distance from the river. He either refused or neglected to move, although he had been directed to co-operate with the commander of the flotilla, who had been placed under his orders. No valid excuse has been offered for his conduct on this occasion. Although the Senate appears to have absolved him from blame, he was loudly condemned by the public voice of Venice.

The first serious misunderstanding between Carmagnola and the Senate occurred in the month of August 1431. The arms of the Duke of Milan had been everywhere successful, and the Emperor Sigismund, his ally, was threatening a descent from the north of the Alps upon the Venetian territory. The Senate had ordered Carmagnola to hold his troops in readiness to meet the invasion. Instead of conforming to his instructions, he announced his intention of sending his army at once into winter quarters. This proceeding on his part was the subject of serious debate in the Grand Council, but, with its habitual caution, it decided not to take extreme measures. To add to the general indignation against him, he failed to give support to one of his captains—Guglielmo Cavalcabò—who had seized one of the gates of Cremona, and would have possessed himself of the city had he received timely assistance, which Carmagnola, having disobeyed the orders of the Senate by sending his troops into winter quarters, was unable to afford. His conduct could only be explained by disloyalty to the Republic, or by gross neglect unpardonable in a general.

The Senate was convinced that a permanent peace could only be ensured by driving Filippo Maria out of the Milanese. It consequently

consequently again pressed Carmagnola to cross the Adda and to advance upon Milan. In order to induce him to act vigorously it was proposed in the Grand Council to offer to him and his heirs that city, with its dependent territory, on condition that he obtained possession of it by the end of the following July. This proposal, when put to the vote, was rejected by a considerable majority. A report of what had occurred in the Council served to excite still further his ill-will to the Republic. Notwithstanding his professions of obedience and his promise to move without delay, he remained idle in his winter quarters, and gave no heed to the constant remonstrances addressed to him from Venice. At the same time he continued to receive agents of the Duke, with whom he had secret interviews, although he had orders from the Senate not to hold any further communications with Filippo Maria.

Carmagnola's conduct could not but cause great anxiety to the Senate. In one of its sittings it was moved that measures should be taken for his arrest. This motion was, however, rejected on being put to the vote. But on the following day the Council of Ten, deeming the matter of the most urgent importance, resolved to act without a moment's delay. It asked that twenty Senators should be added to its numbers. This request was at once acceded to, and the highest tribunal of the State, thus recruited, was charged to try Carmagnola. The Senate, however, resolved that force should not be used to arrest him, but that he should be brought by stratagem to Venice, and then placed on his trial. One of its secretaries was accordingly sent to Brescia to invite him to come as soon as possible to the city to confer as to the future conduct of the war.

Carmagnola, complying with the invitation of the Senate, left Brescia for Venice. On his way thither he was everywhere treated by the Venetian authorities with honour and distinction. When entering the city, he was received by eight nobles of patrician rank, who conducted him to the Ducal Palace. After his escort had been dismissed he was informed that the Doge, being unwell, was unable to receive him that evening. He was leaving the building by the grand staircase, when the door of the passage to the prisons was pointed out to him as his way out. At the same moment he was surrounded by the gaolers, who hurried him into it. He yielded without resistance, merely exclaiming, '*Vedo ben che son morto*' (I see well enough that I am a dead man).

Two days after Carmagnola's arrest, a commission, composed of double the number of members prescribed by the regulations,

was

was appointed for his trial. It was directed to 'arrest, imprison, examine, and torture' him and his secretary, Giovanni de Moris, and all other persons suspected of having conspired against the honour and safety of the State, and to take any step necessary to arrive at the truth concerning the charges against him. Amongst those arrested were his wife and a woman known as 'La Bella,' who was intimate with her. All the correspondence, letters, and documents found in his house at Brescia, were brought to Venice. No time was lost in proceeding with the trial, which was only interrupted by the religious observances of Holy Week. It was resumed immediately after the Easter holidays, and the commission sat night and day.

On account of an injury to one of his arms the torture of the 'corda,' usually the first used on such occasions, could not be employed.* Fire was then applied to the soles of his feet. He is said to have confessed at once to the charges against him. His confession was taken down in writing and read over to him. His papers were examined, and compromising letters bearing his name and seal discovered. The evidence of his wife, of 'La Bella,' and of other persons, fully confirmed the suspicions raised by his correspondence.

Doubts have been entertained as to whether Carmagnola was really subjected to the torture, and, if so, whether it was applied with such severity as to extort admissions from him at variance with the truth. The Commission, it is argued, having acquired full proof of his guilt from his papers, might not have considered it necessary to proceed any further; but having been instructed by the Senate to use torture, it may have thought it advisable to apply it, as a formality necessary to the regularity of its proceedings. Such is Signor Battistella's opinion after an impartial examination of the evidence furnished by contemporary writers.† This infamous mode of obtaining confessions from persons accused of crime prevailed in Venice, as in most countries of Europe, until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, and it is highly probable that it would have been employed in so grave a State-trial as that of Carmagnola.

On the 5th of May the Commission reported to the Senate. After the evidence taken had been read to it, the three chiefs of the Council of Ten asked whether sentence should not be passed upon Carmagnola, 'for that which he had done, as a notorious traitor, to the injury and prejudice of the State, and

* What this injury was does not appear. The torture of the 'corda' consisted of raising the victim by cords attached to his wrists, and allowing him to drop violently.

† 'Il Conte Carmagnola,' p. 359.

against its honour and safety, as clearly proved by witnesses and documents submitted to the Commission.' The answer was in the affirmative, with only two negative votes. The sentence was immediately pronounced: Carmagnola was condemned to be led from prison on that very day, with a gag in his mouth, and with his hands bound behind him, according to custom, and to be beheaded at the usual place of execution between the two columns in the Square of St. Mark. The Doge and three of the Commissioners proposed that the sentence of death should be commuted into one of perpetual imprisonment. But this proposal, being put to the vote, was rejected by a large majority.

The sentence was notified to Carmagnola late in the afternoon, and he was soon after led forth to execution. He wore, according to an eye-witness, 'scarlet trousers, a cap of velvet called a Carmagnola, a crimson doublet, and a scarlet cloak with sleeves,' and was accompanied to the block by members of the confraternity of Sta. Maria Formosa. The heavy double-handed sword of the executioner fell three times before his head was severed from his body. The corpse was then taken to the church of S. Francesco della Vigna by twelve torch-bearers, for burial. But whilst they were placing it in the grave prepared for it, a friar, who had confessed Carmagnola in prison, stopped them, saying that the Count had desired that his body should be interred in the 'Cha Grande'—the name by which the church of Sta. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari was then known in Venice. It was consequently removed to that church, and buried in the first cloister against the wall under the portico.* Carmagnola was only forty-two years of age at the time of his death.

Such is the true story of Carmagnola. Venice has been accused of having treated him with ingratitude and injustice, and of having cruelly put to death a faithful servant upon mere suspicion. Manzoni has made him the hero of a pathetic tragedy, and others have described him as the innocent victim of a jealous, vindictive, and merciless State, and as such he has passed into history. We agree with Signor Battistella in thinking that the Republic has been unfairly condemned. That Carmagnola, whilst in its service and in command of its armies, was in secret correspondence with its enemy, there can be no reasonable doubt. That this was an act of treason, which would have rendered him liable to the penalty of death

* Carmagnola's remains were removed some years later to Milan, and placed in a tomb which he had prepared for himself and his wife in the Church of S. Francesco, which was subsequently demolished, and their ashes dispersed.

in any country and at any time, is equally certain. It is evident, moreover, that he had motives for betraying his trust. He was a man of vast ambition, and aimed at establishing himself as an independent prince. With this object he coveted the city and territory of Milan. He believed that he could obtain his end, either by a successful war, or by coming to a secret understanding with the Duke. The Venetian Senate had caused him disappointment and irritation by refusing to pledge itself to make over to him the Milanese, in the event of his acquiring it for them. The Republic, after ridding itself of one ambitious, restless, and treacherous neighbour, was unwilling to replace him by one equally grasping and untrustworthy. On the other hand the Duke was childless, and he might be induced to name as his successor Carmagnola, the husband of his near relative Antonia Visconti, who had been, as it were, adopted into the family of the Visconti. But to obtain this end it was necessary that Carmagnola should effect a complete reconciliation with Filippo Maria, and this he could best do by rendering the Duke some great and essential service. The want of energy, and the neglect he had shown in carrying on the war, which had led on more than one occasion to the disastrous defeat of the Venetian forces, were thus to be explained. Coupled with his secret relations with the Duke, they were amply sufficient to justify the suspicions of the Senate, and to warrant his arrest.

That his arrest was effected by a stratagem need scarcely surprise us, when we remember the time in which he lived, and the extreme peril to which the Republic would have been exposed, had an attempt to take him by force failed, and he had gone over with his army to the Duke of Milan. He had a fair trial, as judicial proceedings were then carried on. Had he been the object of similar suspicions when in the service of one of the Italian Princes, or even of one of the Democracies, such as Florence or Siena, he would have been speedily put out of the way without any trial. Whereas the Senate not only maturely deliberated before agreeing by a majority of votes to accuse him of treason, but referred the case to the highest tribunal which could deal with it, taking the unusual step of adding to the number of its members. Signor Battistella observes,* that 'although the evidence produced at the trial is wanting, the documents upon which it was founded exist, and there is no reason to question the sincerity and honesty of a tribunal composed of thirty-seven members of the

* 'Il Conte Carmagnola,' p. 430.

most illustrious families of Venice—a tribunal which proceeded in the light of day, which was not ashamed of its acts, which showed the greatest care in its investigations, and kept a full and accurate register of all its proceedings.' Unfortunately not a trace of the evidence has been found in the Venetian archives. It is conjectured that it was destroyed in the great fire which, in 1577, consumed that part of the Doge's Palace in which the Council of Ten held its sittings and kept its records. It may be further remarked that the criminal laws of Venice were so framed as to avoid, with the utmost care, errors, abuses, and injustice, and that a confession extorted by torture, without corroborative evidence, would not have sufficed for the condemnation of a man accused of crime.*

The Senate had shown the strongest desire to retain the services of Carmagnola. It could only have deprived the State of them upon the fullest conviction that he was betraying his trust. The confidence that the Republic placed in those who served it faithfully, and the honours it conferred upon them, are shown by its treatment of Gattamelata and Colleoni, to whose memories it raised those noble equestrian statues which adorn Padua and Venice, and which are amongst the grandest productions of the sculptor's art. Although the tragic fate of Carmagnola may excite our pity, it cannot be said to have been unmerited.

Carmagnola was a great soldier, perhaps the foremost of his time; but he was faithless, treacherous, and cruel. He was so ignorant that he was not even acquainted with the letters of the alphabet. His disposition was jealous, hasty, and violent; his manners rude and boorish, his greed for money insatiable, and his ambition boundless. That he had some amiable qualities may be inferred from the fact that he was successful in acquiring the affection of his soldiers, and the gratitude of the population of Genoa, which he governed. His wife, family, and friends, appear to have been devoted to him, and he had a superstitious piety which induced him to found, like other 'Condottieri,' shrines to saints and charitable institutions.

In the fifteenth century the Princes of independent States in the Peninsula took to the profession of 'Condottieri.' They differed in many respects from the regular 'Captains of Adven-

* Signor Battistella cites, as a proof of the earnest desire of the Republic that no innocent man should suffer, the well-known story of the 'Fornaretto,' or baker's boy, who was executed for a murder of which he was subsequently proved not to have committed. The Signoria directed that two lamps should be for ever lighted every night outside of the Church of St. Mark, as a tribute to his memory, and as a sign of grief and repentance for the injustice done to him. They are lighted to this day.

ture.' The latter were for the most part ignorant men of low origin. We have seen that neither Hawkwood nor Carmagnola could read or write. The princely 'Condottieri' were frequently men of noble family and of culture. They were the patrons and friends of poets, philosophers, and painters, by whom they loved to surround themselves in their little courts. They founded universities for the encouragement of learning, and erected monuments upon which were lavished all the skill and taste of the great artists of the Renaissance. They were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder; but their followers being their own subjects were more amenable to discipline, than the savage bands of mercenaries who for more than a century had laid waste the fertile plains of Italy. Such was the renowned Sigismund Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, who may be taken as a type of this third class of 'Condottieri.' Mons. Yriarte has given us a sketch of his career in a work which may make up, by the profusion of its illustrations and the charm of its style, for some statements founded rather upon the lively imagination of the writer than on unquestionable historical data.

Sigismund, the natural son of Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Pesaro and Rimini, was born in 1417. He was confided as a child to the care of his uncle, Carlo Malatesta, who trained him so early to arms that at the age of twelve years, the day after the death of that famous 'Condottiere,' he buckled on his small armour, mounted his war-horse, and took part in repelling an invasion of his brother Galeotto's territories. When only thirteen he placed himself at the head of a body of troops, and gained a decisive victory at Serra Ungarina, over the army of the Pope. At fifteen he succeeded Galeotto as Lord of Rimini, and with 4000 foot and 300 horse defeated, at Longarino, Frederick of Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino, who was ever after his implacable enemy. This was the beginning of his military career.

He first appeared as a 'Condottiere' when nineteen years old, in the pay of Eugenius IV. After two years, feeling aggrieved at being placed under the command of a rival, he suddenly went over to the Venetians, who were at war with this Pope. He gained for them, soon after, a victory over the Duke of Urbino at Reggio. Retiring from the service of the Republic, he returned to the government of his own dominions, and was speedily engaged in a series of campaigns against Frederick of Montefeltre, which lasted for some years without any definite result. In 1447, Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, claimed the Duchy of Milan, as legitimate heir to Filippo Maria Visconti, and prepared to assert his rights by
arms.

arms. He invited Malatesta to take the command of his forces, and to commence operations by invading the territory of the Florentine Republic, which had declared against him. Malatesta was to be paid 4000 ducats for one year, and he exacted a part of that sum before taking the field. He had scarcely received it when he joined the Florentines, refusing at the same time to return the money which had been advanced, and which he employed in fitting out an expedition against Alfonso.

Florence had declared herself in favour of Francesco Sforza, who had possessed himself of the Duchy of Milan, and against whom a league had been formed, including the King of Naples and the Venetians. The Florentines had engaged as one of their captains Frederick of Montefeltre. The enmity between the two captains, and their jealousy of each other, were such that letters of defiance passed between them, and the Florentine Commissioners had much difficulty in preventing them from fighting a duel, after the fashion of the times.* The King of Naples, anxious to detach Malatesta from the league, offered to give him the command of all his forces, notwithstanding the manner in which he had been betrayed. But Malatesta's demands were so exorbitant that they could not come to an agreement. However, Alfonso, wishing to conciliate so formidable an enemy, gave his niece, the daughter of the Duke of Calabria, in marriage to Malatesta's son.

Malatesta's contract with the Florentines had scarcely expired when he engaged himself to the Sieneſe, whose territories were threatened by Aldobrandino Orsini, the Lord of Pettigliano. The history of his connexion with the Commune of Siena affords a curious parallel to that of Carmagnola with the Republic of Venice. The dilatory manner in which he carried on the war, and the discovery that he was in secret correspondence with Orsini, with whom he suddenly concluded a truce when on the point of capturing the enemy's stronghold, gave rise to rumours that he was unfaithful to his trust. Measures were immediately taken for his arrest. Apprised of his danger, he precipitately fled into the Florentine territory, abandoning his tents and baggage.† Once safe, he demanded from

* The story of this affair is curious as illustrating the manners of the age. Frederick of Montefeltre had already sent a letter of defiance to Malatesta under the walls of Pesaro, which the latter refused to notice. He accepted Malatesta's challenge by a public declaration, and both appealed to the Duke of Savoy to assign some spot in his dominions for the duel. The Duke consented to do so, but on condition that he should be granted the life of the one who was defeated, and be the arbiter of his liberty. (Ricotti, *Storia delle Compagnie di Ventura*, vol. iii. p. 171.)

† With his baggage Malatesta lost his letters and correspondence, which are still preserved in the Sieneſe archives, and afford valuable material for his history.

the Commune a release from his engagement, which was granted. At the same time, however, the Sienese publicly denounced his perfidy and appealed to all the independent States of Italy against him. The King of Naples, who was their ally, had not forgotten Malatesta's treachery, of which he had been the victim. He resolved to avail himself of the opportunity of revenge, and sent against him the most successful 'Condottiere' then in Italy, Piccinino. Malatesta, threatened with the invasion of his dominions and surrounded by formidable enemies, not only had resource to the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, who despatched 3000 horsemen to his aid, but sent envoys to René of Anjou inviting him to renew his attempt to acquire the kingdom of Naples, thus bringing the French again across the Alps—a crime unpardonable in Italian eyes. He went even further in his despair, and proposed to the Grand Turk, Sultan Mahomet the Conqueror, the invasion of Italy. These misdeeds led Pope Pius II. to issue a bull of excommunication against him, in which he was accused of every imaginable vice and crime, and of heresy, as not believing in the immortality of the soul and as having pagan propensities. He was condemned to be burnt in effigy. One of the best sculptors of the day, Paolo Romano, was employed to make a representation of him in wood, which, dressed in his peculiar costume, was declared to be an extraordinary likeness. It was committed to the flames in front of the Church of St. Peter, with a label issuing from the mouth, on which was inscribed, 'I am Sigismund Malatesta, son of Pandolfo, the prince of traitors, the enemy of God and man, condemned to be burnt by a sentence of the Sacred College.'

Abandoned by his own brother, Novello, one of his bravest captains, and by most of his adherents, who were frightened by the threat of excommunication against those who took part with him, he made a vain effort to obtain succour from the French. On the 24th of August, 1462, he was completely defeated by his old enemy Frederick of Montefeltre, in the Piano di Marotta. The loss of his principal castles and the advance of the allies upon Rimini proved to him that the only course left to him to save even a portion of his dominions was to sue for peace, and to accept any terms that were offered to him. The Pope demanded not only a public act of submission and repentance, but that Malatesta should appear before the College of Cardinals, clear himself of the charge of heresy, and make a formal renunciation of his rights to all the territories claimed by him, with the exception of the city of Rimini and the Castle of Cerigiolo. To these hard conditions he had to submit before
he

he and his followers were released from the penalties of excommunication.

Being now without resources, and unable to carry on war on his own account, he offered his sword to Venice. The Republic, being engaged in hostilities with the Turks, gladly availed itself of his offer, and conferred upon him the command of its army in the Morea. He remained for two years in Greece, proving his valour and capacity by victories over the Turks, which might have led to their expulsion from the Morea, had he not been constantly thwarted in his movements by the 'Provveditori.' Their interference led to dissensions fatal to the success of the expedition. Malatesta was summoned to Venice to explain his conduct, which they had impeached. He succeeded in doing so to the entire satisfaction of the Senate. But he solicited and obtained a release from his engagement, and returned to Rimini. Pius II., his bitter enemy, had died, and had been succeeded by Paul II., who, desirous of securing the support of so able a captain, invited Malatesta to Rome. He was received there with great honour as a champion of the Church and Christianity in warring against the Infidels. The Pope even presented him with the golden rose—the reward reserved for Princes distinguished for their virtues and their services to religion. Paul expected some substantial return for this mark of his favour, and proposed to Malatesta to cede Rimini to the Holy See in exchange for Spoleto and Foligno. Malatesta, who was back in his capital, was so exasperated by this proposal, that, in a fit of ungovernable rage, he swore that he would himself be the bearer of his answer, and at once set out for Rome with the intention of assassinating the Pope. Paul, having some suspicion of his design, refused to receive him in private, as it had been his custom to do, but admitted him to a public audience, surrounded by his Cardinals and by trusty guards. Malatesta, who had concealed a dagger under his doublet, perceiving that he was impotent to carry out his design, was seized with violent nervous agitation. He burst into tears, threw himself at the feet of Paul, reminded him of all that he had done for the Church, implored forgiveness, and entreated that he should not be deprived of his beloved Rimini. Paul acceded to his prayer; but only on condition that Papal troops should form half the garrison of the city.

Malatesta was now reduced to the last extremity. He had squandered his resources in useless wars; he had lost the influence which he at one time possessed; he could no longer count upon a sufficient number of followers to render him formidable

formidable or useful as a 'Condottiere,' and he found leagued against him all the Princes of Italy. Under these circumstances he was glad to accept an engagement for two years from the Pope. Such, however, was the state of his finances, that he could only equip sixty-four lances, which, under his command, served as the guard of the Vatican. An attack of a pernicious fever, which he had contracted in the Morea, caused him to leave Rome for Rimini, where he died at the age of fifty-one, October 7, 1468.

The character of Malatesta, as a 'Condottiere,' differed in no way from that of the very worst of his predecessors and contemporaries of the same trade. He was treacherous, cruel, rapacious, revengeful, and licentious. He never hesitated to employ any means, however infamous, to obtain his ambitious ends. He would pursue to the death, with all his infinite resources of duplicity and fraud, any one who had offended him. He was terrible in his rage, and implacable in his hatred. Mons. Yriarte justly describes him as '*le héros cachant un bandit de grand chemin et l'homme à un moment donné devenant une bête féroce.*' The indictment against him of Pius II., which was accepted as well-founded by the whole of Italy, included every possible crime—rape, incest, murder, robbery, arson—including the assassination of his two wives, Genevieve d'Este and Polixena Sforza, and of his tutor, Ugolino de Pilli, whom he is said to have tortured to death. Mons. Yriarte, however, questions whether there be sufficient evidence to prove him guilty of these three murders, but he admits that he was quite capable of having committed them.

If such only were the character of Malatesta, there would be little to interest us in him. But it is the reverse of the medal that renders him, in many respects, one of the most extraordinary men of his age, and the most striking type of the Italian 'Condottiere' Prince of the fifteenth century. To his cruel and savage disposition he united an eloquence, a sense of justice, and other qualities, which endeared him to his followers and his subjects. Whilst committing every crime and given to every vice, he showed an ardent love for the pursuits of philosophy, literature, and art. He invited to his court the most eminent philosophers, men of letters, and artists of the day, and Rimini became one of the centres of that remarkable intellectual movement which marks the period of the 'Renaissance' in Italy. When not engaged in some wanton aggression on his neighbour's territories, or in meditating schemes for the murder of his wives, or the assassination of a rival, he would employ his leisure hours in discussing
abstruse

abstruse questions of philosophy, in writing poetry, in erecting, with the aid of the famous architect, Leon Alberti, monuments on which all the resources of architecture, sculpture, and painting were to be lavished, or in showing his skill as an engineer by devising new systems of fortifications or useful public works. The Church of S. Francesco, which he built at Rimini to contain the tombs of himself, his mistress—the celebrated Isotta—and the illustrious men whom he gathered around him, still ranks amongst the best examples of that exquisite taste which distinguishes the work of the Italian artists of the second half of the fifteenth century.*

Such painters as Pietro della Francesca, and such medallists as Pisanello and Matteo da Pasti, have made us familiar with the features of Malatesta and of Isotta da Rimini, long his mistress and ultimately his wife. This remarkable woman was the daughter of Francesco delli Atti, a gentleman of noble family who had enriched himself by commerce. Her eulogists and contemporary poets have attributed to her marvellous beauty—a judgment which is not confirmed by her portraits.† Malatesta was, however, fascinated both by her charms and her mental qualities, and she exercised an influence over him which no one else ever acquired, and which lasted till his death. Such was his confidence in her that he confided to her, during his frequent absences from Rimini, the government of his dominions. She fulfilled her trust with so much prudence and wisdom as to merit the high approval of the Venetian Senate—a very competent judge of such matters. She shared his love for philosophy, poetry, and the fine arts, and earned for herself the reputation of being one of the most learned women of her time. Mons. Yriarte, however, believes that he has discovered proofs that she was unable to write, and that the signature to her letters, still preserved, is not in her own hand. Even Pius II., when denouncing the iniquities of Malatesta, admitted that Isotta was in every respect worthy of his passionate love. He prepared for her a magnificent sepulchre in his Church of S. Francesco during the lifetime of his second wife, whom he is believed to have put to death to make way for her. Their initials—S. and I.—intertwined

* Mons. Yriarte gives an elaborate account, with numerous illustrations, of this celebrated edifice, which had the character of a heathen temple rather than that of a Christian Church. Upon the absence in it of all Roman Catholic images and symbols was partly founded the charge of heresy brought against Malatesta by Pius II.

† It is doubtful whether the portrait in the National Gallery attributed to Pietro della Francesca is that of Isotta.

in the form of a monogram, are still seen on every monument that he constructed, and are introduced into every ornament with which he enriched it. When he married her, he obtained from the Pope a Bull legitimising her two children.

In the sixteenth century, when the petty principalities under the tyrants ceased to exist, and the larger Italian States were formed, and when the methods of war were changed by the use of artillery and the employment of regular armies in the permanent service of the State, the 'Condottiere' disappeared, as there was no more need for him. But the spirit of the old 'Capitani di Ventura' did not become entirely extinct in Italy. It may be said to have been revived in Garibaldi, who was essentially a 'Condottiere' of the old school, with this honourable distinction, that whilst his predecessors were impelled by no other motives than a ruthless ambition and the greed of plunder and gain, he, the most honest and disinterested of men, was only inspired by an ardent love of liberty and of his country. He substituted the red shirt for the badge of the red cross conferred by Pope Urban VI. upon Alberico da Barbiano, but he bore aloft the standard on which was inscribed '*Italia liberata dai barbari!*'

ART. II.—*Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton, including Selections from his Poems, Correspondence, and Miscellaneous Writings.* By Robert Perceval Graves, M.A. 3 vols. Dublin, 1889.

WILLIAM ROWAN HAMILTON was born at midnight between the 3rd and 4th of August, 1805, at Dublin, in the house which was then 29, but subsequently 36, Dominick Street. His father, Archibald Hamilton, was a solicitor, and William was the fourth of a family of nine. With reference to his descent, it may be sufficient to notice that his ancestors appear to have been chiefly of gentle Irish families, but that his maternal grandmother was of Scottish birth. When he was about a year old, his father and mother decided to hand over the education of the child to his uncle, James Hamilton, a clergyman at Trim, in county Meath. James Hamilton's sister, Sydney, resided with him, and it was in their home that the days of William's childhood were passed.

The earlier chapters of Mr. Graves's '*Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton*' contain a series of letters, in which Aunt Sydney details to William's mother in Dublin the progress of her boy. Probably there is no record of an infant prodigy more extraordinary than that which these letters contain. At three years old his aunt assured the mother that William is 'a hopeful blade,' but at that time it was his physical vigour to which she apparently referred; for the proofs of his capacity, which she adduces, related to his prowess in making boys older than himself fly before him. In the second letter, a month later, we hear that William is brought in to read the Bible for the purpose of putting to shame other boys double his age who could not read nearly so well. Uncle James appears to have taken much pains with William's schooling, but his aunt said that 'how he picks up everything is astonishing, for he never stops playing and jumping about.' When he was four years and three months old, we hear that he went out to dine at the vicar's, and amused the company by reading for them equally well whether the book was turned upside down or held in any other fashion. His aunt assures the mother that 'Willie is a most sensible little creature, but at the same time has a great deal of roguery.' At four years and five months old he came up to pay his mother a visit in town, and she writes to her sister a description of the boy:—

'His reciting is astonishing, and his clear and accurate knowledge of geography is beyond belief: he even draws the countries with a pencil on paper, and will cut them out, though not perfectly accurate, yet

yet so well that anybody knowing the countries could not mistake them; but you will think this nothing when I tell you that he reads Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. It is truly funny to see the faces some of the wise-heads put on after examining him: they first look incredulous, then they look as if he said it as a parrot would: but after an examination of various books and various parts of the same book, and when sometimes, to correct those who from long neglect to read these dead languages have forgotten some letters he puts them in,—if they say no, he says, “Well, but it is so,” and when they must agree with him, he says, “Now, see the advantage of attending to what you read;” they stare, then say it is wrong to let his mind be so overstocked. They cannot suppose that all this is learned by him as play, and that he could no more speak or play as children generally do, than he could fly. Everything he must have a reason for. The things at dinner are the different countries of the world; if he wants his handkerchief tied round his throat, it is Please put this round my Isthmus; if his eye itches, it is his east eye or his west. He reads the Hebrew with points. H. H. is learning it without. She, being rather incredulous, brought her book to see the difference of pronunciation, and what was the advantage of points. She read for him, but he got so vexed at her persevering to pronounce the words so differently from what it is with points, that he began to cry most piteously.—Vol. i. p. 36.

Aunt Sydney recorded that the moment Willie got back to Trim he was desirous of beginning again his former pursuits. He would not eat his breakfast till his uncle had heard him his Hebrew, and he again complained of H. H.’s improper pronunciation. At five he was taken to see a friend to whom he repeated long passages from Dryden. A gentleman present, who was not unnaturally sceptical about Willie’s attainments, desired to test him in Greek, and took down a copy of Homer, which happened to have the contracted type, and to his amazement Willie went on with the greatest ease. He would not, he said, ‘have thought so much of it had he been a grave, quiet child, but to see him the whole evening acting in the most infantile manner, and then reading all those things, was truly astonishing.’ At six years and six months his favourite play was the Trojan War, in which he made his playmates assist both as mortals and immortals. At six years and nine months he is translating Homer and Virgil, and it must have been a little astonishing when rousing such a child in the morning to be told that although Diana had long withdrawn her pale light, yet that Aurora had scarce unbarred her gates, and that, therefore, it was not yet time to get up. At seven years and nine months his uncle tells us that William finds so little difficulty in learning French and Italian, that he wishes to

read Homer in French. He is enraptured with the *Iliad*, and carries it about with him, repeating from it whatever particularly pleases him. At eight years and one month the boy was one of a party who visited the Scalp in the Dublin mountains, and he was so delighted with the scenery that he forthwith delivered an oration in Latin. At nine years and six months he is not satisfied until he learns Sanscrit; three months later his thirst for the Oriental languages is unabated, and at ten years and four months he is studying Arabic and Persian. When nearly twelve he prepared a manuscript ready for publication. It was 'A Syriac Grammar' in Syriac letters and characters compiled from that of Buxtorf, by William Hamilton, Esq., of Dublin and Trim. It does not, however, appear that there was much demand for a Syriac grammar in Ireland, and the work was never printed; but his acquaintance with the language may be inferred from the fact that it was his habit to translate the Epistle of the day into it.

When he was fourteen, the Persian Ambassador, Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, paid a visit to Dublin, and, as a practical exercise in his Oriental languages, the young scholar addressed to his Excellency a letter in Persian: a translation of this gorgeous production is given by Mr. Graves. The Ambassador's Secretary told Hamilton that he had made no mistakes, and he drew a contrast between Hamilton's letter and a similar attempt made by a Captain Kian, whose production was wholly unintelligible. When William was fourteen, his father died: he had lost his mother two years previously. The boy and his three sisters were kindly provided for by different members of the family on both sides.

It was when William was about fifteen that his attention began to be turned towards scientific subjects. These were at first regarded rather as a relaxation from the linguistic studies with which he had been so largely occupied. On the 22nd of November, 1820, he notes in his Journal that he had begun Newton's *Principia*; he commenced also the study of astronomy by observing eclipses, occultations, and similar phenomena. When he was sixteen, we learn that he had read conic sections and that he was engaged in the study of pendulums. In this same year appeared the first gushes of those poems which afterwards flowed in torrents.

Hamilton's somewhat discursive studies were now gradually becoming concentrated in preparation for his entering the University. After an attack of illness, he was moved for change to Dublin, and in May 1822 we find him reading the differential calculus and Laplace's '*Mécanique Céleste*.' He criticises an
important

important part of Laplace's work relative to the demonstration of the parallelogram of forces.

At the beginning of his college career he distanced all his competitors in everything. The tutor under whom he entered, Charles Boyton, was himself a distinguished man, but he frankly told the young William that he could be of little use to him as a tutor, for his pupil was quite as fit to be his tutor. Eliza Hamilton, by whom this is recorded, adds: 'But there is one thing Boyton would promise to be to him, and that was a friend; and that one proof he would give of this, should be that, if ever he saw William beginning to be *upset* by the sensation he would excite, and the notice he would attract, he would tell him of it.' At his first term examination he was first in Trinity College in Classics and first in Mathematics, while he received the Chancellor's prize for a poem on the Ionian Islands, and another for his poem on Eustace de St. Pierre.

There is abundant testimony throughout these volumes that Hamilton had 'a heart for friendship formed.' Among the warmest of his friends was the gifted Maria Edgeworth, who writes to her sister about 'young Mr. Hamilton, an admirable Crichton of eighteen, a real prodigy of talents, who Dr. Brinkley says may be a *second Newton*, quiet, gentle and simple.' The book also contains numerous letters to and from Hamilton's sisters, to whom he was so affectionately attached. Eliza writes to him in 1824:—

'I had been drawing pictures of you in my mind in your study at Cumberland-street with "*Xenophon*," &c., on the table, and you, with your most awfully sublime face of thought, now sitting down, and now walking about, at times rubbing your hands with an air of satisfaction, and at times bursting forth into some very heroic strain of poetry in an unknown language, and in your own internal solemn ventriloquist-like voice, when you address yourself to the silence and solitude of your own room, and indeed, at times, even when your mysterious poetical addresses are not quite unheard.'—
Vol. i. p. 166.

This letter is quoted because it refers to a circumstance which all who ever met with Hamilton, even in his latest years, will remember. He was endowed with two distinct voices, one a high treble, the other a deep bass, and he alternately employed these voices not only in ordinary conversation, but when he was delivering an address on the profundities of Quaternions to the Royal Irish Academy, or on similar occasions. His friends had long grown so familiar with this peculiarity that they were sometimes rather surprised to find how ludicrous it appeared to strangers.

Hamilto

Hamilton was fortunate in finding, while still at a very early age, a career open to him which was worthy of his talents. He had not ceased to be an undergraduate before he was called to fill an illustrious chair in his University. The circumstances are briefly as follows.

The Astronomical Observatory of Dunsink, in the county of Dublin, had been founded in the year 1774, by the will of Provost Andrews. Henry Ussher was the first Professor of Astronomy, and he was succeeded in 1790 by Brinkley, who for thirty-six years filled, with much credit to himself and renown to the University, the position of Royal Astronomer of Ireland. It was in the year 1826 that Brinkley was appointed Bishop of Cloyne, and the Professorship of Astronomy thereupon became vacant. Such was Hamilton's conspicuous eminence that, notwithstanding he was still an undergraduate and had only just completed his twenty-first year, he was immediately thought of as a suitable successor to the chair. Indeed so remarkable were his talents in almost every direction, that had the vacancy been in the Professorship of Classics or of Mathematics, of English Literature or of Metaphysics, of Modern or of Oriental languages, it seems difficult to suppose that he would not have occurred to every one as a possible successor. The chief ground, however, on which the friends of Hamilton urged his appointment was the earnest of original power which he had already shown in a research on the theory of Systems of Rays. This profound work created a new branch of optics, and led a few years later to a superb discovery, by which the fame of its author at once became world-wide. At first he thought it would be undue presumption for him to make an application for the Professorship of Astronomy; he accordingly retired to the country, and resumed his studies for his degree. Other eminent candidates came forward, among them some from Cambridge, and a few of the Fellows from Trinity College, Dublin, also sent in their claims. It was not until Hamilton received an urgent letter from his tutor Boyton, in which he was assured of the favourable disposition of the board towards his candidature, that he consented to come forward, and on the 16th of June, 1827, he was unanimously chosen to succeed the Bishop of Cloyne as Professor of Astronomy in the University. The appointment met with almost universal approval. It should, however, be noted that Brinkley, whom Hamilton succeeded, did not concur in the general sentiment. No one could have formed a higher opinion than he had done of Hamilton's transcendent powers: indeed it was on that very ground that he seemed to view the appointment with disapprobation. He considered

considered that it would have been wiser for Hamilton to have obtained a Fellowship, in which capacity he would have been able to exercise a greater freedom in his choice of intellectual pursuits. The Bishop seems to have thought, and not without reason, that Hamilton's genius would rather recoil from much of the routine work of an astronomical establishment. Now that Hamilton's whole life is before us, it is easy to see that the Bishop was entirely wrong. It is quite true that Hamilton never became a skilled astronomical observer; but the seclusion of the observatory was eminently favourable to those gigantic labours to which his life was devoted, and which have shed so much lustre, not only on Hamilton himself, but also on his University and his country.

In his early years at Dunsink, Hamilton did make some attempts at a practical use of the telescopes, but he possessed no natural aptitude for such work, while the exposure which it involved seems to have acted injuriously on his health. He, therefore, gradually allowed his attention to be devoted to those mathematical researches in which he had already given such promise of distinction. Although it was in pure mathematics that he ultimately won his greatest fame, yet he always maintained, and maintained with justice, that he had ample claims to the title of an astronomer. In his later years he set forth this position himself in a rather striking manner. De Morgan had written commending to Hamilton's notice Grant's '*History of Physical Astronomy*.' After becoming acquainted with the book, Hamilton writes to his friend as follows:—

'The book is very valuable, and very creditable to its composer. But your humble servant may be pardoned if he finds himself somewhat amused at the title, "*History of Physical Astronomy from the Earliest Ages to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*," when he fails to observe any notice of the discoveries of Sir W. R. Hamilton in the theory of the "*Dynamics of the Heavens*."—Vol. iii. p. 508.

The intimacy between the two correspondents will account for the tone of this letter; and, indeed, Hamilton supplies in the lines which follow ample grounds for his complaint. He tells how Jacobi spoke of him in Manchester in 1842 as '*le Lagrange de votre pays*,' and how Donkin had said that '*The Analytical Theory of Dynamics as it exists at present is due mainly to the labours of Lagrange, Poisson, Sir W. R. Hamilton, and Jacobi, whose researches on this subject present a series of discoveries hardly paralleled for their elegance and importance in any other branch of mathematics*.' In the same letter Hamilton also alludes to the success which had attended the applications

applications of his methods in other hands than his own to the elucidation of the difficult subject of Planetary Perturbations. Even had his contributions to science amounted to no more than these discoveries, his tenure of the chair would have been an illustrious one. It happens, however, that in the gigantic mass of his intellectual work these researches, though intrinsically of such importance, assume what might almost be described as a relative insignificance.

The most famous achievement of Hamilton's earlier years at the observatory was the discovery of conical refraction. This was one of those rare events in the history of science, in which a sagacious calculation has predicted a result of an almost startling character, subsequently confirmed by observation. At once this conferred on the young Professor a world-wide renown. Indeed, though he was still only twenty-seven, he had already lived through an amount of intellectual activity, which would have been remarkable for a man of threescore and ten.

Simultaneously with his growth in fame came the growth of his several friendships. This is a subject which gives many pleasing pages to his biography. There were of course his scientific friendships with Herschel, Robinson, and many others. In illustration of these Mr. Graves has given copious extracts from the multitudinous letters on scientific subjects which have been preserved. There are also stores of other letters; especially prominent are those to and from his intimate friend Aubrey de Vere. Hamilton's correspondence with Coleridge will be read with interest; and we also find the letters to his lady correspondents, among them being Maria Edgeworth, Lady Dunraven, and Lady Campbell. Many of these sheets relate to literary matters, but they are largely intermingled with genial pleasantries, and serve at all events to show the astonishing affection and esteem with which he was regarded by all who had the privilege of knowing him. There are also the letters to the sisters whom he adored, letters brimming over with such exalted sentiment, that most ordinary sisters would be tempted to receive them with a smile in the excessively improbable event of their still more ordinary brothers attempting to pen such effusions. There are also indications of letters to and from other young ladies who from time to time were the objects of Hamilton's tender admiration. We use the plural advisedly, for, as is here fully set forth, Hamilton's love affairs pursued a rather troubled course. The attention, which he lavished on one or two fair ones, was not reciprocated, and even the intense charms of mathematical discovery could not assuage the pangs which the disappointed lover

lover experienced. At last he reached the haven of matrimony in 1833, when he was married to Miss Bayly. Of his married life Hamilton said many years later to De Morgan, that it was as happy as he expected, and happier than he deserved. He had two sons, William and Archibald, and one daughter, Helen, who became the wife of Archdeacon O'Regan.

The most remarkable of Hamilton's friendships in his early years was unquestionably that with Wordsworth. It commenced with Hamilton's visit to Keswick; and on the first evening, when the poet met the young mathematician, an incident occurred which showed the mutual interest that was aroused. Hamilton thus describes it in a letter to his sister Eliza:—

'He (Wordsworth) walked back with our party as far as their lodge, and then, on our bidding Mrs. Harrison good-night, I offered to walk back with him while my party proceeded to the hotel. This offer he accepted, and our conversation had become so interesting that when we had arrived at his home, a distance of about a mile, he proposed to walk back with me on my way to Ambleside, a proposal which you may be sure I did not reject; so far from it that when he came to turn once more towards his home I also turned once more along with him. It was very late when I reached the hotel after all this walking.'

Hamilton also submitted to Wordsworth an original poem, entitled 'It haunts me yet.' The reply of Wordsworth is worth repeating:—

'With a safe conscience I can assure you that, in my judgment, your verses are animated with the poetic spirit, as they are evidently the product of strong feeling. The sixth and seventh stanzas affected me much, even to the dimming of my eyes and faltering of my voice while I was reading them aloud. Having said this, I have said enough. Now for the *per contra*. You will not, I am sure, be hurt when I tell you that the workmanship (what else could be expected from so young a writer?) is not what it ought to be. . . .

'My household desire to be remembered to you in no formal way. Seldom have I parted—never, I was going to say—with one whom after so short an acquaintance I lost sight of with more regret. I trust we shall meet again.'

The further affectionate intercourse between Hamilton and Wordsworth is fully set forth, and to Hamilton's latest years a recollection of his 'Rydal hours' was carefully treasured and frequently referred to. Wordsworth visited Hamilton at the observatory, where a beautiful shady path in the garden is to the present day spoken of as 'Wordsworth's Walk.'

The second volume of Mr. Graves's biography opens with the
year

year 1833, when Hamilton was twenty-eight; and the chief feature that will strike one in turning over its 700 pages is the astonishing manner in which he managed to combine a full enjoyment of the varied pleasures of friendship with the most colossal of scientific labours.

It was the practice of Hamilton to produce a sonnet on almost every occasion which admitted of poetical treatment, and it was his delight to communicate his verses to his friends all round. When Whewell was producing his *Bridgewater Treatises*, he writes to Hamilton in 1833:—

‘Your sonnet which you showed me expressed much better than I could express it the feeling with which I tried to write this book, and I once intended to ask your permission to prefix the sonnet to my book, but my friends persuaded me that I ought to tell my story in my own prose, however much better your verse might be.’

In January 1833 Hamilton’s introductory lecture on Astronomy appeared in the ‘*Dublin University Review*.’ Such was the fame of the author that this production naturally attracted much attention, and one of his correspondents thanks him ‘for the proof it affords that the deepest researches in science are quite consistent with the most successful pursuits of literature and the acquisition of the taste and skill which are necessary to constitute a fine writer.’ Hamilton himself, however, on further reflection, seems to have realized the somewhat pompous style of this discourse, for he subsequently wrote a playful review of his own lecture, in which he criticised ‘those inflated and turbulent pages, through which, from a mere principle of critical duty, we have waded as through a puddle in a storm.’

The first epoch marking contribution to theoretical Dynamics after the time of Newton was undoubtedly made by Lagrange, in his discovery of the general equations of Motion. The next great step in the same direction was that taken by Hamilton in his discovery of a still more comprehensive method. Of this contribution Hamilton writes to Whewell, March 31st, 1834:—

‘As to my late paper, a day or two ago sent off to London, it is merely mathematical and deductive. I ventured, indeed, to call the *Mécanique Analytique* of Lagrange, “a scientific poem”; and spoke of Dynamics, or the Science of Force, as treating of “Power acting by Law in Space and Time.” In other respects it is as unpoetical and unmetaphysical as my gravest friends could desire. Yet it is unpoetical enough to excite, perhaps, the contempt or pity of many worthy people.’

It

It may well be doubted whether there is a more beautiful chapter in the whole of mathematical philosophy than that which contains Hamilton's Dynamical theory. It is disfigured by no tedious complexity of symbols; it condescends not to any particular problems; it is an all-embracing theory, which gives an intellectual grasp of the most appropriate method for discovering the result of the application of force to matter. It is the very generality of this doctrine which has somewhat impeded the applications of which it is susceptible. The exigencies of examinations are partly responsible for the fact that the method has not become more familiar to students of the higher mathematics. An eminent professor has complained, that Hamilton's essay on Dynamics was of such an extremely abstract character, that he found himself unable to extract from it problems suitable for his examination papers!

It may be of interest to quote here a passage in which Hamilton expresses his opinion of the relative merits of the great French mathematicians. It is contained in a letter to his old friend and scientific correspondent, Mr. John T. Graves, the brother of the biographer:—

'Poisson has also done much, but he does not seem to me to have nearly so logical a mind as Cauchy, great as his talents and his clearness are; and both are in my judgment very far inferior to Fourier, whom I place at the head of the French School of Mathematical Philosophy, even above Lagrange and Laplace, though I rank *their* talents above those of Cauchy and Poisson.'—Vol. ii. p. 58.

The following extract is from a letter of Professor Sylvester to Hamilton, dated 20th of September, 1841. It will show how his works were appreciated by so consummate a mathematician as the writer:—

'Believe me, sir, it is not the least of my regrets in quitting this Empire to feel that I forego the casual occasion of meeting those masters of my art, yourself chief amongst the number, whose acquaintance, whose conversation, or even notice, have in themselves the power to inspire, and almost to impart fresh vigour to the understanding, and the courage and faith without which the efforts of invention are in vain. The golden moments I enjoyed under your hospitable roof at Dunsink, or moments such as they were, may probably never again fall to my lot.

'At a vast distance, and in an humble eminence, I still promise myself the calm satisfaction of observing your blazing course in the elevated regions of discovery. Such national honour as you are able to confer on your country is, perhaps, the only species of that luxury for the rich (I mean what is termed one's glory) which is not bought at the expense of the comforts of the million.'—Vol. ii. p. 348.

The

The study of metaphysics was always a favourite recreation when Hamilton sought for a change from the pursuit of mathematics. In the year 1834 we find him a diligent student of Kant; and, to show the views of the author of Quaternions and of Algebra as the Science of pure Time on the 'Critique of the pure Reason,' we quote the following letter, dated 18th of July, 1834, from Hamilton to Viscount Adare:—

'I have read a large part of the "Critique of the pure Reason," and find it wonderfully clear, and generally quite convincing. Notwithstanding some previous preparation from Berkeley, and from my own thoughts, I seem to have learned much from Kant's own statement of his views of "Space and Time." Yet, on the whole, a large part of my pleasure consists in recognizing through Kant's works, opinions, or rather views, which have been long familiar to myself, although far more clearly and systematically expressed and combined by him. . . . Kant is, I think, much more indebted than he owns, or, perhaps knows, to Berkeley, whom he calls by a sneer, "*gutem Berkeley*" . . . as it were, "good soul, well-meaning man," who was able for all that to shake to its centre the world of human thought, and to effect a revolution among the early consequences of which was the growth of Kant himself.'—Vol. ii. p. 96.

At several meetings of the British Association Hamilton was a very conspicuous figure. Especially was this the case in 1835, when the Association met in Dublin, and when Hamilton, though then but thirty years old, had attained such celebrity that even among a very brilliant gathering his name was perhaps the most renowned. A banquet was given at Trinity College in honour of the meeting. The distinguished visitors assembled in the Library of the University. The Earl of Mulgrave, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, made this the opportunity of conferring on Hamilton the honour of knighthood, gracefully adding, as he did so: 'I but set the Royal, and therefore the national mark, on a distinction already acquired by your genius and labours.'

'The great banquet followed. . . . It was no little addition to the honour Hamilton had already received that, when Professor Whewell returned thanks for the toast of the University of Cambridge, he thought it appropriate to add the words, "There was one point which strongly pressed upon him at that moment; it was now one hundred and thirty years since a great man in another Trinity College knelt down before his sovereign, and rose up Sir Isaac Newton." The compliment was welcomed by immense applause.'

A more substantial recognition of the labours of Hamilton took place subsequently. He thus describes it in a letter to Mr. Graves of 14th of November, 1843:—

'The

‘The Queen has been pleased—and you will not doubt that it was entirely unsolicited, and even unexpected, on my part—“to express her entire approbation of the grant of a pension of two hundred pounds per annum from the Civil List” to me for scientific services. The letters from Sir Robert Peel and from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which this grant has been communicated or referred to, have been really more gratifying to my feelings than the addition to my income, however useful, and almost necessary, that may have been.’—Vol. ii. p. 449.

The circumstances we have mentioned might lead to the supposition that Hamilton was then at the zenith of his fame, but this was not so. It might more truly be said, that his achievements up to this point were rather the preliminary exercises which fitted him for the gigantic task of his life. The name of Hamilton is now chiefly associated with his memorable invention of the calculus of Quaternions. It was to the creation of this branch of mathematics that the maturer powers of his life were devoted; in fact he gives us himself an illustration of how completely habituated he became to the new modes of thought which Quaternions originated. In one of his later years he happened to take up a copy of his famous paper on Dynamics, a paper which at the time created such a sensation among mathematicians, and which is at this moment regarded as one of the classics of dynamical literature. He read, he tells us, his paper with considerable interest, and expressed his feelings of gratification that he found himself still able to follow its reasonings without undue effort. But it seemed to him all the time as a work belonging to an age of analysis now entirely superseded.

In order to realize the magnitude of the revolution, which Hamilton has wrought in the application of symbols to mathematical investigation, it is necessary to think of what Hamilton did beside the mighty advance made by Descartes. To describe the character of the quaternion calculus would be unsuited to the pages of this Review, but we may quote an interesting letter, written by Hamilton from his deathbed, twenty-two years later, to his son Archibald, in which he has recorded the circumstances of the discovery:—

‘Indeed, I happen to be able to put the finger of memory upon the year and month—October 1843—when, having recently returned from visits to Cork and Parsonstown, connected with a meeting of the British Association, the desire to discover the laws of multiplication referred to, regained with me a certain strength and earnestness which had for years been dormant, but was then on the point of being gratified, and was occasionally talked of with you. Every morning

morning in the early part of the above-cited month, on my coming down to breakfast, your (then) little brother, William Edwin, and yourself, used to ask me, "Well, papa, can you multiply triplets?" Where to I was always obliged to reply, with a sad shake of the head: "No, I can only *add* and subtract them."

'But on the 16th day of the same month—which happened to be Monday, and a Council day of the Royal Irish Academy—I was walking in to attend and preside, and your mother was walking with me along the Royal Canal, to which she had perhaps driven; and although she talked with me now and then, yet an *undercurrent* of thought was going on in my mind which gave at last a *result*, whereof it is not too much to say that I felt *at once* the importance. An *electric* circuit seemed to *close*; and a spark flashed forth the herald (as I *foresaw immediately*) of many long years to come of definitely directed thought and work by *myself*, if spared, and, at all events, on the part of *others* if I should even be allowed to live long enough distinctly to communicate the discovery. Nor could I resist the impulse—unphilosophical as it may have been—to cut with a knife on a stone of Brougham Bridge, as we passed it, the fundamental formula with the symbols *i j k*, namely:—

$$i^2 = j^2 = k^2 = ijk = -1$$

which contains the *Solution* of the *Problem*, but, of course, as an inscription, has long since mouldered away. A more durable notice remains, however, on the Council Books of the Academy for that day (October 16, 1843), which records the fact that I then asked for and obtained leave to read a Paper on "Quaternions," at the First General Meeting of the Session; which reading took place accordingly, on Monday, the 13th of November following.'

Writing to Professor Tait, Hamilton gives another version of the same event, which will also be read with interest. And again in a letter to the Rev. J. W. Stubbs:—

'To-morrow will be the fifteenth birthday of the Quaternions. They started into life full-grown on the 16th of October, 1843, as I was walking with Lady Hamilton to Dublin, and came up to Brougham Bridge—which my boys have since called Quaternion Bridge. I pulled out a pocket-book which still exists, and made entry, on which at the very moment I felt that it might be worth my while to expend the labour of at least ten or fifteen years to come. But then it is fair to say that this was because I felt a problem to have been at that moment solved, an intellectual want relieved which had haunted me for at least fifteen years before.

'But did the thought of establishing such a system, in which geometrically opposite factors—namely, two lines (or areas) which are opposite in *space* give *always* a positive product—ever come into anybody's head till I was led to it in October 1843, by trying to extend my old theory of algebraic couples, and of algebra as the science of pure time? As to my regarding geometrical addition of lines

lines as equivalent to composition of motions (and as performed by the same rules), that is indeed essential in my theory, but not peculiar to it; on the contrary, I am only one of many who have been led to this view of addition.'

Pilgrims in future ages will doubtless visit the spot commemorated by the invention of quaternions. Perhaps, as they look at that by no means graceful structure, Quaternion Bridge, they will regret that the hand of some Old Mortality had not been occasionally employed in cutting the memorable inscription afresh. It is now irrecoverably lost.

It was ten years after the discovery that the great volume appeared under the title of 'Lectures on Quaternions,' Dublin, 1853. The reception of this work by the scientific world was such as might have been expected, from the extraordinary reputation of its author, and the novelty and importance of the new calculus. His valued friend, Sir John Herschel, writes to him in that style of which he was a master:—

'Now, most heartily let me congratulate you on getting out your book—on having found utterance, *ore rotundo*, for all that labouring and seething mass of thought which has been from time to time sending out sparks, and gleams, and smokes, and shaking the soil about you; but now breaks into a good honest eruption, with a lava stream and a shower of fertilizing ashes.

'Metaphor and simile apart, there is work for a twelvemonth to any man to read such a book, and for half a lifetime to digest it, and I am quite glad to see it brought to a conclusion.'

And we may also record Hamilton's own opinion expressed to his valued friend Humphrey Lloyd:—

'In general, although in one sense I hope that I am actually growing modest about the quaternions, from my seeing so many peeps and vistas into future expansions of their principles, I still must assert that this discovery appears to me to be as important for the middle of the nineteenth century as the discovery of fluxions was for the close of the seventeenth.'

Hamilton's scientific work throughout his career was intimately associated with the Royal Irish Academy. It was in 1837, when he was thirty-two years old, that Bartholomew Lloyd died. He was the Provost of Trinity College, and the President of the Academy. There were three candidates put forward by their respective friends for the vacant Presidency. One was Humphrey Lloyd, the son of the late Provost, and the two others were Hamilton and Archbishop Whately. The history of the contest, a contest of generosity as it has been happily called,

called, makes a very interesting chapter in Mr. Graves's book. Lloyd from the first urged strongly the claims of Hamilton, and deprecated the putting forward of his own name. Hamilton in like manner desired to withdraw in favour of Lloyd. The wish was strongly felt by many of the Fellows of the College, that Lloyd should be elected in consequence of his having a more intimate association with collegiate life than Hamilton; while his scientific eminence was world-wide. The election ultimately gave Hamilton a considerable majority over Lloyd, behind whom the Archbishop followed at a considerable distance. All concluded happily, for both Lloyd and the Archbishop expressed, and no doubt felt, the pre-eminent claims of Hamilton, and both of them cordially accepted the office of Vice-President, to which, according to the constitution of the Academy, it is the privilege of the incoming President to nominate.

In entering upon his new and dignified position, Hamilton endeavoured to render his presidency of special service to the Academy. He consulted a number of distinguished men as to the measures by which his functions could be best discharged. He wrote, for example, to Lord Northampton, to Maria Edgeworth, and to Wordsworth. The answers, which these and other distinguished persons gave to his queries, are duly set forth, but it hardly appears that they rendered him much practical aid. Hamilton delivered his inaugural address on the 8th of January, 1838, and this, taken in conjunction with the letters referred to, show the very serious manner in which Hamilton regarded his responsibilities as President. Many years later, long after he had resigned the office, one of his successors in the chair, the Rev. Charles Graves, D.D., now Bishop of Limerick, paid a tribute to Hamilton's career as President:—

‘Literary and scientific men are often censured, and not without reason, for their want of capacity in the transaction of business. To this reproach Hamilton was not liable. He had a retentive memory, which enabled him to keep himself familiar with matters of detail; and a love of method, which manifested itself in systematic arrangement of any work which he had to perform. I believe that there never was a President of this Academy who had such a minute acquaintance with its affairs, such an exact knowledge of its history and constitution; and, consequently, whenever questions arose respecting its laws and usages, he was generally able to solve them by immediate reference, either to established rules, or to the minutes recording the acts of the Academy or its Council. Nor was he less remarkable for qualities as necessary in the post he occupied, and of greater moral worth—for graciousness combined with truthfulness, for a perfect freedom from all unworthy jealousy, and for a just sense
of

of the dignity of the body over which he was called to preside.'—
Vol. ii. p. 245.

In 1838 it appears that some disciple of Spurzheim gave a lecture in Dublin, which seems to have attracted Hamilton's attention to the extent of inducing him to write out a 'Metaphysico-phrenological Analysis of My own Character, according to the Scheme of Wilson.' This production, bearing date 21st of February, 1838, occupies a page of small print,* from which we learn, among other things, that Hamilton, according to his own account, was fond of newspapers, novels, and history; a little fond of phenomena and experiments; inclined to observe propriety or impropriety, elegance or inelegance in manner; his habits were unpunctual, his sense of colour weak, so that he could scarcely tell blue from green when he saw them apart:—

'Artificial languages, (rather) strong facility, and pleasure in acquiring foreign languages so far as to read them, but not in learning to speak or write them; natural language, strong; a disposition to speak oratorically, number very strong; great aptitude for calculation. Tune, uncertain; cannot remember any piece of music, yet am much affected and delighted by good music, and distinguish particular passages when I hear them. Thus the faculties or dispositions which I am disposed to signalize in myself as stronger than the rest are in Mr. Wilson's terminology and arrangement: Ideality, Self-esteem, Cautiousness, Conscientiousness, Firmness, Benevolence, Causality, Number, and, perhaps, Language.'

It will be recollected, as a memorable episode in astronomical history, that Sir J. Herschel went for a prolonged sojourn to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of submitting the southern skies to the same scrutiny with the great telescope that his father had given to the northern skies. The occasion of Herschel's return, after the brilliant success of his enterprise, was celebrated by a banquet. On the 15th of June, 1838, Hamilton was assigned the high honour of proposing the health of Herschel. His speech is printed by Mr. Graves, as well as a pair of sonnets which were produced according to his wont. This banquet is also memorable in Hamilton's career as being one of the two occasions in which he was in the company of his intimate friend De Morgan.

In the year 1838 a scheme was adopted by the Royal Irish Academy for the award of medals to the authors of papers which appeared to possess exceptionally high merit. At the institution of the medal two papers were named in com-

* Vol. ii. p. 247.

petition for the prize. One was Hamilton's 'Memoir on Algebra, as the Science of Pure Time.' The other was Macullagh's paper on the 'Laws of Crystalline Reflection and Refraction.' Hamilton expresses his gratification that, mainly in consequence of his own exertions, he succeeded in having the medal awarded to Macullagh rather than to himself. Indeed it would almost appear as if Hamilton had procured a letter from Sir J. Herschel, which indicated the importance of Macullagh's Memoir in such a way as to decide the issue. It then became Hamilton's duty to award the medal from the chair, and to deliver an address in which he expressed his own sense of the excellence of Macullagh's scientific work. It is the more necessary to allude to these points, because in the whole of his scientific career it would seem that Macullagh was the only man with whom Hamilton had ever even an approach to a dispute about priority. The incident referred to took place in connexion with the discovery of conical refraction, the fame of which Macullagh made a preposterous attempt to wrest from Hamilton. This is evidently alluded to in Hamilton's letter to the Marquis of Northampton, dated June 28, 1838, in which we read :—

'And though some former circumstances prevented me from applying to the person thus distinguished the sacred name of *friend*, I had the pleasure of doing justice . . . to his high intellectual merits . . . I believe he was not only gratified but touched, and may, perhaps, regard me in future with feelings more like those which I long to entertain towards him.'—Vol. ii. p. 269.

Hamilton was in the habit, from time to time, of commencing the keeping of a Journal, but it does not appear to have been systematically conducted. Whatever difficulties the biographer may have experienced, from its imperfections and irregularities, seem to be amply compensated for by the practice, which Hamilton had of preserving copies of his letters and even of comparatively insignificant memoranda. In fact, the minuteness, with which apparently trivial matters were often noted down, appears almost whimsical. He frequently made a memorandum of the name of the person who carried a letter to the post, and of the hour in which it was despatched. On the other hand, the letters which he received were also carefully preserved in a mighty mass of manuscripts, with which his study was encumbered, and with which many other parts of the house were not unfrequently invaded. If a letter was laid aside for a few hours, it would become lost to view amid the seething mass of papers, though occasionally, to use his own
expression,

expression, it might be seen 'eddy'ing' to the surface in some later disturbance.

The third volume of Mr. Graves's biography commences at a very naturally marked epoch in Hamilton's career. The great volume of 'Lectures on Quaternions' had been issued, and the author had received the honours which the completion of such a task would rightfully bring him. The publication of an immortal work does not, however, necessarily provide the means for paying the printer's bill. The printing of so robust a volume was necessarily costly; and even if all the copies could be sold, which at the time did not seem very likely, they would hardly have met the inevitable expenses. The provision of the necessary funds was, therefore, a matter for consideration. The Board of Trinity College had already contributed 200*l.* to the printing, but yet another hundred was required. Even the discoverer of Quaternions found this a source of much anxiety. However the Board, urged by the representation of Humphrey Lloyd, now one of its members, and, as we have already seen, one of Hamilton's staunchest friends, relieved him of all liability. A pleasant letter from Lloyd told how successfully he had worked on the Board not with the Quaternion symbols i, j, k , but with the letters H. J. L. (Hamilton, Jacobi, Lagrange), in allusion to the memorable occasion already referred to. Another member of the Board remarked, that they could not suffer Hamilton 'to be at any loss by the publication of a work which is so noble a monument of human science, and which does so much honour to our University.' We may here note that, notwithstanding the pension which Hamilton enjoyed in addition to the salary of his chair, he seems always to have been in somewhat straitened circumstances, or, to use his own words in one of his letters to De Morgan, 'Though not an embarrassed man, I am anything rather than a rich one.' The biographer tells us that, notwithstanding the world-wide fame of Hamilton's discoveries, the only profit in a pecuniary sense that he ever obtained from any of his works was by the sale of what he called his Icosian Game. It appears that some enterprising publisher, on the urgent representations of one of Hamilton's friends in London, bought the copyright of the Icosian Game for 25*l.* Even this little speculation proved unfortunate for the purchaser, as the public could not be induced to take the necessary interest in the matter.

After the completion of his great book, Hamilton appeared for a while to permit himself a greater indulgence than usual in literary relaxations. His biographer gives us copious correspondence with his intimate friend, Aubrey de Vere, and

there are multitudes of letters from those troops of friends whom it was Hamilton's privilege to possess. He had been greatly affected by the death of his beloved sister Eliza, a poetess of much taste and feeling. She left to him her many papers to preserve or to destroy, but he said it was only after the expiration of four years of mourning that he took courage to open her pet box of letters. These facts are mentioned in a letter written, when Hamilton was forty-nine years old, to his old friend the Dowager Countess of Dunraven:—

‘How often have I poured out to you in years now long past the secrets of my heart, and how kindly you suffered me to do so, and responded to and comforted me. . . . We are told from the pulpit, and cannot, perhaps, be told too often, of the faults and corruptions of our nature. Most fully, most heartily, do I grant all *that* from the experience of *myself*. But I must say that my opinion of the *good* part of human nature, and especially of the nature of young ladies, has been very decidedly *exalted* by the perusal of my sister's correspondence, not quite completed yet. How much it struck, how much it *affected* me to compare the ardent yet discriminative enthusiasm with which Ellen De Vere and Dora Wordsworth (whose grave I kissed by moonlight, at Grasmere, last autumn) wrote to my sister, separately, of their first meeting.’—Vol. iii. p. 26.

The religious side of Hamilton's character is frequently illustrated in these pages; especially is this brought out in the correspondence with De Vere, who had seceded to the Church of Rome. Hamilton writes, August 4, 1855:—

‘If, then, it be painfully evident to both, that under such circumstances there CANNOT (whatever we may both *desire*) be *now* in the nature of things, or of minds, the same degree of *intimacy* between us as of old; since we could no longer *talk* with the same degree of unreserve on *every* subject which happened to present itself, but *must*, from the simplest instincts of courtesy, be each on his guard not to say what might be offensive, or, at least, painful to the other; yet we were *once* so intimate, and retain still, and, as I trust, shall always retain, so much of regard and esteem and appreciation for each other, made tender by so many associations of my early youth and your boyhood, which can never be forgotten by either of us, that (as times go) *two or three very respectable FRIENDSHIPS* might easily be carved out from the fragments of our former and ever-to-be-remembered *intimacy*. It would be no exaggeration to quote the words: “*Heu! quanto minus est cum reliquis versari, quam tui meminisse!*”’—Vol. iii. p. 31.

The oft-repeated efforts of the discoverer to make the Quaternions intelligible to every inquirer led to an interesting exposition of them which arose in this way. Among his neighbours,

bours, in the adjoining country-houses, was a Mrs. Smythe, who resided at Farmleigh, near the Phoenix Park. Hamilton's visits there were much appreciated, and he used to recite poetry or discourse about botany, or discuss the relations of the Bible to geology. He made an attempt to instruct Mrs. Smythe in the elements of the Quaternion Calculus by addressing to her a long letter on the subject. It happened, at about this time, that Hamilton's friend, Dr. Nichol, was preparing his well-known 'Cyclopædia of the Physical Sciences,' and he applied to Hamilton for a popular article on the subject of Quaternions. A copy of the letter to Mrs. Smythe was sent in reply; but with that tendency to development which was inseparable from all Hamilton's work, he appended two further letters, addressed this time to some ideal gentleman, apparently in the belief that they were beyond the comprehension of his lady correspondents. The three letters were accordingly published by Nichol in his Cyclopædia, and they may be referred to as containing perhaps the most elementary exposition of which the subject is susceptible. The last sentences of this letter record the modest view, which he has taken of his own achievements, when compared with the vast future which he foresees for his theory.

'The quaternions seem to me to admit of entering into an alliance so close, yet new, with *every part* of pure and applied geometry, and at the same time to require such *large* additional development, before their relations of analogy and contrast to existing methods of calculation shall be fully known, that I count myself *merely* to have begun them. The field is far too wide to be tilled by a solitary labourer, even with the occasional assistance from a few friends who feel some interest in his exertions. The time may come, though, if so, it will be due to other explorers rather than to me, when the *mathematics* of this calculus having become comparatively mature, it shall admit of being extensively and usefully *applied* to *physics* as a new instrument in the study of *nature*. In the prospect of such a time, I feel with no jealous pain, that although it may have been permitted to me to accomplish *something* in this enterprise as an honourable Suitor of Science, yet the Bow awaits its Ulysses.'—Vol. iii. p. 76.

It was about the year 1862 that Hamilton's thoughts were directed to the preparation of a scheme for a second great book, namely, the 'Elements of Quaternions,' which he intended to be a more systematic treatise than the earlier volume. As, however, was not surprising, he entirely under-estimated, both the magnitude which the work would assume, and the years that would be occupied in its preparation. He thought that a book containing four hundred pages and written within two years would

would suffice for the purpose. As a matter of fact the volume swelled to upwards of seven hundred pages, and was hardly completed on the day of his death, more than seven years from the commencement of the undertaking.

In 1858 a correspondence on the subject of Quaternions commenced between Professor Tait and Sir William Hamilton. It was particularly gratifying to the discoverer that so competent a mathematician as Professor Tait should have made himself acquainted with the new calculus. It is of course well known that Professor Tait subsequently brought out a most valuable elementary treatise on Quaternions, to which those who are anxious to become acquainted with the subject will often turn in preference to the tremendous works of Hamilton.

In the year 1861 gratifying information came to hand of the progress which the study of Quaternions was making abroad. Especially did the subject attract the attention of that accomplished mathematician, Möbius, who had already in his 'Barycentrische Calculus' been led to conceptions which bore more affinity to Quaternions than could be found in the writings of any other mathematician. Such notices of his work were always pleasing to Hamilton, and they served, perhaps, as incentives to that still closer and more engrossing labour by which he became more and more absorbed. During the last few years of his life he was observed to be even more of a recluse than he had hitherto been. His powers of long and continuous study seemed to grow with advancing years, and his intervals of relaxation, such as they were, became more brief and more infrequent.

It was not unusual for him to work for twelve hours at a stretch. The dawn would frequently surprise him as he looked up to snuff his candles after a night of fascinating labour at original research. Regularity in habits was impossible to a student who had prolonged fits of what he called his mathematical trances. Hours for rest and hours for meals could only be snatched in the occasional lucid intervals between one attack of Quaternions and the next. When hungry, he would go to see whether anything could be found on the sideboard; when thirsty, he would visit the locker, and the one blemish in the man's personal character is that these latter visits were sometimes paid too often.

As an example of one of Hamilton's rare diversions from the all-absorbing pursuit of Quaternions, we find that he was seized with curiosity to calculate back to the date of the Hegira, which he found on the 15th of July, 622. He speaks of the satisfaction with which he ascertained subsequently that

that Herschel had assigned precisely the same date. Metaphysics remained also, as it had ever been, a favourite subject of Hamilton's readings and meditations and of correspondence with his friends. There is a very long letter to Dr. Ingleby on the subject of his 'Introduction to Metaphysics' (iii. p. 173). In it he alludes, as he has done also in other places, to a peculiarity of his own vision. It was habitual to him, by some defect in the correlation of his eyes, to see always a distinct image with each; in fact, he speaks of the remarkable effect which the use of a good stereoscope had on his sensations of vision. It was then, for the first time, that he realized how the two images which he had always seen hitherto would, under normal circumstances, be blended into one. He cites this fact as bearing on the phenomena of binocular vision, and he draws from it the inference that the necessity of binocular vision for the correct appreciation of distance is unfounded. 'I am quite sure,' he says on p. 179, 'that I SEE DISTANCE with *each eye separately*.'

The commencement of 1865, the last year of his life, saw Hamilton as diligent as ever, and corresponding with Salmon and Cayley. On April 26th he writes to a friend to say, that his health has not been good for years past, and that so much work has injured his constitution; and he adds, that it is not conducive to good spirits to find that he is accumulating another heavy bill with the printer for the publication of the 'Elements.' This was, indeed, up to the day of his death, a cause for serious anxiety. It may, however, be mentioned that the whole cost, which amounted to nearly 500*l.*, was, like that of the previous volume, ultimately borne by the College. Contrary to anticipation, the enterprise, even in a pecuniary sense, cannot have been a very unprofitable one. The whole edition has long been out of print, and as much as 5*l.* has since been paid for a single copy.

It was on the 9th of May, 1865, that Hamilton was in Dublin for the last time. A few days later he had a violent attack of gout, on the 4th of June he became alarmingly ill, and on the next day had an attack of epileptic convulsions. However, he slightly rallied, so that before the end of the month he was again at work at the 'Elements.' A gratifying incident brightened some of the last days of his life. The National Academy of Science in America had then been just formed. A list of foreign Associates had to be chosen from the whole world, and a discussion took place as to what name should be placed first on the list. Hamilton was informed by private communication that this great distinction was awarded to him by a majority of two-thirds.

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In August he was still at work on the table of contents of the 'Elements,' and one of his very latest efforts was his letter to Mr. Gould, in America, communicating his acknowledgments of the honour which had been just conferred upon him by the National Academy. On the 2nd of September Mr. Graves went to the Observatory, in response to a summons, and the great mathematician at once admitted to his friend that he felt the end was approaching. He mentioned that he had found in the 145th Psalm a wonderfully suitable expression of his thoughts and feelings, and he wished to testify his faith and thankfulness as a Christian by partaking of the Lord's Supper. He died at half-past two on the afternoon of the 2nd of September, 1865, aged sixty years and one month. He was buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery on the 7th of September.

The last chapter of the biographical part of Mr. Graves's work contains the letters and other more public manifestations of the feeling awakened by Hamilton's death. Sir John Herschel wrote to the widow:—

'Permit me only to add that among the many scientific friends whom time has deprived me of, there has been none whom I more deeply lament, not only for his splendid talents, but for the excellence of his disposition and the perfect simplicity of his manners—so great, and yet so devoid of pretensions.'

De Morgan, his old mathematical crony, as Hamilton affectionately styled him, also wrote to Lady Hamilton:—

'I have called him one of my dearest friends, and most truly; for I know not how much longer than twenty-five years we have been in intimate correspondence, of most friendly agreement or disagreement, of most cordial interest in each other. And yet we did not know each other's faces. I met him about 1830 at Babbage's breakfast-table, and there for the only time in our lives we conversed. I saw him, a long way off, at the dinner given to Herschel (about 1838) on his return from the Cape; and there we were not near enough, nor on that crowded day could we get near enough, to exchange a word. And this is all I ever saw, and, so it has pleased God, all I shall see in this world of a man whose friendly communications were among my greatest social enjoyments, and greatest intellectual treats.'

There was a very interesting memoir of Hamilton, written by De Morgan, in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1866, in which he produces an excellent sketch of his friend, illustrated by personal reminiscences and anecdotes. He alludes, among other things, to the picturesque confusion of the papers in his study. There was some sort of order in the mass, discernible, however, by Hamilton alone, and any invasion of the
domestics,

domestics, with a view of tidying up, would throw the mathematician, as we are informed, into 'a good honest thundering passion.'

The narrative concludes with a sonnet written fifteen years after Hamilton's death by the poet-friend Aubrey de Vere, with whom he had enjoyed thirty-five years of intimacy.

'Friend of past years, the holy and the blest,
When all my day shone out, a long sunrise;
When aspirations seemed but sympathies,
In such familiar nearness were they dressed;
When song, with swan-like plumes and starry crest,
O'er-circled earth, and beat against the skies,
And fearless Science raised her reverent eyes
From heaven to heaven, that each its God confessed
With homage ever widening! Friend beloved,
From me those days are passed; yet still, oh, still
This night my heart with influx strange they fill,
Oft beaming memories from my vanished youth:
On thee—the temporal veil of Death removed—
Rests the great Vision of Eternal Truth!'

A supplement of rather more than four hundred pages is chiefly occupied by a selection from the correspondence between Hamilton and De Morgan. This part of the work possesses a distinct value, which gives to the third volume the same feature of individuality which the description of Hamilton's almost miraculous precocity gave to the first volume.

Hardly any two men, who were both powerful mathematicians, could be more dissimilar in every other respect than were Hamilton and De Morgan. The highly poetical temperament of Hamilton was remarkably contrasted with the practical realism of De Morgan. Hamilton sends sonnets to his friend, who replies by giving the poet advice about making his will. The metaphysical subtleties, with which Hamilton often filled his sheets, did not seem to have the same attraction for De Morgan that he found in battles about the quantification of the Predicate. De Morgan was exquisitely witty, and though his jokes were always appreciated by his correspondent, yet Hamilton seldom ventured on anything of the same kind in reply; indeed his rare attempts at humour only produced results of the most ponderous description. But never were two scientific correspondents more perfectly in sympathy with each other. Hamilton's work on quaternions, his labours in dynamics, his literary tastes, his metaphysics, and his poetry, were all heartily welcomed by his friend, whose letters in reply invariably evince the kindest interest in all Hamilton's concerns. In a similar

similar way De Morgan's letters to Hamilton always met with a heartfelt response.

The materials which the biographer found at his disposal were copious in the extreme. The literary habits of Hamilton, the jealous care with which his correspondents treasured every scrap of his writing, placed at Mr. Graves's disposal a gigantic mass of manuscripts. His title to write the Life of the great mathematician is explained in the following extract from the preface:—

'The public has some right to inquire why one who has to confess himself to be no mathematician should have undertaken the present work. To such an enquiry I may reply as follows: that although unconnected with Sir W. R. Hamilton by any tie of kindred, I became his friend in the youth of both of us, and that our friendship continued unbroken till the day of his death; that when he was applied to by the Editor of the "Dublin University Magazine" in 1841, to name a friend who should be requested to supply to that magazine a biographical sketch for insertion in its portrait gallery of distinguished Irishmen, he did me the honour of designating me, and furnished me with the necessary facts. . . . Lastly, that after his death I was asked by his sons to undertake the task, and was at the same time informed by several of the most influential of his friends, that this selection met their approval, and that they were willing to trust to my judgment the correspondence over which they had control.'

In conclusion, we have to record that these three great volumes contain an admirable account of the career of one of the most astonishing geniuses that this century, or any other century, has produced. With loving solicitude Mr. Graves has devoted himself to the arduous task that was so solemnly committed to him, and he has succeeded in producing a work for which every one who is attached to science will feel grateful. We should also add that a meed of acknowledgment is due to the authorities of Trinity College for providing a large proportion of the expenses of the work; by so doing they discharge a portion of the debt which is due from them to the memory of the most illustrious student their institution ever produced. There remains, however, another portion of the debt which has not yet been discharged. Alike for the memory of Hamilton, for the credit of his University, and for the benefit of science, it is only right that a collected edition of his entire works should appear—a collection which shall show those early achievements in a splendid optical theory, those achievements of his more mature powers which made him the Lagrange of his country, and finally those creations of the quaternion calculus by which new capabilities have been bestowed on the human intellect.

ART.

ART. III.—*Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c., of the United Kingdom.* London, 1889.

ROYAL Commissions are not always a wholly satisfactory method of investigating public questions. The oral examinations have a knack of degenerating into conversational details or exciting but irrelevant issues; the evidence is not unfrequently diffuse and wordy, and there is a terrible tendency to overload the Reports and appendices with masses of undigested matter. Wherever there is the slightest doubt as to whether a paper, pamphlet, or statistical return is worth reprinting, Commissioners appear to prefer to 'err on the safe side,' as it is called, and to inflict the whole document *in extenso* on a much-suffering public. The consequence is, that the Reports of Royal Commissions have a bad name for their intolerable 'voluminousness,' if we may coin such a word, and their inconclusive results. Instances are too frequent (it would be invidious to particularize) where the *pièces justificatives* are printed at length, the conclusions summarized in two reports of diametrically opposite bearing, each supported by a serried phalanx of authorities, and the whole farrago of crude and often ill-edited literature thrust upon a helpless and bewildered jury of readers. 'One Commission makes two Blue-books; two Blue-books make no difference.' Such is the fate of too many Royal Commissions. It is gratifying therefore to come across one conspicuous exception where the Report is practically unanimous, and we are willing to award all credit to the late Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c., for the substantial agreement which they have been enabled to effect on some very thorny questions, and which has led to a promise of speedy legislation.

The Royal Commission was at first organized to investigate and report upon the condition of the blind only, the Chairman being the Duke of Westminster, whose interest in the excellent Institution for the Blind at Norwood is well known. The terms of reference were subsequently enlarged so as to embrace the case of the deaf and dumb and such of the imbecile or idiot class as might be susceptible of education, these last being defined as 'such other cases as from special circumstances would seem to require exceptional methods of education.' All the classes referred to may be regarded from an administrative point of view, as occupying common ground, for the vast majority are poor, and it is the interest of the State to educate them so as (to take the words of the Report) 'to dry up the minor

minor streams which ultimately swell the great torrent of pauperism.' Hitherto the Legislature and public opinion have been content to group them together, and such education and training as have been given have been supplied by benevolent institutions, as a charitable concession, rather than a public educational duty which it was at the same time to the highest interest of the State to furnish.

It is clear from a perusal of the Report and the accompanying volumes, that this taint of pauperism is one of the most formidable and inherent difficulties with which the blind and the deaf have had to contend. The only public body in the United Kingdom clearly charged with the duty (and that was only optional) of educating blind and deaf children, was the Poor Law authority, and there was everywhere a natural reluctance on the part of parents to seek such aid. The Report remarks truly enough :—

'It cannot be said that the group spoken of are as a rule impoverished by any fault of their own; to deal with them, therefore, liberally in such matters as education or outdoor relief cannot be viewed as offering any reward to vice, folly, or improvidence. They are as distinct from the "pauper" in the ordinary sense as the pauper is distinct from the criminal.'

Another popular fallacy was, that the blind were capable of doing but little for themselves; but after reading the contents of these volumes the difficulty is to say what they are not capable of. The Commissioners actually came across a blind sculptor in Paris. This gentleman, when studying for his artist's career, became blind through an accident at the age of twenty-two. With extraordinary perseverance and courage he determined to continue studying, and eventually achieved such success that he has carried off numerous medals and other distinctions at art exhibitions from seeing competitors. Another conspicuous instance of success was that of a wool dealer, who persevered in spite of his affliction, and, by close attention became, in some respects, a better judge of the value of wool than before his loss of sight. In 1881 this gentleman visited Australia, and in Melbourne during ten weeks he purchased more than 150,000*l.* worth of wool, doing all his own business, banking, exchange, and shipping, without the help of any broker. A blind solicitor in good practice gave evidence before the Commissioners; an instance of a blind barrister is also given; while cases of blind members of Parliament, clergymen, schoolmasters, and teachers, are frequent. It is clear from this that the blind have amply vindicated their claim to be educated

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on a level with the sighted, and the effect of the Commissioners' Report will undoubtedly be to lift them still further out of the category of the helpless, to which they have so unfairly been relegated.

Blindness is certainly on the decrease in England, the number per million having diminished during the last four decades to 1021, 964, 951, and 819 respectively. At the same time our country is far from occupying the position which it should in regard to freedom from blindness. This point is not touched upon by the Royal Commission, but the figures are well worth noting. According to Dr. Armitage,* blindness is rarest in Holland of all European countries, after which come Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, France, Scotland, England and Wales, Germany, Italy, Spain, Ireland, Hungary, Norway, and Finland. Much of this blindness is preventible, and Magnus, Bremer, and Steffan estimate that the percentage of such cases is about 40. Cohn thinks it is certainly preventible in 33 per cent. of cases, probably preventible in 43 per cent., and quite unpreventible in only 24 per cent. The chief cause is inflammation of the eyes of the newly-born, to which it is estimated that the blindness of 7000 persons in the United Kingdom is due. The remedial measures, if taken promptly, are extremely simple, and one plan consists mainly in washing the eyes of the newly-born infant with pure water, and then by means of a drop-tube instilling a single drop of a two per cent. solution of nitrate of silver into the eyes. This information the Commissioners think might be circulated among midwives by the sanitary authorities. The objection to this appears to be that there would be no compulsion in the matter. In Germany, the most elaborate precautions are enforced by law on the midwives, who are registered, bound by oath to the conscientious discharge of their duties, and bound to call in qualified medical assistance on the very first symptom of any derangement of the eyes. These legal provisions have substantially diminished the amount of blindness in Germany.

The number of special institutions for the blind of the United Kingdom is 61. Six of these are schools for resident pupils; 23 are workshops, mostly for non-resident adults; 26 are a combination of the two (both workshops and schools), and 3 are mere homes or asylums. These are, of course, independent of the classes for the blind established by the School Boards of London, Bradford, Cardiff, Sunderland, and

* 'Education and Employment of the Blind.' Second edition. By T. R. Armitage, M.D. London, 1886.

Glasgow. Together, these two classes of educational institutions have succeeded in getting hold of the large majority of blind children. Undoubtedly, there are cases here and there which slip through the meshes, and the aggregate of blind children untaught may possibly reach a substantial figure; but it is so much easier for an attendance officer to discover a blind than a deaf child, that the number of the uneducated in the former case is never likely to be so great hereafter as in the latter. Hitherto, however, most School Boards have not considered it part of their duty, in default of any special enactment, to educate the blind. The recommendation of the Commissioners, that the provisions of the Education Acts should be extended to this class, and that the compulsory attendance at a school or institution should be enforced, is clearly right. Whether the Commissioners are wise in fixing five and sixteen as the limits (see paragraph 243), is a point on which opinions may differ. If the education is to be conducted generally on the same lines as that of the seeing, the substitution of standards of proficiency for hard and fast limits of age would seem to be preferable. When once in school, the blind child can read in embossed type, write in his Braille frame, work out sums, and generally share in the education given to sighted children without difficulty. In efforts of memory the blind often display the greater proficiency of the two, and their fondness for music is well known. After passing through the standards, the Commissioners think that the children should receive technical training in an institution or elsewhere from 12 to 16 years of age. This, however, does not apply to those who show musical capacity, and who ought to be trained therein as soon as possible.

The best occupation for a blind man is a point that has been fiercely contested for many years. The statistical inquiries made by the Commissioners from about 6000 of the blind of the United Kingdom, though not exactly conclusive, furnished some very important information on this point. No fewer than 4605 out of 5848 stated that they were unable to maintain themselves without charitable assistance. This declaration may no doubt have been prompted by the visionary hope of getting a pension by making the worst of their circumstances (for this, according to the popular expectation, was to be the real outcome of the Royal Commission); but, even after allowing for exaggeration, the figures are very significant. The highest earnings appear to be gained by missionaries, teachers, organists, piano-tuners, and musicians generally. Of course those engaged in industrial pursuits, such as basket-making,
brush-making,

brush-making, chair-caning, &c., are much more numerous, but their weekly wages, on the average, are far below those of the former. The old pupils of the Norwood College for the Blind earn good annual incomes (from 60*l.* to 400*l.*) as a rule, and the same may be said of the pupils from the Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles, at Paris. On the whole there is no doubt that Dr. Campbell's contention is right, that music is the best means of livelihood; but that, if it is to be adopted as a profession, its teaching must be combined with a good general education and thorough physical training.

For those of the blind who seek the higher training and culture of the Universities, Worcester College (lately removed to Powyke) has hitherto been the sole place of preparatory education. It is a small college, with no public endowment, but it has done good work during the last twenty years as the only college for the higher education of the blind, and has turned out many qualified scholars. The Commissioners consider that it should be attached to one of the Universities, or be located in the neighbourhood of London.

One of the greatest benefits to the blind during the last few years has been the establishment of the Gardner Trust in 1882, through the munificence of the late Mr. Gardner—an act exceeding in the amount of its generosity even the splendid gift of Sir Edward Guinness a few weeks ago. The interest of this large sum (over 300,000*l.*) has been devoted towards instructing the blind in music, trades, and handicrafts, and in awarding pensions and donations. But the greatest benefit to the blind would ensue from the adoption of the *Fürsorge* system, which is seen in its most complete and highly organized form in the kingdom of Saxony. From long experience the authorities of the Institution for the Blind at Dresden saw, that the care and supervision of the blind after their discharge were quite as important as their education and training in the institution. Under the old arrangements a blind man left at twenty years of age, or thereabouts, as simple as a child, with all the difficulties of life before him. Consequently it was arranged that on his discharge the director should select a trustworthy person residing in his future place of abode, to give him advice and practical help, to protect him from imposition, and to keep up communication with the director. The guardians are respectable, benevolent, practical men, capable of procuring custom for their wards. But even with this the discharged blind were unable to support themselves without the assistance of capital, whether in money or outfit, so a fund for their assistance was gradually established. At the outset, in 1844,
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it was only 150 marks; but by contributions from municipal, district, and parochial communities, by donations and legacies, and by the wages of the pupils in the institutions, it amounted to over a million marks, or about 50,000*l.*, at the close of 1886. The interest of this sum (a large one for Saxony) is devoted towards making grants, in money or in kind, proportionate to the necessities of each case, into which the director makes careful personal inquiry. The State does not directly support the *Fürsorge* system, but it pays the director's travelling expenses on his visits; and, as the State guarantees the expenses of education of the blind, it has a right to the proceeds of the pupils' work. This, however, it foregoes, but gives one-fifth to the blind workpeople and four-fifths to the fund, the manager of which it also pays.

This system has proved an incalculable boon to the blind of Saxony, and attempts have been made to introduce it into other German provinces as well as some foreign countries. The Royal Commissioners consider it to be of the utmost importance to the blind of the United Kingdom, and they recommend its adoption as soon as the funds can be raised to carry it out, the four main objects being:—

(1.) That a register should be kept of all pupils leaving the institution.

(2.) That they should be assisted in carrying on a trade, should they wish to set up for themselves, and in the first instance be provided with tools and materials gratis, and subsequently at cost price.

(3.) That the institutions should endeavour to provide funds to supplement the workman's earnings, grant loans, or afford him assistance in case of illness.

(4.) An endeavour should be made to interest some influential local agency, with which the institution should correspond on behalf of the blind.

We think the general public will appreciate the importance of these recommendations, and there can be no doubt of their excellence and desirableness. The only drawback that we foresee is that it must take some years before sufficient funds can be collected to enable the system to work thoroughly. At the same time much good can be done with even a moderate fund; and those who believe in the efficacy and vitality of a voluntary system will note with satisfaction the fact that, instead of private benevolence having been discouraged by the institution of the Saxon *Fürsorge*, the voluntary donations have increased in proportion as the effectiveness of the system has become known throughout Saxony. This, indeed, coincides with the opinion
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of the Commissioners themselves, who state that 'experience shows that private benevolence is often stimulated rather than discouraged by State aid when judiciously given.'

The next important point, on which the recommendations of the Commissioners are likely to continue to excite discussion, is connected with the subject of pension funds for the blind, which have been established on a liberal scale in England and Wales. It is generally conceded that for the aged and infirm poor of this class there is little to be done except to grant them special relaxations of the Poor Law regulations, in cases where they drift to the workhouse; to establish cottage homes or asylums for those of a rather higher condition of life; or allot pensions to such as prefer to live with their friends. The pension funds are mostly centred in London, and amount altogether to about 32,000*l.* per annum, the pensions themselves varying in amount from 2*l.* to 20*l.* per annum. It is surprising to what an extent these pensions are monopolized by the blind in and about the metropolis. Out of 4,517 pensioners, 4,379 reside in England, but only 10 in Scotland, and 5 in Ireland! while no fewer than 2899 live in the home counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, and Kent. Again, some of the more fortunate or influential among the blind succeed in securing two or three, or even more, pensions apiece, through the absence of any systematic intercommunication between the various societies. This the Commissioners hope to see rectified by the adoption of a united register of all pensioners—a reform which, though dependent on the voluntary action of a number of independent bodies, might well be put into practice without delay.

The blind having lower vitality than the seeing, require everything to assist their physical development—bathing, influence of sunlight and air, and gymnastic exercises. A good gymnasium is a necessary adjunct to an institution, and the authorities of the more important schools have shown themselves alive to the importance of special provision of this character within the last few years. In this we may expect much good will ensue from the influence and advice of Government inspectors.

Under any system of State aid there must necessarily be State inspection. The resolutions arrived at by the authorities of the institutions, who took part in the recent Conference, contemplate that inspection should be confined to those schools which of their own free will apply for Government aid. We, for our part, should have preferred to see inspection general; but there is little doubt that, if the Government sanction a special grant for the education of the blind, the bait will be

too tempting to resist, and that the inspection will eventually become general. A uniform standard of progress cannot be well attained without the advice of a thoroughly qualified inspector, and the further stimulus of a grant in aid. It is only necessary to look at the enormous improvement in the elementary education of the seeing to be convinced of the salutary effects which will result in so technical a field as the education of the blind.

The general recommendations of the Royal Commissioners are based on the deliberate opinion, that the blind should as far as possible be treated like seeing people, and that the object of their education and physical training should be as far as practicable to make up for their physical defects. The permissive power at present vested in the guardians, to send a child to be maintained and educated in a special institution, is recommended to be transferred to the School authority—the latter being under an obligation to educate the child in some way. It has, indeed, been urged by some authorities since the publication of the Commissioners' Report, that, if the School authorities are at liberty to choose their own means of education, they will infallibly prefer the cheaper alternative of day classes, and that this will be fatal to the existing institutions. But, on a closer scrutiny of the Report, it appears to us that this inference cannot fairly be drawn. It was not intended, we imagine, that a day class should be established with all its *entourage* of expensive class-rooms, appliances, and special teachers, in a town where a satisfactory educational institution already exists. Should, however, there be any doubt on the subject, it might be well to insert a stipulation in the Government Bill, that a certified institution, under Government inspection, should be accepted as affording reasonable means of instruction for that locality, and as absolving the school authority from the necessity of making to that extent special provision. This should be a general enactment, applying equally to the case of the blind and the deaf.

In any case it is contemplated that the blind pupils should, after their elementary training, proceed to a special institution to be taught piano-tuning, basket, mattress, brush, or rope-making, or any of the other means of livelihood open to them. The Government grant recommended is at least half the cost of instruction (about 3*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*)—a moderate sum, which the Government will probably be pressed to raise to 5*l.* We trust that there will be no hitch in this part of the arrangements; but it appears to us that, unless there is complete harmony and joint working between the authorities of elementary schools and those

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of the institutions, there may be difficulties or delays in commencing the necessary technical instruction at the proper age. So far as London is concerned, the Royal Commissioners seem to favour the idea of a large central metropolitan industrial school in the place of some of the existing institutions; but here again arrangements ought to be made to enable the pupils who are approaching the end of their scholastic course to be taught the rudiments of a trade, and, on the conclusion of the former, to be transferred to the technical department without delay. Otherwise, there may ensue a block such as took place at Glasgow, where recently over fifty pupils were waiting to be taken into the Blind Asylum.

Many of the educational and industrial institutions for the blind are endowed, and the invested sums appear to amount in all to over half a million sterling. The Commissioners for the Blind appear to have been struck with the anomaly of allowing the Charity Commission to frame schemes for endowed schools for the seeing, while those for the sightless were practically excluded from their purview. The reason is probably to be found in the fact, that the Charity Commissioners, who had no special knowledge, felt a hesitation in approaching so technical a subject. If the recommendations of the Commission be carried into effect in regard to the extension of the benefits of the Education Acts to the blind, it is clear that private funds now devoted to educational purposes will be liberated, and available for other objects. The Royal Commissioners consider that in such a case it would be right for the committees to enlarge the workshops, and imitate the Saxon system, and that with that object the Charity Commissioners, strengthened by two unpaid advisers or assessors, should be empowered to frame suitable schemes. There can be no doubt that the schemes for endowed schools generally have been largely beneficial, and resulted in a great extension of education; but governing bodies are often shy of inviting a Government Department to put their house in order, and on the whole they will probably prefer to frame their own schemes, if they are allowed to do so. The Commissioners, however, have ingeniously clinched these recommendations as to the supervision of old pupils (which they evidently look upon as vital) by stipulating that the inspector shall insist upon this organization being started as a condition of the Government grant. There are also recommendations, that when the industrious and well-conducted blind are unable to work, and have to fall back on the assistance of the Poor Law, the workhouse test shall not be applied, and that the

allowance shall be liberal, as well as no disqualification for civil rights. This seems only just, and it is proceeding on the lines of the Medical Disqualification Removal Act of 1885, which was passed in the same broad and generous spirit.

The deaf and dumb labour under the initial disadvantage of exciting less general sympathy than the blind, though, as a matter of fact, their education is a far more laborious affair. In the United Kingdom one person in every 1794 is deaf and dumb, according to the Census returns; but the true numbers are probably larger than these; for parents are very unwilling, especially in the case of the younger children, to return them as deaf. Deafness is often acquired—scarlet fever and meningitis being the most prevalent causes. But the number of those who are congenitally deaf, or deaf from birth, is far larger than those who suffer from acquired deafness. The Royal Commissioners have apparently been unable to arrive at an estimate of the true proportions of the two classes. Perhaps the numbers are not readily ascertainable in our country, though in the United States it is estimated that the percentage of the congenitally deaf is 54 per cent. of the whole number. In all probability the proportions are not far different in the United Kingdom; and if the figures are anything like the American, the question naturally forces itself on our notice, What is the main cause of this prodigious affliction? The opinion of the Commission is that it *may* proceed from (1) the marriage of toto-congenital deaf mutes, and (2) consanguineous marriages. On the former point most authorities agree. Professor E. A. Fay, the editor of the 'American Annals of the Deaf,' says, that persons having deaf mute relatives (whether they themselves are deaf mutes or hearing) and intermarrying are likely to have deaf children, as are also those who have been deaf from birth, or from early infancy, and have intermarried. Professor Fay's view, it is true, is in apparent conflict with that of two of the Commissioners, who sign a reservation and declare, that except in the case of hereditary tendency (a most important exception, by the bye), they know of very few instances where deaf and dumb parents have deaf and dumb offspring. The latter reservation is, however, not really at variance with Professor Fay's dictum, while the Professor's opinion is further supported by Mr. Graham Bell's more exhaustive investigations, which tend to prove that, with both parents congenitally deaf mutes, about one-third of the offspring are born deaf. The Commissioners do indeed go so far as to assert that in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, where the oral system prevails, it is found that the deaf

deaf do not intermarry as they do in England and the United States. But we are bound to say that we can find no precise authority for this declaration.

The second cause adduced by the Commissioners is the intermarriage of blood relatives, such as first cousins; but on this point their investigations do not appear to have been pursued quite so exhaustively as in other matters. In the first place, the evidence culled from a Parliamentary paper that deafness in Italy is most prevalent in Piedmont, Lombardy, and Sicily, and that consanguineous marriages are most frequent there, is not quite to the point, as a reference to the Appendix to the Report will show. The original work on which the Parliamentary paper is based is translated (in part) in the Appendix to the Commissioners' Report, and it expressly states, what the Parliamentary paper does not, that further researches have not tended to establish the connexion between the two. Also, there is no satisfactory evidence adduced that consanguineous marriages *per se*, unaccompanied by hereditary predisposition to deafness, will result in deaf offspring.

In the United Kingdom it has been chiefly left to private benevolence to found institutions for the education and maintenance of the deaf, though of late years some of the principal School Boards have done good service by establishing day classes for the instruction of such pupils as could be got together within the area of the Board's jurisdiction. The total number of pupils under instruction in 1851 was only 1300, but in 1888 it had risen to 3138; while in many of the institutions there had been a corresponding improvement in the buildings, school-rooms, and teachers, and a greater general interest in the class. The London School Board have at the present time no fewer than 351 deaf children on the roll, while the principal institution at Margate has about 300 pupils. Notwithstanding this, large numbers of deaf children are known to be growing up without education. There are believed to be 200 such in the metropolis alone, and 62 in the Northern counties which supply pupils to the institution at Newcastle-on-Tyne. It appears to us that it would be an excellent thing for the Committee of Council on Education to issue a circular letter of inquiry to all school authorities throughout the kingdom, desiring them to ascertain, so far as possible, the number of blind and deaf children of school age at present uneducated within their sphere of action. It might not be a complete list by any means, but it would supply a more precise basis, and perhaps a stronger stimulus to action than the necessarily imperfect estimate of the Royal Commission.

Before

Before a deaf child can be educated he has probably received some preliminary instruction, rough though it may be. Some of the witnesses have urged that parents should be encouraged to teach their children a little writing and a few simple words before coming to school. This plan appears to be approved by the Commissioners; but the 'Instructions to Parents,' cited by them as good examples of what might be done in this direction, would not be universally acceptable, inasmuch as they both advocate a free use of signs and the manual alphabet. An oral teacher would infinitely prefer that a child should come wholly uneducated, than that he should have been already taught the 'fatal facility' of manual spelling. We cannot help thinking that herein there is a weak point in the recommendations of the Commissioners. Children differ greatly in intelligence; and though seven may be an excellent age for entry, *as a rule*, there may be some children of brighter intellect whose detention at home till the age of seven would be inadvisable. In such cases we think that some relaxation might well be given to the rule respecting limit of age of admission.

The question of day schools *versus* institutions for the deaf, seems to have excited much discussion among the friends of both systems. Residential schools have been tried far longer of the two in this country, and considering the scanty encouragement which they have received from Government, they have undoubtedly done excellent work. There is, however, a large number of additional pupils to be taken over if education be made compulsory; the question arises, How can provision be best made for all these fresh cases?

It would be clearly undesirable and unfair to discourage the future support of the residential institutions. Many of these are presided over by learned, experienced, and devoted teachers, who have turned out many hundreds of successful pupils. But, if there be a sudden influx of fresh pupils next year, it will probably be easier to accommodate the bulk of them in day classes, than in boarding schools, even if boarding out have to be resorted to in the case of those whose parents may reside at a distance. For our part we have not the least fear that satisfactory provision will not be forthcoming in one class of educational establishments or the other. The only thing necessary is to ensure that the residential institutions already in existence shall, if approved by H.M. Inspector, be certified as adequate means of instruction for a certain area, so that no unnecessary expense may be incurred in the erection of fresh schools.

Deaf people appear to excel in the imitative arts and drawing; wood and stone carving, painting, engraving, and the like, are favourite

favourite occupations with them. It is very desirable therefore that drawing should be well taught, and generally taught; the Commissioners recommend that it should be compulsory for boys and girls alike. Several schools have had their pupils examined by the Science and Art Department; and though the percentage of prizes, or 'excellent,' is less than among ordinary elementary schools, the percentage of 'success,' or average proficiency, is higher. At twelve or thirteen years of age the industrial training should commence, and on leaving school the lads should be apprenticed. Girls usually find employment as laundry-maids, dressmakers, &c. But there ought to be more encouragement shown to the deaf, both in the outer world and while they are undergoing instruction. Some of the Trades Unions appear to regard them with jealousy, and the Commissioners think that fuller facilities should be given to the deaf to share in technical education for the hearing, whether that be given by voluntary liberality, as at Bradford and other places, or under recent legislation.

We now come to the crucial question, How are we to educate the deaf? We cannot but commend the fairness with which the Commissioners have dealt with this prickly question. The following extract is essential to a ready comprehension of the different systems:—

'The three systems—Sign and Manual, Oral, and Combined—while having in common the desire to enable the deaf to earn their own livelihood, work to this end in different ways. The first specially trains the deaf to communicate and associate with their fellow deaf; the pure oral system specially trains the deaf to communicate and associate with the hearing and speaking world; the combined system, as its name implies, tries to combine the two former, the result being that, with few exceptions, signs and the manual alphabet prevail and cause the pupils to relinquish the use of speech and to seek the society of deaf and dumb people.

'... Starting upon the assumption that a written language is common to all, one party says, "We think that the sign language is the natural way in which the deaf and dumb express themselves;" the second: "We aim at making the deaf and dumb conversant with our own language, and able to express themselves in spoken language;" the third: "Why should you not give the deaf and dumb the advantage of both systems?" All these have a common object in view, *i.e.* to acquire language—the first by the manual alphabet in addition to signs; the second by speech alone; and the third by a combination of all three.'

The Sign and Manual system in its simplest form appears to have nearly died out in the United Kingdom, for almost every school

school has given in, more or less, to the growing popular demand for articulation to be taught. At Cabra, near Dublin, however, there are two of the older-fashioned institutions, and here the Commissioners witnessed a recitation of a poem conveyed wholly by means of signs. As a test of dramatic capacity such a representation may no doubt be interesting, but it is obvious that a person, ignorant of the subject and of the peculiar conventional signs which obtain at various schools, would be perfectly bewildered by such a pantomime. Signs are most misleading where accuracy of thought and expression are desired, and it is a remarkable thing that there is not even a uniform code of signs among the principal institutions. The Commissioners observe, too, that the use of signs creates a tendency among the deaf for them to live apart as a class rather than mix with the world, and that this leads to intermarriage of the deaf, the baneful effects of which have been already commented on.

The Oral method or system consists in teaching the pupils speech and lip-reading by imitation of the movements of the mouth and of the other vocal organs, but causing the full energy and power of the pupil to be devoted to the acquirement of the two essential points, viz. articulation and lip-reading; in fact it is not only 'teaching speech,' but 'teaching *by* speech.' Those who practise it over almost every Continental country, and the comparatively few who practise it in this country, are unanimous in the opinion that the success of the system depends entirely on the shutting out from their pupils all other communications except writing and reading, and, in the earliest stages, the natural signs. These, however, are discontinued at the earliest possible stage.

The success of this system, of course, depends on its being taught to children as early as possible, before the vocal organs have lost their power from disuse, and while they are still supple enough to produce articulation free from that harshness which usually attends their later development. The respiratory organs are used naturally, and the health of the children is improved, as many of the deaf and dumb are liable to lung disease.

One great argument alleged against the oral method is, that those who desire to share in religious instruction and lectures have recourse to the sign and manual system. This is doubtless due to the fact, that the oral system has not been taught long enough and successfully enough in England, to induce the public to contribute the same facilities that they have in the case of the deaf trained on the alternative method. The admirable Royal Association in aid of the Deaf and Dumb in
Oxford

Oxford Street, and the kindred societies and missions throughout the United Kingdom, some thirty or so in number, the general purposes of which consist in visiting, imparting religious and secular instruction, assistance in obtaining work and general relief, are conducted on the sign and manual system, on which the greatest majority of their members have been brought up. Hence it cannot fairly be alleged as yet, that those taught on the oral system lapse into signs in later life, until a fair number of the deaf have been well and thoroughly taught articulation and lip-reading, so as to test their matured capacities. One of the greatest impulses given to the study and diffusion of the system was by the Congress of Milan, where resolutions in favour of the pure oral method were passed.

The higher cost of this system has partly helped to retard its adoption in this country, as it involves the necessity of a larger number of teachers, fully one-third more than the manual system. It takes more time and is slower at first to teach, but after a certain amount of lip-reading and language has been gained, the progress is more rapid and grammatical language and expression are used with greater precision. The Germans are so convinced of this, that Heinicke's saying, *Klares Denken ist nur in der Lautsprache möglich*, has passed almost into a truism. Moreover, though but few deaf and dumb are able to speak pleasantly and quite intelligibly, yet the knowledge of a little speech enables them to communicate on more equal terms with the rest of the world than by the language of signs or finger alphabet.

The Commissioners are quite of opinion that in this country there is a prejudice against the pure oral system. This, we must confess, seems to be the case. One of the lads educated at Doncaster was induced by his adult friends to discontinue reading the lips, and attempting to speak, on the ground that 'it was bad to talk.' There appears also to be a decided prejudice against speech for the deaf on part of many of the lay missionaries. But in the case of Mr. A. Welsh, the Oldham missionary, a closer inspection of what could be done on that system led to his completely changing his opinion. Mr. Welsh, after inspecting one of the metropolitan institutions, stated :—

'My opinions, which were formerly against the introduction of the oral method, have been considerably modified, and I am now convinced that under certain conditions the oral method of teaching the deaf and dumb is possible of success. I am also inclined to believe that, had other opponents of the oral system had the same opportunity as myself of seeing the good results achieved by a master

of

of the system, they would also, I think, have altered their opinion in regard to it.'

The Combined system is difficult to define precisely, as the term is applied to such a variety of different distinct methods. In the majority of cases in this country it means that the instruction is generally carried on by the sign and manual method, with a little oral teaching taught as an accomplishment. The effect is that the easier system, to use the expressive words of a witness, 'crowds out' the more difficult system. As there are a large number of schools which call themselves combined in this country, but where the teaching in articulation and lip-reading is mixed up, more or less, with finger spelling and signs,—two modes of instruction, which, to use the words of the present Lord Mayor of London, have as much agreement as an acid and an alkali,—it is easy to realize why the oral method has not made more progress than it has in the United Kingdom.

The Royal Commissioners plainly indicate their belief that the oral system will ultimately prevail, though, in deference perhaps to some contrary opinions within their own circle, they refrain from prophesying outright. But the system has made great spread within the last few years, and at present the numbers are as follows :—

| | |
|---|------|
| Number taught on the manual and sign and manual systems | 1026 |
| Number taught on the combined system | 545 |
| Number taught on the oral and pure oral systems .. | 1563 |
| Special cases | 4 |
| Total | 3138 |

Thus the number of those taught on the oral and pure oral systems is as near as possible equal to those taught on all other systems put together. But if the oral system is to make proper progress, it is necessary that the teaching should be improved. Herein is the grand crux of the whole question. There can be no doubt of the truth of the Royal Commissioners' contention that the absence of State aid has prevented the existing schools from giving such payments as will induce good male teachers to present themselves for training, while the average female teacher for the deaf is below the calibre of a good teacher for the hearing. The teaching to speak cannot be successful without a thorough knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the vocal organs, the functions of the tongue in speech, of the lips and nose, all of which can best be acquired in a training college under

under Government supervision. The special training for the teaching of the deaf should be at least two years. In connexion with this, it is worth observing that in Germany, where the oral system is found in great purity and excellence, those wishing to become teachers of the deaf are compelled to go through a similar two years' special training, in addition to an ordinary training of three to five years as teachers of the hearing. Consequently it is not surprising to find that at Schleswig the commencing salaries of teachers of the deaf are the highest to which teachers of ordinary hearing children can rise. Another important point insisted on in the Report is that all oral teaching should be by speech.

Much valuable information was evidently derived from the Continental tours of inspection made by the Commissioners. In respect of the blind the most important lesson learned was the Saxon plan of supervision, on which we have already commented; while, in regard to the instruction of the deaf, the oral method as practised in the German and Italian institutions was known to be far in advance of anything in the United Kingdom. The education given in the two countries, though based on the same method, differs widely in its character. In Germany the teachers are male (the work is said to be too exhausting for females), they are well paid, and the education is as good as in the best English elementary schools. The charge to the parents of the pupils varies considerably; in one private school (Frankfurt-am-Main) it ranges from 10*l.* to 100*l.* per annum. At Brühl, a village in the Rhine Province, near Cologne, the total charge, including boarding out of the children with families in the neighbourhood, does not exceed 22*l.* per annum; at Schleswig it is a little higher, *i.e.* 24*l.* 15*s.* These may mostly be taken as average instances. The excellence of the teaching in Germany may be gauged from the fact, that in ten years only three pupils out of the hundreds trained at the Schleswig institutions have failed to articulate sufficiently well to make themselves understood, but even these could lip read, and in addition could of course communicate their wishes in writing.

The question of distance from school is overcome in Berlin by the tram or railway fare of poor children being defrayed by the municipality. The Royal Commissioners were evidently struck by this convenient plan, and they recommend its adoption in England, but we fear that it is hardly likely to commend itself to the Legislature. For years efforts have been made at different times by school boards and others to obtain sanction for the payment of a penny fare or bridge

bridge toll between a child's home and the school ; but the precedent has been held to be too dangerous to establish, and the payment of the cost of conveyance in the case of the deaf would undoubtedly open the door to a still wider expenditure of public money. Another notable characteristic in the German system of education consists in the training of teachers. It is recognized, that a good teacher of the deaf must combine all the qualities necessary for a good teacher of the hearing, in addition to a thorough experience and knowledge of the external technical work of instructing deaf persons. Consequently the special training requisite for the latter has to be undergone in Germany, after the ordinary period of a teacher's training has been passed, the one being superimposed on the other. This is the ideal system of training which the Commissioners would like to see adopted in our country, and it will certainly prove a most powerful lever in the improvement of the calibre of existing instructors of the deaf.

In Italy one of the most characteristic points ascertained appears to have been the universality of the oral method. The general character of the teaching in that country is adapted for a people, whose tastes and occupations are mainly agricultural or industrial, and whose education need not rise to a very high standard ; notwithstanding the low class from which many of the rural children are recruited, there appeared to the Commissioners to be none who were really unsuitable for oral teaching. This is an encouraging fact for those who are of opinion that the difficulty of teaching articulation to every deaf child has been a good deal exaggerated.

The Commissioners do not, however, recommend such a sudden change of system as was carried out in France after, and in consequence of the Milan Congress. England is adverse to sudden changes of any sort ; the national temperament favours gradual development, and, though the majority of us may be convinced of the advantages of the oral method, the general feeling of the public will be better satisfied if the systems are allowed to proceed *pari passu*, in different institutions, the survival of the fittest being secured by its own innate superiority, and not by adventitious State support. The Commissioners think, that all deaf mutes, who are not physically or mentally unsuited for it, should be taught to speak and lip-read on the pure oral system, and that *all* children, without exception, should be taught for one year at least on the oral system. When the children are physically or mentally disqualified for this mode of instruction, they are to be removed and taught elsewhere, with the consent of their parents.

But,

But, though these reforms will undoubtedly do much good, no radical improvement can be effected in the general education and condition of the deaf, unless the future training of the teachers is put under the same rigorous State supervision and the same conditions of assistance as the training of ordinary teachers is at present. This matter of State aid lies at the root of the whole question; other countries, though they do not wholly defray the cost of education, contribute more or less liberally, leaving the cost to be supplemented by private benevolence. State recognition would undoubtedly raise the status of the work; and though there may be an additional expenditure of some 40,000*l.* or so per annum thrown on the Imperial Exchequer by the adoption of the recommendations of the Royal Commission in respect of the blind and the deaf, the indirect benefits will be enormous and will be felt more from year to year. With the exception of those who are feeble or bedridden, there seems to us no good reason why a single deaf or blind person should be allowed to drone away a helpless, inanimate, and purposeless existence in the workhouse. There are at least 2000 such adults in the workhouses of England and Wales, and their annual maintenance cannot cost much less than 50,000*l.* per annum. These people, under a better system of education and industrial training, might have been made useful and productive members of the community; and, though doubtless incapable, in many cases, of earning enough to support themselves, would have required but a trifling addition to their earnings. Consider the number of absolutely uneducated deaf persons in union workhouses who have drifted thither, simply because the State has neglected its duty of insisting that they shall be educated. One witness before the Commissioners speaks of five adult able-bodied but untaught deaf mutes in Chesterfield Union alone, who had cost the rates some 1500*l.* Another witness refers to the case of a blind man who, after being allowed to remain nineteen years in the workhouse, doing nothing at all, was at length taught some trade, and then set to work with such energy that his weekly wages in 1885 averaged 22*s.* 3*d.* A perusal of the Commissioners' Report and appendix shows that these are not exceptional instances; in fact, it may be confidently said, that as the blind and the deaf are, generally speaking, a moral section of the community—for their very infirmities debar them from the temptations of drunkenness, theft, &c.—it is a cruel injustice to allow them to enter a workhouse at all, where many of the inmates are, so to speak, on the borderland of crime. If the Commissioners can secure the co-operation of the Local Government Board in this most important matter,

matter, they will be doing incalculable service to their *protégés* and to the community at large.

The recent Conferences in Manchester and London have formulated resolutions, of which we subjoin the most important, as a minimum of what the Government may fairly be expected to concede:—

DEAF AND DUMB.

'Resolution No. 1.—That the provisions of the Education Acts be extended to the deaf and dumb, and power be obtained to enforce the compulsory attendance of children at an institution or day school up to the age of 16.

'Resolution No. 2.—That Recommendations of the Royal Commission Nos. 2-3 be approved: No. 2. That where the number under any school authority is too small to form a class, or where the child is unable to attend an elementary school, the school authority should have the power and be required either to send a child to an institution, or to board out such child under proper inspection, and to contribute to his education and maintenance such annual grants as would be equivalent to the contribution now allowed to be paid by Boards of Guardians; and if there should be neither institution nor school available or willing to receive such child, the school authority should have the power, either by itself or in combination with other school authorities, to establish a school or institution for the purpose, and to educate such children under proper inspection. No. 3. That, independently of the position of the parent, a capitation grant, not less than half the cost of the education of such child with a maximum grant of £10, should be given for all in the same way as in ordinary elementary schools, and that the fees payable by necessitous parents should not exceed those payable in the case of ordinary children, but that in all cases parents should contribute according to their ability.

'Resolution No. 3.—That Recommendation of the Royal Commission No. 4 be approved: That the age of entry should, as far as possible, be seven; that pupils should, as a rule, be admitted only once a year; that the school attendance should be compulsorily enforced for at least eight years without any existing limit of distance from school, and that power should be given to the local authority to pay the rail or tram fare of children when necessary.

'Resolution No. 4.—That Recommendation of the Royal Commission No. 7 be approved: That technical instruction in industrial handicrafts should be under the Education Department as part of the curriculum in schools for the deaf and dumb after the age of 12 or 13, and that this training be continued to 16. After 16 it may be left to institutions to apprentice their pupils or to send them to the technical or industrial schools provided for ordinary children.

'Resolution No. 5.—That this Conference regards the establishment of a training college for teachers of the deaf and dumb as of paramount importance, and approves the paragraphs Nos. 19 and 20 of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission in that behalf.'

BLIND.

BLIND.

'1. That the time has now arrived when the education of the blind should be put on at least an equal footing with that of the seeing, and that the provisions of the Education Acts and Codes be therefore extended to them, with such modifications and further assistance as the conditions require, in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on this point, and that consequently those schools and institutions which are willing to accept State inspection should be granted State aid.

'2. That in the case of the blind, whether children or adults, it is also desirable that special technical and industrial training should be added, aided by the Education Department, in addition to other subjects.

'3. In reference to the respectable old and infirm blind, the Conference thoroughly endorses the recommendation of the Royal Commission, and also adopts the suggestion contained in paragraph 263 of their Report, viz. : "We think that when the industrious and well-conducted blind are unable to work and have to fall back on the assistance of the Poor Law, the workhouse test should not be applied, and we recommend that there should be a liberal outdoor relief (which should not subject them to any legal disqualification) given to those who have friends to live with, and that the blind be not forced to go into the workhouse; and in the case of those who are admitted to the house, the workhouse selected for the purpose should be in a town where an institution or association for the blind already exists; the blind inmates, moreover, ought to be treated in a more generous way than the ordinary paupers; and power should be given to the Guardians in London or elsewhere to set apart a separate ward or home for the reception of the aged pauper blind, or to combine with other Boards in providing a separate home for them. In the case of women, it might be expedient to place them in a cottage home.'"

The frank and sympathetic answer of the Lord President of the Council, before whom these resolutions were laid, has made it clear that the drafting of a Bill on the general lines of these resolutions will at once proceed; and this decision is one that speaks much for the painstaking, judicious, and excellent manner in which the Royal Commissioners have prepared and smoothened the path for legislation, while it redounds with equal credit to the honour of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education. Lord Granville, whose keen interest in the subject is well known, has predicted an easy passage for the Bill; and the promptitude shown by all parties in uniting to secure the crowning result, will certainly commend itself strongly to the judgment of the general public.

ART.

- ART. IV.—1. *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoriski, and his Correspondence with Alexander I.* Edited by Adam Giegud. 2 vols. 1888.
2. *Histoire d'une Grande Dame au 18^{ème} Siècle.* Par Lucien Perey. 1888.
3. *Life and Times of Alexander I., Emperor of all the Russias.* By C. Joyneville. 3 vols. 1875.

THOSE who trace the somewhat twilight history of Poland can have no difficulty in discovering the causes which have made its name 'a mere geographical expression.' This humiliating term, coined by Prince Metternich for the Italy of our early time, was never more short-sightedly applied than to that country. Italy was the evolution of mixed races, of tremendous movements, and of seething and explosive elements, all destined, intellectually, to settle down, like good wine upon the lees, in the form of the finest art and letters that Western Europe has known. At the same time, from her very origin and structure, she was for centuries the sport of turbulent passions and fierce contentions, from which no proficiency in art and poetry can redeem nation or individual. For centuries Italy halted; even went back; but it was *pour mieux sauter*. Never was she a mere geographical expression. England has welcomed refugees from both races. She has seen the Italians at last obtain that which they had never before known—the strength that comes only of union. It is safe to predict that we shall never see such a consummation in the case of the Poles. Setting aside art and letters, in which Poland has left no mark worthy of note, no two nations have differed more diametrically in that power which most conduces to raise and uphold a nation. The Italians, as their present history has proved, are born politicians and statesmen, ready, at the proper time, in spite of adverse prophecy, to combine and act. The Poles, on the contrary, have shown a remarkable absence of political sagacity. From the beginning of their annals the Polish constitution has presented what has been rightly called 'a political imbecility,' on which no safe superstructure could be erected; and when at last the upper classes had advanced far enough to recognize the necessity of reform, even of the most rudimentary kind, time and opportunity had irretrievably passed away.

'The Polish question,' as it has been called, has been considered during its troubled history from three points of view: by the English statesmen of 1815 and of 1830, from the point of view of the interests of Europe; by many fair and liberal

liberal thinkers, from that of the wrongs of the country, as represented by its several partitions; by a large portion of the public, from a false and sentimental side, as that of a noble and patriotic people subjected to the tyranny of stronger races and struggling for freedom. By none, till lately, it may be said, from the point of view of its own merits. As these, with time, have become better known, the conviction that the Poles—or that portion of them who arrogated to themselves to represent the country—have suffered from the results of their own folly, disunion, and misrule, has gradually obtained. No just mind will attempt to palliate Poland's central and indisputable wrong—the three partitions of the country, though they are not without excuse and vindication; but there are higher laws which preside over the destinies of countries as well as of individuals, which may be summed up in the fiat, 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;' and it is to these laws that Poland has succumbed.

It is difficult now to realize the sympathy with which the supposed wrongs of the Poles were regarded in 1830 by a large portion of the English public. Some among us can still remember the meetings held in London and elsewhere on their behalf—generally conducted by some Whig leader of distinction. We recall one presided over by Sir Francis Burdett, with a Polish 'nobleman,' in a shabby, braided coat, supposed to be the national costume, standing by, who endeavoured to move the feelings of the audience—curiously ignorant, as they evidently were, of the very unsentimental facts of Polish history—by broken and plaintive accents, in which the words oftenest heard were 'Liberty' and 'Country.' Who then present supposed that, in the respective Polish and English vocabularies, these two talismanic words bore such very different meanings; or had the slightest suspicion that the 'nobleman' before them had been both *de jure* and *de facto*, till within a few years, a slave-holder on the largest scale and on the most merciless conditions, and was so *de facto* still: the absolute owner, not of negroes nor of any foreign or inferior race, but of millions of his own countrymen? These millions, breathing the same air and speaking the same tongue as himself, held in bondage for centuries, without rights or representation, were not so much as included by the 'patriot' in the idea of his 'country.' Knowing that there is nothing in the world so vitiating as to command slaves, it is easy to deduce from these unpleasant facts what were the moral standard and family life of these Polish patriots. We do not say that the individuals who at that time enlisted the kindness and ignorance of Lord Dudley

Stuart were responsible for the ideas and customs in which they were born and bred. They were clamouring for liberties and expatiating on wrongs, to which we unavoidably attached meanings utterly different from their own.

We shall be reminded by some apologists that the Polish slave—for such he is always called in all works on the subject—could not, like the Russian serf, be sold singly. But this was a distinction without a difference. He could be sold wholesale, though not in retail, and, under whatever category, he could be treated like a dog; the common appellation for him in the language of the upper classes (*Chlop*) being one equivalent to ‘the dirt of the earth.’ And he could be murdered with impunity and without inquiry, if his own master were the murderer; and only with a slight fine paid to his master, if he were killed by another man. In Poland also towns and institutions could buy and sell slaves, which was never the case in Russia. Throughout the history of Poland the voice of the slave is mute; and only once, as far as we are told, has it been heard even by proxy, and that in the person of a priest called ‘Skarga,’ who lived at the beginning of the 17th century, and thus denounced the oppressors: ‘And the sweat and the blood of our peasants, which flow incessantly, and moisten and redden the earth, what a terrible future they are preparing for the country! I know of no country in Christendom where the peasants are so badly treated. And you cry out against absolute power which no one is able to impose on you. Hypocrites and declaimers! You have destroyed my vine, saith the Lord. Why crush ye thus my people, crushing it as the millstone crusheth the corn? By what right do you obstinately refuse to change this infamous law? These peasants are your neighbours. They are Poles like you—they speak the same language, and are children of the same country.’*

And, again, King Stanislaus Leczinski, father of Louis XV.’s Queen, in exile, says: ‘We hardly distinguish the peasant from the cattle which plough our ground—not even sparing his strength so much as theirs; while often by a scandalous traffic we sell them to cruel masters, who force them by excessive labour to pay the price that has been paid for themselves. I cannot think without horror of the law which imposes a fine of fifteen livres only on a noble who kills a peasant. We do not regard our slaves as fellow-creatures, and almost grudge them the same air with ourselves.’†

* ‘The Russian Government in Poland,’ by W. Ausdell Day, p. 35.

† Lelewel, vol. ii. p. 294.

In 1807 the fourth article of the statute constituting the Duchy of Warsaw—the creation of Napoleon—was thus promulgated: ‘Slavery is abolished. All citizens are equal before the law. Security of the person is placed under the care of the tribunals.’ But these words were a dead letter. While the land was vested as absolutely in the proprietor as the peasant himself had been, the fact of the peasant’s personal freedom did not alleviate his condition, but in most cases aggravated it. The Polish noble was as proficient as his Russian brother in evading the spirit of a law and in profiting by the letter of it. Though delivered from the burden of the *corvée*, the peasant still remained subject to his master’s exactions in task-work, and to his tyranny in punishment; with the addition of being liable, in virtue of his supposed enfranchisement, to be turned out of the land his fathers had cultivated for generations, with the forfeiture of hut, cattle, crops, and implements, and that without indemnity. As long as the administration of the law remained in the unscrupulous hands of the noblesse, or in those of his ‘intendant’—and more than half the land was under the control of these people—its evasion or infraction continued unchecked. For example, the law, in cases of punishment, limited the number of blows to twenty at a time; this was eluded by their infliction several times a day, against which the law made no provision. The statute of 1807 seems to have worked no benefit. In 1812 the Emperor Alexander, in discussing with Count Oginski the project of a constitution for Poland, added, ‘But, above all, do not forget the tillers of the ground. They are the most useful class of all, and your peasants have always been treated like Helots.’* Nay, even so late as 1859, the misrule and the misery were such that on many estates the peasants were dying of hunger.

The evils of that marvellously diluted form of rank called a noblesse—as distinguished from our English nobility—which has left such deep scars on nations of Germanic, Gallican, Slavonian, and Hungarian origin—which shipwrecked old France, was the ruin of Venice, and is still the weakness and division of Germany, and the exasperation of her most intelligent class†—these evils were intensified beyond belief in Poland by what may be called the lowness of the suffrage. We are admonished in the English introduction to Prince Czartoriski’s Memoirs against calling Poland ‘an aristocratic’

* Oginski Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 115.

† The late lamented Sir Henry Maine told the writer that the causes for the widely different constitution of the English nobility were lost in antiquity.

Republic; which certainly, in our sense of the term, it never was, nor could be. In Poland every individual born free, *i.e.* not a slave, was and is noble. In the 'Congress Kingdom' alone—but a fourth part, roughly speaking, of the original State—with a population of under 5,000,000, there are no less than 263,000 nobles; * a larger relative proportion to the population than the electors of Great Britain after the first Reform Bill. In the Poland before dismemberment they amounted to above 1,000,000. These figures may account for the love of arms and for the bravery that have distinguished the race; but also most assuredly for every evil that has befallen the country. Selectness of position, when considered in connexion with such numerous claimants for it, sounds rather paradoxical; nevertheless, selectness is supposed to be the only safeguard of a noblesse. The theory of the continental '*von*-ocracy,' as it has been of late most happily styled, is that only by the strictest segregation of the privileged class can its importance be upheld. It cannot afford to admit those higher equalities of culture, or those larger interests of philanthropy, which settle social questions with us; for these conditions tend to the union of society, and in such union the *von*-ocracy disappears.

Such an anomalous condition accounts for the vanity, idleness, and lack of political common sense, which have distinguished the Polish race. A despotism is conceivable enough, but what other State ever invented a political organism consisting only of two parts—a king and a noblesse, but no people—in other words, of a head and endless limbs, but no body. The puzzle is, not that a monstrosity like this should have come to grief, but that it should ever have existed. Nor did it exist without comment. In Lamartine's words, 'No wonder Dumouriez should have broken his sword, despairing for ever of this aristocracy without a people,' and calling it, as he took his leave, 'the Asiatic nation of Europe.'

Taking the history and present state of Poland as a typical example, one may trace its follies and miseries to the fact of a preternaturally extended noblesse; the first and immediate result of which is, that it reduces an enormous class to idleness and all its attendant evils. A noble, of course, can do nothing ignoble; and that word included much that was indispensable for the welfare both of the nation and the individual. Hence the number of Jews in the country; who, however brutally treated, have found it worth their while to relieve the noble of all the low work connected with the management of his

* 'The Russian Government in Poland,' by W. Ansdell Day, p. 40.

own affairs; besides supplying him with funds enabling him to desert his estate, if he had one, and to live in Warsaw. To get into debt was considered, as with the French noblesse before the Revolution, to 'live nobly.' The improvement of their estates, and the well-being of the peasantry, seem not to have entered the head of a Polish noble. We are struck by Count Oginski's account of his interview in 1790 with Mr. Pitt. That a Polish Count should have needed the common sense of the Prime Minister of England to enlighten him as to the natural riches of his own country—to remind him that he and his fellow-nobles took no care of those enormous forests on which England partly depended for her supply of building materials—to admonish him that their estates could produce four times as much if the laws of agriculture were not neglected—reads like a fable. Mr. Pitt might well add, 'We know better perhaps than you yourselves do the statistics of your country in respect of the riches it produces.'*

At one time, attracted doubtless by the fertility of the soil, it appears that a number of English and Scotch farmers settled in Poland. Their descendants have become Polish in language, manners, and customs, but the old names are retained—such as Hay, Gavenlock, Hall, Dickson, Pace, Stevenson, Burns, and John Bull; the last doubtless an assumed name.

Count Oginski's work shows a man of spirit and some instruction, though with the lack of political capacity that has characterized his countrymen. When a man states the Polish noblesse to have been '*la seule classe qui formait la nation polonaise*,' he seems unable to perceive that a nation so constituted was no nation at all. But Poland has been from the beginning a land of anomalies. What other race ever professed to wed together an elective Monarchy and a Republic in unequal and most illogical yoke? For if, as Count Oginski has just informed us, the nobles alone formed the kingdom, where were the republicans who formed the Republic? At the same time it must be owned that this union was not without a certain consistency of purpose. For what was the use of plumes and jewels, and a gorgeous costume, and silver-studded belts, and other barbaric vanities, without a court of some kind to give them a sphere? The deeper reason being the law by which this unenviable King of a Republic was elected not only by the great body of the noblesse, but from it as well; any one of the privileged million being eligible for

* '*Mémoires du Comte Michel Oginski sur la Pologne*,' from 1788 to 1815, vol. i. p. 59.

the office. The contests and cabals which naturally ensued account for the frequent introduction of the significant word *interregnum* in the succession of the native sovereigns—a fact which eventually led to the choice or imposition of an alien Prince. The King accordingly only became the nominee or minion of some foreign Power; the Polish Diet retaining the mere form of a *congé d'élire*.

If we consider, therefore, all the above-mentioned suicidal elements—slavery to begin with, an unlimited noblesse, an elective monarchy, an unworkable constitution, an impossible partnership, and add to these an element almost more suicidal than the above, namely, that law of which the noblesse were particularly jealous—the law of the ‘*Liberum Veto*,’ which required every vote in the Diet to be passed unanimously,—thus creating an engine of obstruction well worthy of Irish consideration,—no further explanation of the causes for Polish subjugation is required. Nor was this all. When we read of the luxury, extravagance, and corruption, which prevailed in Polish society, its natural result in wide-spread bankruptcy, and the incessant dissensions among the noblesse, there is no difficulty in understanding how it came to pass that three strong and unscrupulous neighbours divided the greater part of so fertile and ill-governed a country between them.

We have used the word ‘minion’ in speaking of the choice of the monarch. The reader will recognize this as applicable to the last King of Poland, the weak but well-meaning and unhappy Stanislaus Poniatowski. He was the first, not by any means of the lovers, but of the favourites *en titre* of that most powerful of autocrats and infamous of women, Catherine II. The reign of Poniatowski, as a favourite, was not long; he was superseded by that herculean ruffian Gregory Orloff, who had helped to remove her husband, and place her on the Russian throne. For a short time Catherine hesitated which to saddle on the Poles, Poniatowski or Prince Adam Casimir Czartoriski, the father of the Prince whose Memoirs head this article. Her letter to Poniatowski, even in its indecision, has a ring of no common absolutism: ‘I am sending Count Keyserling into Poland, with the order to place you or Prince Adam Casimir Czartoriski on the throne.’* She did not hesitate long, for she was the last woman not to know that the cast-off lover would prove the readier tool. Stanislaus, though a Pole, was not popular with his new subjects. All the calamities of his reign, which began in 1764, from the partition of the

* Rulhière, vol. ii. p. 2.

country, and the ever-increasing Russian encroachments, to the exhaustion of the finances, were attributed to him; though, considering the chronic elements of disorder, very unjustly so. Having been Catherine's minion, he continued to be so still; and, next to terror of her, he lived in terror of his own subjects. But he was humane and cultivated; anxious to encourage art and literature; and he introduced improvements in education. His doom was heavy, for it was to see evil and wrong for which he was held answerable, without the power of redressing it.

Recent publications which have shown the causes of the French Revolution may be said, in the natural connexion between mal-government and its retribution, to apply, also, in some degree to Poland. In both cases the disruption was preceded by ineffectual attempts to avert the catastrophe. In 1788 the Polish Diet was convened for objects of more than usual urgency. It was proposed to place the Constitution on a stronger basis—to exchange the elective principle of the monarchy for that of hereditary succession; to abolish the law of the *Liberum Veto*; and to admit the burghers of the chief towns to the rank of citizens. But the parallel ends here: the Poles as little dreamt of freeing others as of submitting themselves. Indeed no historical incidents could be less comparable than the great French convulsion, and the one-sided and fantastic risings of a selfish and shortsighted caste, intent only on preserving privileges incompatible with either progress or humanity. One significant proof of this was that no emancipation of the peasants was proposed. Count Oginski does not omit to say, after the event, that it was the intention of the Diet to have brought this proposal forward; but the fact remains that the Diet sat for above three years without an allusion to the subject.* The wrongs of the peasantry were, as it proved, to be avenged, and the punishment of their masters to be inflicted when the time came that the great stay of a country, the loyalty of its masses, was in vain invoked, and the millions of fellow-creatures and fellow-countrymen, who for centuries had suffered oppression, withheld all help and sympathy from the cause of their oppressors. To this final, solemn, and inexorable law of retribution has been owing the failure of all those brave and bloody, but senseless and fruitless, efforts to recover a so-called independence, which have excited and distressed the emotional part of the English public. This reserve of the Polish peasantry may be said to have, in a measure, helped the down-

* 'Mémoires du Comte Michel Oginski sur la Pologne,' vol. i. p. 59.

fall of Napoleon, by contributing to the tremendous tragedy of the retreat from Moscow. By the irony of fate the Poles and Napoleon—well-matched allies in the cause of Liberty!—had relied on each other for help; the one to regain the place among the States of Europe they had for ever forfeited; the other to add Russia to the list of his conquests. The neutrality of the wretched peasantry of Poland tended to counteract both schemes.

We return to the Diet of 1788, which went by the name of the '*Dîte Constitutionnelle*,' as intended to fix the Republic and Monarchy on a better constitutional basis. The first partition of Poland had been consummated fifteen years before, in 1773, and rumours of a second partition were in the air. But no urgency in the present, or menace in the future, sufficed to alter the national habits. The best defenders of the Diet admit that it lost precious time in frivolous talk on frivolous matters—on dress, regimental etiquette, &c. Nor had they the common wisdom to refrain from declaiming against Russia, or from threatening a Power which they knew they could not withstand. They had plenty of traitors among them, both Polish and Russian; and scenes of the utmost absurdity and violence took place; the unfortunate Stanislaus presiding on his powerless throne through all. One member, of Russian proclivities, who affected to foresee the ruin of Poland in the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, brought his little son of six years of age, and kneeling in the centre of the Chamber with his arms outstretched towards the throne, and in the jargon of the French Jacobins, declared his intention to immolate the child on the altar of Liberty. Another, more to the purpose, perpetually interrupted futile discussions by calling out, 'Money, money, and an army! These are the only things we ought to think about.'* Finally, after delays, and prorogations without end, the proposed reforms were passed in the greatest haste, on May 3rd, 1791; not omitting, however, to confirm all the privileges of the noblesse, and even to add to the number. To the modern reader the total absence of perception, in all these acts, that they were reckoning without their host, appears incomprehensible. With the rumours, as we have said, of another partition reaching them from three threatening sides, nothing now strikes us as greater gasconade than the enthusiasm with which the crowning decree of the Assembly was passed; to the effect that the Diet for ever interdicted the cession or alienation, in favour of any Power whatsoever, of any portion of Polish territory.

* Oginski, vol. i. p. 123.

While they were rejoicing over the evils they had abolished, and the liberties they had achieved; while they were firing their guns, singing their national songs, celebrating *Te Deums*, and inaugurating their new constitution with feasts and processions, the clouds had gathered. The Empress had promised her pardon to the chief authors of these bombastic decrees on condition of their revoking their oaths to maintain them; the frontiers of Poland were inundated with Russian troops; the Poles had flown to arms under their one great leader and true patriot Kosciusko, who was soon lying in a Petersburg dungeon, as much the victim of the dissensions of his noble followers as of his own numerous wounds; no end of patriots were on their way to Siberia, and in 1792 followed the second partition of the unfortunate land. Campbell's well-known words, 'And Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell,' however figurative, remain undeniably true; and equally so the reputed words of Kosciusko himself, '*Finis Polonia*,' as he sunk wounded on the field of Macejowice. Poland, it is too true, ended with the defeat of her one leader of sense, ability, and principle; though he was not such a coxcomb as to say so.

Confiscation and sequestration now fell on the estates of the chief leaders of the late Diet, and among those thus punished were the Czartoriski family. This family, though not standing legally higher than the rest of the million Polish 'noblemen,' would yet, by their wealth, education, and sincere devotion to their country, have been entitled to take superior rank in any land. Their wealth was founded on circumstances of no common occurrence in the history of heiresses. The Prince Augustus Czartoriski, of the early part of the eighteenth century, aspired to the hand of a Madame Denhoff, a lady of great intelligence and enormous possessions; and, after fighting a duel with a rival, he was selected by her from a number of suitors. Instead of running through her fortune and breaking her heart, he commenced by paying her debts, and then proceeded by good management to double her income. Every year he presented her with a number of boxes, full of gold pieces, representing the revenue from her estates. These she immediately returned to him, and this ceremony was repeated annually during the forty happy years of their married life. The only son of this couple was Prince Adam Casimir, whom the Prince de Ligne, himself known as a man of rare wit and charm, designates in his Memoirs as 'the most distinguished man of the four quarters of the world.' He showed this distinction, in one respect, we may venture to say, by his admiration for English institutions, which he studied under the roof of his father's friend,

Lord

Lord Mansfield, then Lord Chief Justice. He married a daughter of Count Fleming, Minister of Augustus II., and became the father of two boys, the elder of whom, Adam, the author of these Memoirs, was born in 1770.

The history of the Czartoriskis, like that of their glorious countryman Kosciusko, is an example of the powerlessness of individual virtue and comparative enlightenment when embedded in a mass of ignorance and disorganization; verifying the saying, '*qu'il fallait tout faire pour les Polonais, sans les Polonais.*'

Of all the European States infected by that noxious social atmosphere which engendered the French Revolution, Poland suffered the most: her frivolity the most frivolous—her ignorance the most ignorant—her thoughtless play with the seriousness of life the most heartless and vapid. There was the same acting the game of misery—without the misery, and without a thought of the misery—which had provided a new pleasure for the sated Court of Versailles. The fine ladies of Warsaw in the summer season lived in the woods in peasants' huts, all rough and rude without, but with their baths of Sèvres china and other corresponding luxuries within. But the comparison with France holds good no further; no Polish Rousseau came forward to assert the Rights of Man; no Polish Montmorencis volunteered to lay down their titles. The Polish ladies played no small part in the causes which led to the downfall of the country: their conception of patriotism was not to educate their sons to be good citizens, but to put themselves, on every fresh contention with the authorities, into becoming mourning. One needs but to read the '*Grande Dame's*' definition of society in the time of Stanislaus Poniatowski to understand what has left Poland where she is: '*Il régnait à la cour de Pologne le meilleur ton de France, joint à une tournure orientale, le goût de l'Europe et celle de l'Asie, l'urbanité des mœurs des pays civilisés, et l'hospitalité de ceux qui ne le sont pas.*' How these elegances of life were compatible with the fact that no roads existed in Poland, and that the unpaved streets of Warsaw were a foot deep in mud, the '*Grande Dame*' does not inform us. '*Ton*' and '*tournure*,' at the best, and the taste of two quarters of the globe, can never create a stable State unless the courses of social masonry are solidly filled up from below. Not that a State composed of little more than one class may not be strong and respected; there are two in Europe which boast little more than small farmers and peasants—Switzerland the one, Norway the other; Switzerland with only two noble families, '*de Salis*' and '*de Planta*'; Norway with only one. But common sense teaches

teaches us that things are only valuable in proportion as they are rare. Farmers may be as numerous as they please if the land is but broad enough, but when titles are as plentiful as blackberries they are also of as little value.

In the vitiating effect of the possession of slaves; the facility of divorce, in a professedly Roman Catholic country; and the levity with which the divorced and the remarried parties met in society, we obtain a glimpse of what lay beneath the trumpery, just described, which evidently constituted the beau-idéal of the '*Grande Dame*,' herself a *divorcée*. Polish women have been so notorious for imbuing their sons with the 'patriotism' of rebelling against the Government, that the Emperor Nicholas is reported to have said, '*Tant qu'il y aura une Polonaise, il y aura une Pologne.*' And doubtless he meant a very troublesome one.

The sequestration of the Czartoriski estates amounted to about three-fourths of their property. The Emperor Francis of Austria was induced to intercede with Catherine for the revocation of this sentence; she consented to consider the question on condition of the two young Czartoriski Princes entering the Russian service at Petersburg, which accordingly they reached in May 1795, very much in the character of hostages. This introduces us to the society of the Russian Court; no new subject, it is true, but described here first-hand, with vivid portraiture. The Empress Catherine had then been on the throne thirty-three years. Prince Adam Czartoriski describes her, in his own French words, as '*ambitieuse, haineuse, vindictive, arbitraire, et déhontée*;' though qualifying this summary with the equivocal palliation that 'her passions, disorderly as they were, were dominated by her reason and her abilities, and she did not commit crimes which were of no use to her.' The verdict on her from an English point of view would be less indulgent. It is true that she had abilities of a rare kind; the perfect possession of reason in all that conduced to her worldly benefit, and consummate powers of dissimulation and self-control. She left also nothing undone that could be supposed to add lustre to her reign. She patronized art and letters; corresponded with the French Encyclopedists; and was indefatigable in introducing superficial improvements among a barbarous and corrupt race. She had indeed no weaknesses in the real sense of the word; everything about her was as strong as it was heinous, and she organized her sins with the same masterly hand as her other acts. She was without apparent conscience, remorse, or shame; a usurper, a despot, and a harlot. It must not be said that her people loved to have
it

it so, for the lower masses knew nothing of her interior life; but the history of her time gives no sign that her Court, which included the whole upper class, ever raised a protest against the life she led or the example she presented. She suited them because she helped to vitiate them. The estimate of a ruler proceeds from the character of the ruled. The noblesse of Russia and Poland no more thought of condemning her immoralities, than the Pagans those of the Gods of Olympus or of the Cæsars of Rome. It was Catherine's luck, if it may so be called, to govern the only country in modern Europe where such a life as hers was not only considered endurable, but extolled as glorious. One secret of this lay in the hatred which her son, the Grand Duke Paul, inspired, and the dread which his succession created; but a far greater secret consisted in the fatal spell she carried personally with her. All advance to power lay through the favourite of the time being; and any man of attractive exterior could speculate on a fair chance of being promoted to that position. The awe with which this woman was regarded was such that even in those most thoughtless Court circles 'which slander every one, and sacrifice everything to a *bon mot*, no one ever ventured to make a joke at the Empress's expense. A mocking and disdainful smile often followed the mention of the Grand Duke Paul's name, but if that of Catherine was alluded to all men's faces at once put on an air of seriousness and of submission.* Truth is stranger than fiction; and Catherine, called the Great, reigned thirty-three years, lived sixty-seven years, and died, as few of her predecessors did or her successors have done, a natural death.

The two young Princes Czartoriski had come to Petersburg to plead for the restoration of their father's estates; they had to eat much dirt in the process. The discrimination of Catherine was not conspicuous in the choice of the reigning favourite. Plato Zuboff was a poor creature, who played the part of an important personage with ludicrous exaggeration. Through the good offices of an old friend, Prince Kourakin, the two young brothers were admitted to a private audience, when the favourite asked them a few commonplace questions:—

'His French was not correct, but his mien was always studiously imposing. Prince Kourakin stayed behind in the ante-room. He rejoined us as we came out, and listened with a smile of curiosity to our account of what had passed. All his remarks proved that he was convinced that we had just left the most powerful man in Europe.'—Vol. i. p. 71.

* Vol. i. p. 66.

This was a special interview ; on other days, at eleven o'clock, the Princes had to attend Zuboff's general levée, and assist at his toilet. This was a crowded affair—the street full of carriages, with four or six horses, as at a theatre. So high in station were those who attended these levées, that it was impossible to feel humiliated in joining a crowd composed of the first dignitaries of the Empire, of generals in command of provinces who levied tribute from every one, and inspired universal fear ; and who, after coming in all servility to bow their heads before the favourite, either went away without obtaining a look, or stood waiting like messengers while he changed his dress, lounging on a sofa.

The following was the daily course at these receptions. When the folding-doors were opened, Zuboff slowly entered the room, in a dressing-gown, with scarcely any under-clothing, and after nodding slightly to those assembled, who stood in a semicircle, he began his toilet. The barbers then approached him to dress and powder his hair, every one remaining standing, and none venturing to speak. While the hair was being dressed, his secretary, Gribowski, brought him papers to sign. The applicants would now whisper to each other the sum that had been paid to induce the secretary to induce his master to look favourably on their suits. Thus there was wheel within wheel in this adroit mechanism of Court favour ; the very servants who admitted them having their price as well. When the hair-dressing was ended, Plato put on his uniform, all being done with an air of nonchalance which he tried to pass off as dignity. Then he disappeared, and all returned to their carriages more or less disappointed.

All this was repeated when the Court went into the country to Czarskoe Selo, when the same assistance at Zuboff's toilet was required on every holiday. There were loud whispers in the Court that, while loaded with favour by his sexagenarian mistress, his affections wandered to the Princess Elizabeth, Alexander's wife, then only sixteen, who took no notice of him whatever. 'At times he was seized with a love fit, when he did nothing but sigh and lie on the sofa. This prostration would come on, it was observed, especially after a visit to the Empress, when he used to pour scent on his handkerchief, and assume an air of the deepest depression.' But enough of this contemptible buffoon, only worth describing as a component part of an incredible whole.

Meanwhile the two young Czartoriskis were presented to the Empress in the manner of the time. This consisted in being placed in a line with others near the door through which,

which, preceded by a procession of dignitaries and Princes, she passed on her way from the Greek Mass. Count Schouvaloff, the Grand Chamberlain, instructed them what to do, which chiefly consisted in bending one knee. 'When we asked him whether we were to kiss her hand, he replied, "Kiss her where she likes, so long as she gives you back your fortune."' The door accordingly opened, and the Empress came out; as their names were mentioned the knees were bent. Then they stood in a circle with the ladies and other personages, and she addressed a few words to each person:—

'She was well advanced in years, but still fresh; rather short than tall, and very stout. Her gait, her demeanour, and the whole of her person were marked by dignity and grace. None of her movements were quick. . . . Her face, already wrinkled, but full of expression, showed haughtiness and the spirit of domination. On her lips was a perpetual smile, but to those who remembered her actions this studied calm hid the most violent passions and an inexorable will. In coming towards us her face assumed a gentle expression, and, with that sweet look which has been so much praised, she said: "Your age reminds me of that of your father when I first saw him. I hope this country suits you." These few words sufficed to attract to us a whole crowd of courtiers, who began to lavish upon us the most flattering compliments.'—Vol. i. p. 85.

At length the expected ukase as to the confiscated estates was made public. Catherine distributed a whole mass of them among her favourites. She did not restore the Czartoriski estates to the head of the family, but presented a portion, amounting to 42,000 souls, generally reckoned as a pound sterling a year each, to the two young men.

The Muscovite Court had three divisions. The lowest, called 'the Young Court,' consisted of the young Grand Dukes and Duchesses, the children of Paul. The next was that of Paul himself, and his wife, a Wirtemberg Princess, to whom the fine stature and personal beauty of most of the family were owing. At the top stood Catherine, who, by a refinement of despotism, reserved to herself the right of educating her grandchildren, their parents being deprived of all care and control over them from their birth. Part of her policy was to marry them early. Alexander, her eldest grandson, though only eighteen, had been already married more than a year. 'It would be impossible to see a handsomer couple; both beamed with youth, grace, and goodness.' The Grand Duchess was small but beautiful, and the Grand Duke tall and strikingly handsome. The character of Alexander forms the most interesting feature in these Memoirs. It sounds something fabulous as we read
of

of the benevolence, gentleness, and ideal purity of aim of this young Prince, born of such a man as Paul, and descended from such a woman as Catherine. But God has times when He sends forth *une âme blanche*, without father, mother, or descent; formed to escape pollution even in such an atmosphere as that of a Russian Court. There were two causes which combined to form Alexander—the education he had received from his tutor, Laharpe, who had imbued him with the rights of humanity in the highest sense; and the education which every ardent, loving mind was imbibing unconsciously from the professed principles of the French Revolution; both intensified in their action by Alexander's tender youth and beautiful nature. He took an early opportunity to attract Prince Adam Czartoriski to him. A walk in the garden of the Taurida Palace to which he invited him, in the ravishing season of a rapidly opening Russian spring—a walk which lasted three hours—unfolded to his astonished companion sentiments of a kind the last to be expected from the heir to the Russian throne;—sentiments of detestation for despotism, under whatever aspect; of ardent zeal for the liberty to which all men have a right; of sympathy for Poland in her struggles, and especially for Kosciusko; of aversion to the ideas of the Russian Court; and, not least, of condemnation for the policy of his grandmother. He spoke of Laharpe with veneration, as owing him those principles of truth and justice which he dared confess to no Russian, and which were known to none but to his young wife.

‘He explained that the resignation shown by my brother and myself in our painful position, the indifference with which we had received both the smiles and frowns of fortune, had gained his esteem and deserved his confidence; that he had felt the strongest impulse to let us know his real thoughts, and could not bear that we should judge him otherwise than as he was; adding that I must, therefore, feel how great a pleasure it would be for him to have in future some one with whom he could talk with entire confidence. He then bade me farewell, saying he would try and see me as often as possible, but urging on me the utmost circumspection and secrecy, though, at the same time, authorizing me to communicate to my brother the subject of our conversation. I was deeply moved, and could hardly believe my ears. . . . I was subjugated by a charm it is easy to understand; there was so much candour, innocence, resolution which seemed unalterable, so much elevation of soul in the words and countenance of this young Prince, that he seemed to me a privileged being whom Providence had sent to this world for the happiness of humanity and of my country.’—Vol. i. p. 112.

Looking

Looking back after forty years on this conversation and on many of a like kind which followed it, and retracing the events of the interim, Prince Czartoriski laments how little they had realized his youthful expectations. We venture to take a different view. That the Prince or any Polish gentleman, however individually upright and disinterested, should, as regards the destiny of Poland, have expected more than it was possible for Alexander to perform, or even right for him to attempt, was perfectly natural. As regards the Czartoriskis, no ideas on their part ever affected Alexander's friendship and fidelity. As regards Poland, it was impossible but that as he attained years and judgment his views should have undergone modification. He did all that was feasible to benefit the country, and did it in vain.

The death of Catherine occurred in 1796; she was succeeded by Paul, her only legitimate offspring. The change, to Court and country, was tremendous. In Catherine's hands government was an instrument often used for the most tyrannical purposes; but still wielded by one who knew when to control her actions, and who always studied to be thought magnanimous. In Paul's hand it was a machine which he set in movement according to the fancy of the moment. At the beginning of his reign he showed just and humane qualities, but the possession of absolute power seemed to affect his reason. The dignity of the human being is so dependent on reason and self-control, that when these fail the alternative looks like madness. But the madness of a despot like Paul would hardly be certificated by the College of Physicians. The feeling at St. Petersburg was as if a wild animal had broken loose; and, as no one was felt to be safe whilst it was at large, the logical inference was that it must be captured and confined. This idea was shared by numbers, though its formulation was necessarily confined to a few. And thus began the misery which overshadowed Alexander's young life and gentle heart.

Prince Czartoriski was at that time (March 1801) at Naples, where he acted as envoy from Russia. A letter from Alexander conveyed to him the tidings of Paul's death and summoned him to Petersburg. The Prince was not astonished; he had seen before leaving Russia that the whole Court was planning a conspiracy. On meeting the new Emperor, he was shocked with his sad and depressed air. 'He took me into his room. "If you had been here, things would not have turned out thus. I should never have been led away if I had had you by my side."' He then spoke of his father's death with inexpressible
grief

grief and remorse. It was true that Alexander had been misled by the plausible but not untruthful representations of Count Panin, the chief conspirator. He and Count Pahlen, the Governor of St. Petersburg, were the two shrewdest heads in the Empire, and well knew how rash it would be to attempt any restraint of Paul without the consent of the heir to the throne. Panin represented to him that not only the well-being of millions, but that the life, or at least the liberty of his mother, the Empress, for whom Paul had conceived an insane aversion, and the safety of himself and of the whole imperial family, depended on the deposition of a virtual madman, who would himself by that step gain a happier life. It took more than six months to obtain Alexander's consent. When the fatal night came, the circumstance that most favoured the conspirators was found to have been caused by Paul himself. In his mad mistrust of his faithful wife—the mother of his nine children—he had ordered the door into her apartment to be blocked up, and thus cut off his only means of escape. Meanwhile, a young valet on duty was the only one, as the conspirators made their way to Paul's room, to give the alarm, and he was soon disabled. Zuboff, the base, whom decency might have withheld from conspiring against Catherine's son, was at the head of the first band, whom he had regaled at supper and primed with wine. Terrified by the cries of the valet, he proposed at once to retreat, when General Benningsen seized him by the arm. 'What! You have brought us thus far, and now you want us to withdraw! That would ruin all—the wine is drawn, it must be drunk.' Paul on the first alarm had hid himself behind a curtain. His supposed madness gave him neither strength nor courage. No culprit ever showed more terror. They dragged him out in his shirt, placed him in a chair, while Benningsen, with his sword drawn, and with his hat on his head, laid a deed of abdication before him for him to sign. Before the trembling hand could guide the pen, fresh cries from without caused Benningsen to leave the room. Then Paul in his turn found himself among wild beasts, most of them more than half-drunk, and all of them eager to avenge their own wrongs on the poor craven, alive or dead. We spare our readers the hideous scene. Prince Czartoriski's version differs from that which was current in Petersburg. He states that Count Pahlen lost his way in the garden, and did not arrive on the scene until all was over. The current story was that Pahlen was the chief actor in the deed, and that, finding the Emperor's resistance tremendous, he strangled him with his pocket-handkerchief. So rooted was this tradition, that we remember a venerable lady being

pointed out to us in a ball-room in St. Petersburg as '*Madame Tiesenhausen, fille de Schnupftuch Pahlen.*' By this appellation she was known in society; a name which sounded the more ghastly in a gay scene of brilliant uniforms, French toilets, and innumerable wax candles; and Paul's own son, Nicholas, present.

The tragedy of the 23rd March, 1801, settled like a vulture on the conscience of Alexander, and is a key to the unpopularity and even odium with which he was regarded by the numbers whom the death of Paul had allowed to breathe freely. In the ambiguous position in which his consent to his father's deposition had placed him it was easy to distort his subsequent conduct; and his own very misery helped the appearances against him. Knowledge of the conspiracy had deprived him of the power to punish those who had so far exceeded the conditions of his consent; while, on the other hand, the fact of his not rewarding them was charged against him as ingratitude. How different had been the conduct of Catherine, who had always supported and recompensed her accomplices, and thus secured their further co-operation! Such minds were the last to perceive how severely Alexander punished himself for having thus attained a blood-stained throne. No guiltless human heart could well have suffered more than this young sovereign's did.

'He would remain alone for hours,' the Prince says, 'sitting in silence, with fixed and haggard looks; but with me, as the confidant of his secret thoughts, he was most at his ease. I sometimes entered his room when he had been too long under the influence of these fits of remorse and despair. I tried to recall him to his duties; he acknowledged the task that was before him, but the severity of his own condemnation deprived him of all energy. He replied to all my words of encouragement and hope, "No, it is impossible; I must suffer. How can I cease to suffer? This cannot change."—Vol. i. p. 254.

His error had been to agree to the coercion of a man, which proved simply impracticable. Paul was as fit to be driven from his kingdom as Nebuchadnezzar had been, and perhaps more so, but circumstances rendered that impossible.

In analysing the Russian national character, Prince Czartorski forcibly describes the impulse for conquest and extension of territory which Peter the Great had given to the State. This impulse, whatever the difficulties which may retard it, is still active, as is well known, at the bottom of every Russian statesman's heart. There came a time, however, when Peter's policy was put aside, and this was at the beginning of Alexander's reign. Young, open, and amiable, thinking only of justice and

and philanthropy, he set himself to carry out what may be called the programme of his life, in the better administration of justice, the emancipation of the masses, equitable reforms, and liberal institutions. He at once forbade certain horrible punishments which had disgraced the land; ordered the public gibbets, inscribed with the names of convicts, in every town and village to be taken down; abolished the secret police, and would never consent to make use of a spy; never gave away a serf from the Crown lands, and forbade all advertisements for the sale of serfs to appear in the public papers; established religious toleration throughout his dominions; passed a law for the protection of criminal lunatics; did his utmost to deal with the universal speculation; and, knowing how inveterate was its practice, would take enormous journeys in an open sledge, with only coachman and one aide-de-camp, and appear in distant places to ascertain that his orders were fulfilled. So zealous also was the young Emperor in the cause of justice that, as early as the twelfth day of his reign, he made his appearance at the Senate, and there read in person a decree abolishing a secret tribunal known in Catherine's time as '*l'Expédition Secrète*,' used for the investigation and punishment of certain State crimes, and notorious for its cruelty and corruption. At the same time he dismissed all the cases then pending, declaring that it was 'an object of "*douce assurance*" to him to unite his own interests with those of his subjects, and to confide the honour of his name and the security of the State to the laws alone.'* Such also was his anxiety to effect the emancipation of the serfs, that from the time he mounted the throne he laid by a million roubles yearly (about 200,000*l.*), to provide the necessary indemnity for the nobles. The French invasion, reckoned to have cost Russia fifty million pounds, delayed the final emancipation of the serfs nearly fifty years. But these were not the reforms for which the Poles clamoured. They cared for none of these things.

But, besides all this ardour for justice and reform, he had strange and unfashionable tastes and ways, incomprehensible to the Russian Court; was known to long for the time when he might retire from a position which most other men coveted; saying on one occasion that the position of an English squire was what he most envied. He continued to lead the same life, devoid of pomp and ceremony, he had preferred as Czarewitch; maintained his mother's Court at the same standard as when she was the reigning Empress, but refused to increase the

* '*Histoire d'Alexandre I^{er}*,' par Ivan Golovine. 1859, p. 21.

parade of his own; would take long walks into the country unattended; wore no ornaments, not a ring, nor even, though scrupulously punctual, a watch; detested flattery, never played cards, and disliked snuff and tobacco; would help, moreover, to move a wounded or sick soldier, and was known to have stopped his carriage—never attended by guards—within a few miles of Vilna, and take up an old and lame peasant woman, painfully plodding on the road. No wonder that such proceedings were not understood by his contemporaries, and were even regarded as symptomatic of the dangerous liberalism which was the terror of the time. It will readily be understood, too, that such views and habits brought him into collision at every step with the corrupt ideas which prevailed, and, as necessarily, with the policy which accompanied them, that of the Corsican conqueror. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien (March 1804) was received by Alexander, as by all the civilized world, with horror and indignation. Prince Czartoriski, who had accepted the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, was directed to draw up a note of protest demanding explanation for the monstrous deed. The reply from Talleyrand, at that time holding the same post in Paris, was false, insulting, and cunning; reminding the Russian Court that, when Paul was assassinated, France asked for no explanations. After this it is surprising that Alexander should ever have been dazzled by Napoleon.

It was not to be expected that the Czartoriskis, incorrupt and well-meaning as they were, could rise in such a school as Poland to any far-seeing ideas of statesmanship. They were superior to their fellows *by comparison*. We are told in the introduction that the two heads of the family in the preceding generation—the Princes Michael and Augustus—were rigid, dictatorial old men, with whom it was difficult to do business. Something of these qualities would appear to have been transmitted to their descendant Prince Adam. Like the rest of his countrymen, he seems to have lacked that political capacity which discards visions and sentimentality, and deals only with facts and possibilities. There is no recognition by him of the causes that had brought Poland to the ground—no allusion to the 'imbecility' of her constitution, and to the uninterrupted anarchy of her course; above all, no hint at future reform. In his representations to the Emperor on the non-fulfilment of the expectations which he had formed, there is a tone of asperity and of offended dignity; refusing to see the difficulties of his sovereign;—a tone far removed, it is true, from that of a courtier, but equally as far from that of a statesman. The forbearance of the Emperor must

must have been somewhat tried by the letters from his Polish friend; not only by their occasional arrogance, of which we shall have more to say, but by the constant iteration of Prince Adam Czartoriski's extraordinary love of his own country. If this did not exceed the patience of the Emperor, it is more than can be said for that of the reader. There is no sign, however, that these mistakes in manner on the part of the trusted friend of his youth ever exceeded Alexander's powers of amiable endurance.

The Memoir contains a sketch of the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805), seen from the vanquished side. If Alexander had a vanity, it was to distinguish himself as a military leader. The toy regiments incessantly manœuvred by Paul at Pavlosk had inoculated him with that predilection for reviews and evolutions, which seems the inheritance of most Princes of German descent. For a man who was made ill on first seeing the scenes on a real battle-field, the cure was rude, but thorough. Encouraged by some high-flown words on the part of Count Cobentzel, Vice-Chancellor of Austria, as to the duty of sovereigns to place themselves at the head of armies in times of difficulty, Alexander took the command of the combined Austrian and Russian troops, who were elated with having obtained a slight advantage over a French detachment. This led to a premature advance on the part of Alexander and his advisers. They gave themselves credit for seeing through the strategy of their great adversary, and imagined that he had put himself into a dangerous position. There is something naïve in the description given by Czartoriski, that, just as they had made sure that the French were on the point of retreating, he observed, from a height where he was stationed, that, with a promptitude and rapidity which were new factors in his eyes, and which caused a real panic in the Austrian ranks, 'the French were "pushing back" the corps opposed to them':—

'A moment later there was an outcry for the Emperor's safety—every one turned his horse and galloped off—so did I. . . . The inhabitants of the districts we passed through in our flight suffered greatly, and scenes of distress were everywhere around us. At last after a retreat of two days and three nights without resting, we arrived at a village somewhat larger than the others, and found a bedroom for the Emperor, and had a little rest, but our horses were kept ready in case of pursuit. Indeed, if some French squadron had been sent after us, I do not know what would have happened, for there were no regiments nor army corps left in the combined armies—only disorderly bands of marauders, increasing the general desolation.'—Vol. ii. p. 111.

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The Austrian Emperor was accustomed to these misfortunes. He went off in a different direction, not without charging Prince Czartoriski to convey to Alexander words of consolation. This was the last time that Alexander coveted military distinction. He achieved it later in the highest sense by defensive tactics, when his apparent retreat before Napoleon's immense army lured it to destruction.

We have already alluded to the somewhat dictatorial tone in which the certainty of the Emperor's amiability sometimes emboldened the Prince to address him. Never was that confidence more proved than by the reproofs he thought fit to address to his imperial master on the defeat at Austerlitz, in a private memorandum of April 1806. These sound more like the scolding addressed to a wilful boy, than the respectful expostulations from a subject to his sovereign. To give a specimen:—

'I strove in vain to represent to you all the inconveniences that would result from your presence with the army, and my forebodings have been unfortunately all realized. Your presence transferred the responsibility of the generals to yourself, and you had neither the experience nor the knowledge necessary for taking the command. If you had listened to the advice we were constantly giving you, at first not to go to the army, and afterwards not to remain with it, the battle of Austerlitz would not have been fought and lost, or, if lost, would not have had the same results.'—Vol. ii. p. 127.

This might be all very honest, but it was not everybody, to say nothing of an autocrat, who would have borne it with patience, and still less with humility. But humility was an integral part of Alexander's rare character, as proved by his modest and manly refusal of the title of '*le Béné*' pressed upon him, after Napoleon's discomfiture, by the chief authorities of his country; by his forbidding the Russian clergy to allude to him with praise, in their addresses to their flocks; by his refusing to allow his effigy to appear on the coinage, saying that it belonged as much to the people as to him; and, again, on occasion of the tedious questions of precedence at the Congress of Vienna, when he cut the knot by deciding that the Powers should sign the protocols in alphabetical order.

As regards the reproaches of Czartoriski, it would have been easy for Alexander to retort upon the Poles, whose tyranny over the people and dissensions among themselves had caused the miseries of their country; for it is plainly read between the lines that his belief in their capacity, to use rightly the independence they were always invoking, was shaken. He had learned

learned what he called '*les conséquences des Polonais*.' Nor does he conceal his doubts—but too well realized afterwards—as to their recognition of any benefits in his power to give. On one occasion, when urged on the usual topic, the Emperor cast down his eyes, and said, 'If at least one could expect some return on the part of the Poles!'

The letters from the Prince to the Emperor upon the policy of entrusting the Poles with sovereign power at home contrast curiously with a memorandum addressed to the same by Count Pozzo di Borgo, dated Vienna, 1814, in which, with a foresight based on closest knowledge of the national history and character, he set forth what would infallibly happen if Poland, the great highway for Russia to the rest of Europe, possessed the power to bar her the passage. That the secret of Napoleon's simulated friendship for the Poles was simply to place Russia in that position was obvious to all but to themselves. Kosciusko never trusted him, and the Poles never showed their political shortsightedness more than in their reliance on Napoleon's favour. He is known to have said after the retreat from Moscow, '*que la Pologne n'avait jamais été pour lui qu'un moyen, et jamais une affaire sérieuse*.'* This reliance culminated, as we shall see, in the defiant and vain-glorious act of the last Diet assembled at Warsaw, June 26, 1812.

We now learn from this Memoir that in 1810-11 the Poles were offered, through Czartoriski, the fulfilment of their wildest hopes, and refused to grasp the opportunity. Seldom, if ever, is the private reader admitted to follow face to face the proposals of an autocrat (given simply in the first person singular) dealing thus with great States, and millions of people, and able to perform what he proposes. The Emperor writes, December 1810, in view of a war with France, that the time had now come to prove to the Poles that, although Russia is represented to them as the sole obstacle to their independence, it is not improbable (his favourite idea) that Russia will be the Power to bring about that event. He therefore puts two questions strongly to him—whether, first, he is sufficiently cognisant of the feelings of the inhabitants of the Duchy of Warsaw; and whether, secondly, he has a well-founded belief that they would seize any offer—

'giving them the *certainly* (not probability, but *certainly*) of their restoration. If,' he continues, 'you second me in the hope that the Poles, and especially the Polish army, are unanimous in desiring the restoration of Poland, from whatever quarter it may come, success,

* '*Histoire d'Alexandre I^{er}*,' par Ivan Golovine, p. 257.

with the blessing of God, will not be doubtful ; for it is based, not on the hope of counterbalancing the genius of Napoleon, but solely on the diminution of his forces through the secession of the Duchy of Warsaw and the general exasperation of Germany against him. This is what I had to say. Consider it calmly ; such a moment presents itself only once. Any other combination will only bring about a war to the death between Russia and France, with your country for the battle-field. The support on which the Poles can rely is limited to the person of Napoleon, who cannot live for ever. Should he disappear from the scene, the consequences to Poland would be disastrous ; while, by joining Russia and the other Powers—who would certainly follow her—the moral strength of France would be overthrown, Europe delivered from the yoke, and the existence of your country established with unshakeable solidity. I await your answer with the greatest impatience ; and am always yours, heart and soul. (Signed) ALEXANDER.—Vol. ii. p. 217.

The answer to this remarkable letter is cold, wary, and short-sighted. Prince Czartoriski harps on the old story—the entire restoration of the country as before 1773 (the first partition)—states the belief of his countrymen in Napoleon's invincibility, and doubts the Czar's power to bring troops enough into the field. Still Alexander perseveres, explaining clearly his military resources, and stating explicitly what he would guarantee to the Poles in the event of their joining him—the restitution, namely, of the portion received by Russia in the partitions ; the great probability of the further restitution of Galicia by offering the greater part of Moldavia and Wallachia to Austria in exchange ; the assurance that the government and army should be entirely of Polish nationality ; and the promise of the permanent union of Poland with Russia, and the assumption by the Emperor of the title of King of Poland.

'It is beyond doubt that Napoleon is striving to provoke Russia to a rupture with him, hoping that I will make the mistake of being the aggressor. This would be a great blunder under present circumstances, and I am determined not to make it. But if the Poles were willing to join me, that would put an entire new face on the matter. Being reinforced by the 50,000 men who constitute their army, by the 50,000 Prussians who could join me without risk, and by the moral revolution which would be the infallible result in Europe, I should then advance to the Oder without striking a blow.'—Vol. ii. p. 235.

A further letter, as late as April 1812, shows the Emperor's hopelessness of inducing the Poles to accept his offer, though expressed with his usual grand gentleness : 'I have, therefore, been obliged to resign myself to waiting on events, and not provoking by any step on my part a struggle whose importance
and

and danger I thoroughly appreciate, though I do not believe I shall be able to avoid it' (p. 229). The awful campaign, which commenced two months later, interrupted further correspondence. The final answer by the Poles to Alexander's proposal was given on the 26th of June, after Napoleon had crossed the Niemen; when the Polish Diet, assembled at Warsaw under the Presidency of Prince Adam's father, repeated the bravado of 1791 by summoning every Pole in the Russian service to quit it, and by proclaiming the restoration of the whole of ancient Poland as an independent State.

The French invasion followed, in which the Polish contingent distinguished itself by its bravery, but also by its savage maraudery and other excesses.

To those who now scan this perverse page of history, nothing is plainer than that the highest interest of the Poles was to live at peace with their invincible neighbour, and that they never could have done so to greater advantage than during the reign of one so chivalrously disposed towards them as Alexander. Nature herself, by gifts common to both, had prepared them to live in brotherhood. Both races alike Slavonian, both speaking the same language, though two very different dialects; character and manners, virtues, vanities, and vices, alike in each; they were destined to assimilate far more easily with each other than with any other races of foreign extraction.

It was on the termination of the war, though by no means of its horrors, that the magnanimity of the Russian despot is seen in the strongest light in the following letter addressed by the Emperor to Prince Czartoriski, who had invoked his mercy for his prostrate countrymen, now dreading his revenge:—

‘SEYFOUNY, January 13th, 1813.

‘ . . . The successes by which Providence has blessed my efforts and my perseverance, have in no way changed either my sentiments or my intentions with regard to Poland. Your countrymen may therefore abandon any fears they may feel; vengeance is a sentiment unknown to me, and my greatest pleasure is to return good for evil. The strictest orders have been given to my generals to treat the Poles as friends and brothers.

‘To speak candidly, in order to realize my favourite ideas as to Poland, I shall have to overcome some difficulties, notwithstanding the brilliancy of my present position.

‘In the first place, opinion in Russia would be against them. The sacking by the Polish troops of Smolensk and Moscow, and the devastation of the whole country, have revived old hatreds.

‘Next, if I were at this moment to publish my intentions with regard to Poland, the result would be to throw Austria and Prussia entirely into the arms of France, while it is essential to prevent that
result,

result, especially as those Powers already show themselves disposed to join me. These difficulties will be conquered with a little wisdom and prudence. But for this it is necessary that you should second me by justifying in the eyes of the Russians the predilection which I am known to feel for the Poles. Trust me, my character, and my principles, and your hopes will not be deceived. As military events develop themselves, you will see how faithful I am to my old ideas. As to the form, you know I have always preferred liberal ones.

‘Pray communicate this letter to the persons whose co-operation you think necessary, and urge your countrymen to show good-will to Russia and to the Russians, so as to wipe out the recollections of the campaign, and thereby facilitate my task. On my part, in order to give the Poles a proof of the sincerity of my intentions, I have given orders to my army not to occupy Warsaw; but for this it is necessary that no foreign troops should remain there, and Polish ones least of all, so as to deprive us of the anxiety of leaving a foreign garrison behind us. Pray urge the members of the Confederation and the Government on my part to remain quietly at Warsaw, and promise them they will not regret doing so. . . .

‘P.S.—It has taken me two days to write this letter, as my time was taken up with the affairs of the army and other business. As my letter bears a certain official character, I cannot allow it to go, my dear friend, without adding a friendly word for you. Success has not changed me, either in my ideas on your country, or in my principles generally, and you will always find me such as you have known me. Say many things from me to your parents and sisters. If, as a result of all these events, I should be able to stay for a moment with your family,* this would give me immense pleasure. Yours, heart and soul.—Vol. ii. p. 237.

This letter needs no comment. It summarizes the whole character of Alexander, and was followed by the complete amnesty of every Pole who had taken part in the French invasion. It may be doubted whether History records such Christian deeds on the part of a conqueror in the first blush of victory towards a people who had defied him in council and opposed him in the field; none, it is certain, ever done in so noble a manner.

The letters and memorials of the time abound with testimony to the service rendered to his country by the Emperor. His Secretary Speranski said to more than one statesman, ‘The Emperor’s character is the sole hope, I dare to say it, which remains to worthy and intelligent men in the chaos of our government.’ ‘When in 1812,’ writes Stein, the Prussian statesman, to Prince Leopold, ‘the Emperor Alexander entered

* The Emperor had more than once been the guest of Prince Czartoriski’s father at Pulawy, his principal residence.

upon his struggle with Napoleon, he took for his motto, "*Confiance en Dieu, courage, persévérance, union*," and, surrendering himself to the inspiration of his large-hearted and noble soul, he hurled the giant to the ground.' General Moreau, whom Alexander had summoned to his service from America, hearing an officer speak of him as 'the best of Princes,' interposed eagerly, 'You may say, sir, the best of men,' adding that the Emperor had that uncommon fault, an excess of modesty.

Sir Charles Stewart (the Marquis of Londonderry), in his work on the Campaign of 1813-14,* expressing the awe with which the tremendous power of Russia inspired him, says:—

'There was no better physical and moral safeguard than in the personal character of the reigning sovereign Alexander, a mixture of benevolence and rectitude, a high sense of religion, and a generous view on all subjects. These afforded in my mind the only and best guarantee against the far too formidable legions which then defiled over the Rhine, and that guarantee we have now, alas! lost.†

These testimonies lend further weight to what Madame de Staël reports as having passed between the Emperor and herself. Regretting to her the still enslaved state of his Russian peasantry, she answered, 'Sire, your character is a constitution for your Empire, and your conscience a guarantee for it.' 'Ah, Madame!' he replied, 'I am but a happy accident.'

It has been doubted whether the great piety and humanity of Alexander were compatible with the energy, firmness, and far-sightedness of a military commander; but here our Wellington's dictum comes in with its plain and unexaggerated weight: 'The Emperor of Russia appears to have taken every measure which could lead to the total defeat and destruction of his enemy.' General Cathcart, who was with the Russian forces, says, 'Alexander was the most fitted of all the Russian generals to lead the army in 1812.' Of his personal courage also there could be no doubt, for he exposed his life equally in the field and in the pestilential hospitals at Vilna and elsewhere, speaking the kindest and most judicious words of consolation to the inmates in their various tongues.

No man recorded in history has been known to be guided, in all things, great and small, by stricter dictates of religion than Alexander I. At one time he was influenced by Madame de Krüdner, an ardent, fantastic woman, dealing in visions and

* Published 1826.

† These quotations are all taken from 'Life and Times of Alexander I.,' by C. Joyneville.

prophecies,

prophecies, who represented one of those outbursts of fervent and fanatical feeling which follow periods of violence and of indifference to religion. This lady, whose sincerity was beyond question, had a personal magnetism which attracted many; and knew too well the importance of Alexander's aid in the promotion of her schemes, both political and religious, not to exert it to the utmost upon him. But the Emperor's excellent understanding preserved him from all extravagance, even in the cause of that religion which was his guide and consolation; and in a remarkable letter * (1821) he admonished her with gentle sternness not to add, by her agitation in favour of the Greeks, to his ministers' embarrassment, and warns her that her presence in his capital will not be tolerated unless she preserves silence on political topics.

As a final proof of the earnest piety which, on all occasions, Alexander brought to bear on matters of secular government, the reader may be reminded that the idea of the so-called 'Holy Alliance' originated with him. This was a scheme for the strict observance of Christian principles between Christian nations—especially suggested to a thoughtful mind at the termination of Napoleon's wars—which was drawn up and signed by him, and joined later by the Kings of France and Prussia. It was evident from the first that this compact was a personal, rather than a political, bond; and not binding beyond the individual signatories. It forms, however, a consistent feature in the history of this unique sovereign; a history, in other words, of a great heart, appointed by Providence to fill one of the highest places in this world, and recognizing no other remedy for the sins and miseries of mankind than the genuine practice of the precepts of Christ.

Alexander, especially in the later years of his life, was a mournful man; and with sufficient reason. He bore a wearing sorrow, wielded a colossal empire, and possessed a tender conscience, which, to the different standards of his fellow sovereigns and statesmen, appeared not only morbid in character, but revolutionary. This may account for the little impression his example has left upon Russian administration and Russian society.

The next page of history which concerns the Poles unfolds itself at the Congress of Vienna, held in 1815, on the principle of ultimately settling the fate of the conquered territories. Here it was that Alexander at last carried out that conviction to which we have alluded, that the true restoration of Poland

* 'Life and Times of Alexander I,' by C. Joyneville, vol. iii. p. 311.

was intended to proceed from her union with Russia. But it was not without great opposition from his royal and imperial colleagues that he effected his purpose. Poland, as a separate State, only existed then as the Duchy of Warsaw, created such for his own purposes by Napoleon. And now that he had apparently passed away from the scene, though destined so soon to reappear, both Austria and Prussia claimed to take part with Russia in determining the lot of the Duchy; Austria having already, at the Treaty of Töplitz, stipulated for its entire annihilation as a State, and both Powers for the obliteration of the very name of Poland. Alexander, however, upheld his right as sole conqueror in the late war with Napoleon to do with it as he pleased, and peremptorily forbade all discussion as to his intentions, which were finally embodied as follows:— That the Kingdom of Poland be restored under that name; indissolubly united to Russia; governed by the Sovereigns of Russia with the title of Kings of Poland; and endowed with a national Constitution and with institutions, all conducted in the Polish language and by Polish officials, to which he reserved to himself the right of giving such further expansion as he thought fit. To this portion has been attached the appellation of 'The Congress Kingdom.' He further 'interceded' (such was his modest expression) with his allies to grant to their Polish subjects such a provincial autonomy as should preserve respect for their nationality, and give them a share in the administration of their country. It was thus that he redeemed his promise to Prince Czartoriski, and vindicated the challenge given in the letter above quoted.

But the party of disorder continued their old clamour for entire independence and complete restoration of the country as it existed before the first partition (1773). There is no reasoning with an unreasoning people whom nothing would content but the turning back of the pages of time. Alexander was doomed before his death to see his gifts abused and turned against the very objects they were destined to serve. The Poles refused to work the institutions they had received; their Diets were so factious that it was necessary to adjourn them; and secret societies multiplied. If, therefore, there was a shadow of truth in the reports that have prevailed as to the violation of his promises by Alexander, it is simply that these were morally annulled by the disloyal abuse, as well as contemptuous non-use of them. Nevertheless, the kingdom enjoyed from 1815 to 1825 a tranquillity and prosperity it had never known before. But the French Revolution broke out in 1830, and the Poles, ever ready to catch the contagion

contagion of disorder, rose in rebellion. Alexander had died in 1825, and had been succeeded by one of very different temperament. During Nicholas's life the Poles were ruled with a relentless rod of iron. He keenly felt their ingratitude to his brother, and immediately repealed the Constitution granted by him; though leaving certain liberties to the Congress kingdom which he denied to the Poles in his own share of the partition.

It is difficult now to look back on those two insurrections of 1830 and 1863,—the one '*une héroïque folie*'; the other '*une triste sottise*,'*—the mendacious reports of which were too hastily believed by the English public, without feeling impatience at the way in which our sympathies were abused: the simple truth being that the facts were reversed; the injurers playing the part of the injured, and the oppressors that of the oppressed. Nor can one read the perpetual vaunts of past liberty and past glory, and past and present love of country, on the part of the insurgents, without hearing in imagination a hoarse denial from millions hopelessly enslaved for centuries, and till within the memory of man. 'When was that time of liberty and glory?' they ask. 'Our past tells only of want, toil, blows, and murder—and all from you! What sort of liberty and glory and love of country was that when you despised twenty-one millions of us out of twenty-two—(the ancient population of Poland)—as fellow-creatures, and disowned us as fellow-countrymen?'

There is an aspect of the three partitions of Poland which, in our natural repugnance to their obvious dishonesty, has not been sufficiently taken into consideration. We said at the beginning that these partitions were not without excuse and vindication: the excuse being that the incessant feuds of the lawless noblesse made them intolerable neighbours to the three countries on which they bordered; the vindication being that the Polish peasantry, at that time still slaves, were great gainers by the change of masters. The improved lot of the greater number is an argument no one will dispute, and such is the case in all three states in which they have been embodied. Nothing would have terrified the peasants more than the restoration of the independence of their former brutal masters, and it was the fear that they were coming to restore them which led the peasants of Galicia, on the advance of the insurgents in 1846, to rise against the Polish proprietors and massacre a thousand of them. It was in Galicia especially where the Polish noblesse are known to have rioted in excesses of cruelty.† The idea of the

* 'Revue Française,' 15 Mars, 1889.

† See 'Aus Galizien,' Leipzig, 1851.

robbery also committed on the Poles, by the partitions, however unjustifiable in themselves, has been greatly exaggerated. Austria gained a fertile territory, though much reduced by misrule, which Maria Theresa very unwillingly appropriated; the Province of Posen, which was ceded to Prussia, was for long only the gain of a loss, Polish tyranny and anarchy having reduced it to a scene of desolation, ruin, and barbarism; while the portion of the Western Provinces obtained by Russia could hardly be considered Polish at all, not above a tenth of the population being Poles, the rest mainly of Russian or Ruthenian races.

There is no understanding the present low estate of Poland, we repeat, without keeping in mind the implacable hatred which the noblesse have earned from the great body of the people. This is the only true key to all the so-called misfortunes of the country. The Russian rule is stern and in many respects unjust, and it is not pleasant to be governed by a Power itself so corrupt and barbarous; but Poland has to thank herself only for the retribution which, in a higher sense, her own merciless national sins have brought upon her. We come back to the poor murdered peasant—'the dirt of the earth'—valued only as an insignificant chattel, if belonging to another master—valued at nothing when murdered by his own master.

The tables are turned now. The peasants are comparatively prosperous. The land which they cultivate is their own, their wants are few; they work for wages occasionally on the estates of the larger landowners, and, upon the whole, may be considered more independent than the peasantry of most other countries. The noblesse—as was to be expected—are half ruined, and our latest information reports that there is no love lost between them and their former ill-used Helots.

- ART. V.—1. *The Church in Wales. A Paper read at the Church Congress, Manchester, October 2, 1888.* By the Rev. Alfred G. Edwards, M.A. (now Bishop of St. Asaph). Carmarthen, 1888.
2. *Facts and Figures about Church and Dissent in Wales.* By the Rev. Alfred G. Edwards, M.A. (now Bishop of St. Asaph). Carmarthen, 1888.
3. *A History of the Ancient British Church.* By the Venerable Archdeacon Pryce, M.A., F.R.H.S. London, 1883.
4. *Saint David's Diocesan Directory.* Carmarthen, 1889.
5. *The Bangor Diocesan Church Calendar.* Bangor, 1889.
6. *The Anti-Tithe Agitation in Wales.* By R. E. Prothero. London, 1889.

IN the coming Session of Parliament, the Church in Wales will be summoned to show cause for its continued existence. No well-informed supporter of the Establishment shrinks from such an examination. On the contrary, he courts it. Misrepresented by its enemies, misunderstood by its friends, the Church in Wales has nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by inquiry.

The Church in Wales, say advocates of Disestablishment, is a Church which is so complete in itself that it can be separately destroyed; an alien Church, which, 'throughout its whole history, was the Church of the conqueror and invader;' a Church, which in the eighteenth century had reduced Wales to heathenism; a Church, which at the present moment is only the Church of 'the rent-receivers, large landowners, and capitalists, of Wales.' Of these statements, none are true, and all are characteristic. The first rides roughshod over principles, theories, and history; the second is, in one sense, a mischievous half-truth; the third is a wild misstatement; the fourth a ridiculous perversion of the facts. Is the Church in Wales a separate organization, or an integral portion of the Church in England? Has it been, throughout its whole history, an alien Church? Had it, in the eighteenth century, or at any other time, reduced Wales to heathenism? Is it now losing, or gaining, ground in Wales? If it is disestablished and disendowed, is Nonconformity in a position to supply its place? These are the questions it is proposed to ask. The answers involve a sketch of the past, the present, and the future, or of the history, condition, and prospects, of the Church in Wales.

It is unnecessary to labour the first point. The power to deal with the Church in Wales rests with Parliament. But in principle the Church in England and Wales is one and indivisible.

indivisible. Mr. Gladstone has treated the subject with more than his usual lucidity. 'The Welsh sees,' he says, 'are simply four sees held by the suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and form a portion of the province as much as any four English sees in that province.' 'It is practically impossible to separate the case of England from that of Wales,' and, therefore, the question 'means the disestablishment of the Church of England.'

The true principle cannot be better stated than in Mr. Gladstone's language. If Mr. Gladstone is wrong, then the Church in Wales is not an integral portion of the Church in England, but a separate organization. But this view is destructive of the theory of an 'alien Church,' which, 'throughout its whole history,' has been 'the Church of the conqueror and invader.' And this last theory is itself a half-truth, which is irreconcilable with facts. A glance at the history of the Church in Wales shows four clearly-defined periods of loyalty or of alienation. From the second to the twelfth century, the Church in Wales was the Church of the Welsh people. From the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'the people of Wales,' to quote once more Mr. Gladstone's words, were 'the staunchest Churchmen in the country.' From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and from 1811 to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Church lost its hold upon Wales. In other words, for eleven and a half centuries of its organized, continuous existence it commanded the loyal devotion of Wales; for four and a half it was administered in a spirit of antagonism to national sympathies.

The Church in Wales appeals by its history to the affections of a warm-hearted, enthusiastic people. It had its Christian Bishops centuries before the mission of Augustine; it was a flourishing institution, when the Saxons were yet idolaters, and Canterbury a pagan village; it is rich in the heritage of legend and of history; its spirit is enshrined in venerable buildings and a noble vernacular literature; its native growth is illustrated in the names of the patron saints of the country; it is linked by national traditions to that dim past which imagination peoples with shades of Arthur and his Knights. Christianity reached Wales through the British captives who followed in the train of Caractacus to Rome in 57 A.D., learned the doctrines of the new faith possibly from the lips of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and returned as missionaries to their native land. Before the close of the second century it was firmly established among the Cymric people, and Wales became its chosen sanctuary. Warm-hearted, imaginative, and almost morbidly

sensitive, the Welsh have ever been devoted votaries of religion. Impelled by melancholy yearnings after the Infinite, stirred to their depths by gusts of mystic emotion, eager for knowledge of spiritual truths, keenly receptive of religious teaching, impassioned in their faith, they received first the Druidic, then the Christian, instructions with that reverential enthusiasm, which was displayed in loyal devotion to the Church, and subsequently in the misdirected energies of a Babel of divided sects. Pelagius in the intellectual world, and St. David in the spiritual sphere, illustrate the mental energy and moral grandeur of the Church in Wales during the first centuries of its growth.

With such a people, and such national associations, how comes it that the Church has at present alienated the sympathies of so large a portion of the country? The explanation lies in its subsequent history. But in its origin, at least, it was not an alien institution. Evil times were soon at hand. At first the Cymric Bishops were strong enough to resist the claims of Augustine and his successors to spiritual supremacy. With the Normans came a change. Mariolatry was introduced; few churches dedicated to the Virgin (*Llanfair*) are to be found except under the shadow of Norman castles. It was also reserved for the Normans to use the Church as a garrison in a hostile country, to initiate the policy of alien intrusion, to strike at Welsh nationality by controlling the ecclesiastical, as well as the political, destinies of the people, and to carry out the policy with characteristic vigour and completeness. From the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century the high places of the Church were filled with ecclesiastics ignorant of the Welsh language, without sympathy with the Welsh character, wanting that personal influence which is essential for Welsh popular teachers, and representing the domination of an alien race among a people in whom burned the fire of national independence.

With the Tudors and the Reformation, this policy was reversed. The Reformation was a protestation against the employment of an unintelligible ritual. Its triumph demanded the employment of native clergymen. A race of sovereigns, in whose veins ran Welsh blood, was on the throne. From 1570 to 1715, some thirty Welsh Bishops presided over Welsh Sees. Native pastors fed Welsh flocks. And the Church rose from its ruins stronger than before. It was to the clergy of the Church that Wales owed her incomparable vernacular version of the Bible, and thereby the preservation of the Welsh language. William Salesbury, who began the
work

work at the instigation of the Welsh Bishops, was a lawyer and by descent an alien. But he was assisted in the New Testament by Huet, Precentor of St. David's, and by Dr. Richard Davies, successively Bishop of St. Asaph and St. David's. The Old Testament and the revision of the New were the work of William Morgan, Bishop of Llandaff. The revised Edition of 1620, which may be called the authorized version of to-day, was the work of Bishop Parry. A Welsh clergyman, Archdeacon Prys, gave to Wales her metrical version of the Psalms. The books which, next to the Bible, were, and still are, most often found on the shelves of cottagers, were written by Welsh clergymen. 'The Practice of Piety' was the work of the Bishop of Bangor (1630); the 'Candle of the Welsh' was composed by Vicar Prichard; Charles Edwards, the author of the 'History of the Faith,' was probably an ordained minister of the Church. The 'Catechetical Instruction' of Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llandowror, was used in every school, and is the basis of the similar work compiled by Charles for his Sunday-schools. In the fifty years from 1680 to 1730, '279 books were published in the Welsh language. Of these, 268 were on religious subjects, and 179 were certainly, and probably many more, written by members, for the most part, indeed, ministers of the Church.' To John Davies, Rector of Mallwyd, Wales owed her first Grammar, and a Dictionary, which the lapse of two centuries and a half has not displaced. Between the years 1595 and 1715, ten Grammar Schools were founded and endowed by Welsh clergymen. Thomas Gouge, the Charles Simeon of the seventeenth century, was an ordained minister of the Church; and the Society which he formed in 1674 to promote instruction in the English tongue and to circulate Bibles, Prayer-books, and other religious works in the Welsh language, was supported by Tillotson, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Wilkins, and other dignitaries of the Church. The Circulating Schools of Wales (also called Schools of Piety or Madame Bevan's Schools), by which, between 1730 and 1777, 314,000 scholars were taught to read the Holy Scriptures in Welsh, were founded by Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llandowror. Yet these were the works of a Church which, in the words of Mr. Richard, was at this very time an alien Church, actively engaged, according to Mr. Rendel, in reducing Wales to heathenism. Can it be fairly said that a Church, administered by Welsh Bishops and officered by Welsh clergymen, which preserved alive the national language, gave to Wales her vernacular version of the Scriptures, supplied her Grammars and Dictionaries, created her devotional

literature in prose and verse, founded and endowed a large proportion of her Grammar Schools, and provided the only available means of education, was either an alien, or engaged in the propagation of heathenism? Yet this is what Mr. Richard and Mr. Rendel have induced thousands to believe.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Church reaped a rich harvest in the loyalty of the people. Dissent made little or no progress in the country. Between 1635 and 1639 three Dissenting congregations assembled at Llanfaches (Monmouth), Llanbrynmair (Montgomery), and Wrexham, under Wroth, Erbury, and Cradock, three ejected ministers of the Church. But the vast mass of the Welsh people, during the troubled interlude of the Civil War, remained Royalist and Puritan in sympathy, and declared for 'Church and King.' Reviving the policy of Norman rulers, Parliament made a vigorous effort to uproot the parochial system in Wales. The crisis from 1649 to 1660, during which period Vavasor Powell plundered the Welsh churches, is so important that it will be necessary to enter into some detailed account of the episode.

In 1649, an Act of Parliament was passed for the 'Propagation of the Gospel in Wales.' It was founded on a scheme of Hugh Peters; and the execution of the Act was entrusted to Harrison. The design of abolishing parochial ministries, secularizing Church revenues, and supplying spiritual needs with itinerant preachers, was first to be tested in Wales. If the experiment answered, it was to be extended to England. In order to obtain parliamentary sanction for the scheme, the character of the Welsh people was assiduously blackened. Parliament was induced to believe that Wales was a land of darkness, overrun with ignorance and profanity, inhabited by Pagans and Infidels, who sate in the region and shadow of death. By such misrepresentations, couched in the Biblical phraseology of the day, the Act was passed. The next step was to eject the ministers and sequester the tithes. Learning was proscribed as a limb of Satan's kingdom, settled ministers as Antichrist. None were to be saved except by itineraries. Sworn informations were obtained from 'certain Journeymen Pedlars or Itinerant Tobacco-Mongers who for 18*d.* per Diem perambulated the country' to discover and report the obliquities of the clergy. The same course was pursued towards the schoolmasters. On this evidence, numbers of both classes were deprived of their places. Of the ordained ministers existing in 1645, only 125 retained their livings in 1652. In 1654, 700 parishes in Wales and Monmouthshire were without ministers. The money thus rendered available was largely bestowed in relief

relief of the distressed saints, and the sequestered tithes were let out to members of the godly party,—for they alone were fit to inherit the earth.

“These Saints,” writes a contemporary writer in 1652, “have a certain pious *Wawle* in the Pulpit, but out of it they are all *Clutch* and *Claw*. I did sometimes wonder why they were so busie with *South Wales*, and was about to consult with the *Map*, if *Mount Sion* were not there. But I understand now that there is a more *present blessing* in those parts; there is 20,000*l.* per annum, for all the learned Ministers are ejected.”

The language which we have quoted is that of a partisan; but much of it is borne out by facts. The money was not appropriated to religious or educational purposes. No accounts were rendered. The people were compelled to pay tithes more strictly than ever, although the Propagators were obliged to apply to Parliament for horse and foot to enforce payment. Men who were accustomed to hear one sermon at least every Sunday were now, it was alleged, glad to hear one once a month, or even once a twelvemonth. ‘*Propagation of the Gospel*’ proved to be ‘a *Propagation* of Land and Money, for the *Saints* have advanced from 7*l.* per annum to 1500*l.*, and he who had scarce *Frieze* for his *breech* struts it now in *Holy Lace* and *Scarlet*.’ So intolerable did the rule of the Propagators become, that, in 1651, 15,000 of the inhabitants of South Wales petitioned Parliament against the continuance of an abuse which in some counties only supplied four or five itinerant ministers. The Propagators voted the petition a breach of the privileges of the godly party; pronounced the demand for ‘godly, able, orthodox Ministers’ to be a demand for ‘malignant, drunken, unpreaching, ejected Curates;’ struck out from Commissions of the Peace all who had signed the petition; and responded with a ‘Humble Acknowledgment of the Inhabitants of South Wales and Monmouthshire for the blessed Work of Propagation.’ The acknowledgment purported to be signed by 19,000 persons, ‘18,000 whereof never saw or heard of it.’ Threats of ruin here and damnation hereafter were freely employed to undo the effects of the petition, but without effect. Parliament sent down Commissioners to examine and report, and the Propagators were ordered to account for the money that had passed through their hands. They totally failed to do so in any satisfactory manner. They acknowledged the receipts of sums averaging 9400*l.* in the years 1650–51–52; and even for this sum they rendered no adequate account. Itinerant ministers were cheap, if the following entry is typical:—‘Distributed among

among twenty godly members of the Churches of Llanfaches and Monythusloyne, sent forth to exercise their gifts and to help the work of the Lord among the Welsh in the mountains, 340*l.* It was estimated that, during their years of office, the Propagators received 345,000*l.* The subject came before Parliament on several occasions. A speaker in a debate held in February 1658-9, declared that 20,000*l.* a year was in their hands in South Wales alone. 'How it is employed, I wish it were examined. Souls have been starved.' Another said, 'The sheep have fallen among wolves; however scandalous the ministers, the judges be more scandalous.' It would be charitable to Mr. Rendel to suppose that, when he stated that the Church reduced Wales to heathenism, he confused the Church with the Propagators. In an alien, who is a stranger to Welsh history, character, and language, the mistake is pardonable.

The jargon of Puritan fanaticism is no measure of morality, and the language of partisanship, when unsupported by facts, is untrustworthy. But the parliamentary petition and debates show, that it was not the only object of the Propagators to trim the lamps of the Church, to snuff the candles which burned dim, to winnow the chaff from the wheat. If there were some who counted godliness as gain, there were more who regarded gain as godliness. Probably the truth on the condition of Wales in 1650 is correctly stated by the author of the '*Gemitus Ecclesie Cambriæ Britanniæ*' (1652): 'As to the laity, they are no more heathens than are the same classes in England. As to the clergy, it was stated that "there were not thirteen painefull Preachers in the thirteene Counties of Wales." Such a statement is contradicted by a list "of the Doctors and Batchelours of Divinitie, Masters of Arts, and other able men who make the mountains of Gilboah fruitful." As to scandalous lives, there must be weeds in every garden. As to ignorance, nothing more could be expected when Impropriators and Pluralists provided Curates at the cheapest possible rates, and "Vicaridges of 20 Marks a year and under."'

The strongest proof of the misrepresentations, by which the Act of Propagation was obtained, lies in the fact that the Church, though crippled by the suspension of her ministrations, impoverished by spoliation, disorganized by the complete subversion of her system, yet retained its hold upon the people. So deep-rooted was its popularity, that, in spite of the violent interruption of the Commonwealth, Dissent made little, or no, progress. To the Confession of Faith of the General Assembly of the Baptist Churches, which met in London in 1689, are
prefixed

prefixed the names of 'the ministers and messengers of one hundred Baptized Churches in England and Wales.' One Welsh pastor and one Welsh minister sign the document for Blaenau and Abergavenny respectively, and both places are said to be in Monmouthshire. There is reason to believe that, in the period which elapsed between the Revolution and the rise of Methodism in Wales, the Nonconformist congregations rather diminished than advanced. They wasted their energies in internal disputes respecting the Trinity, the rites of Baptism, or the Arminian Controversy. In 1715, there were fifty-one Dissenting congregations in Monmouthshire and Wales. In Monmouthshire, there were eight, two of which were Baptist; in South Wales, thirty-four; in North Wales, nine. From 1650 to 1750 only 20 Baptist and 53 Congregational 'causes' were started in Wales. In the next 50 years (1750-1800) there were 66 Baptist and 67 Congregational 'causes.' Even in 1808, Dissent was by no means powerful, for up to 1811, Calvinistic Methodists were still 'considered a part of the Established Church.' The following table shows the proportionate strength of Dissenting congregations in 1808:—

| | Presbyterian Congregations. | Independent Congregations. | Baptist Congregations. |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| South Wales | 18 | 141 | 112 |
| North Wales | 0 | 75 | 49 |
| Totals | 18 | 216 | 161 |

Up to 1808, therefore, whatever was done for the evangelization of Wales, was practically the work of the Church. But before passing to the consideration of the spiritual condition of Wales in the eighteenth century, it may be well to pause and reflect, how the history of the Cromwellian settlement reproduces itself in the present attack upon the Church. Now, as then, Wales is the *corpus vile* on which an experiment is to be tried which is afterwards to be applied to England. Now, as then, Parliament is to be hoodwinked into the sanction of the new scheme. The men who stated that Wales was then a country of 'Pagans and Infidels' are the prototypes of Mr. Stuart Rendel, who has stated that Nonconformity a century back evangelized Wales, and the Church of England, prior to that time, had reduced it to heathenism. Now, as then, statistics are fabricated. The 18,000 persons, who never saw or heard of the

the 'humble acknowledgment' of the Itinerant Synod, are paralleled by Mr. Dillwyn's 42,882 statistical spectres, who attend public worship in the spirit, because their bodies are non-existent. Now, as then, ignorance is abused by perversions of the truth. The 'malignant, drunken, unpreaching ejected Curates' of the Propagators are reproduced in the wilful misrepresentation of Mr. Osborne Morgan, that Welsh farmers are compelled to pay tithes to supply two of the wealthiest and most aristocratic Colleges of Oxford with claret and champagne. Now, as then, the sanctions of religion and society are freely employed to swell the cry for Disestablishment and Disendowment. We will not push the analogy of the past into the uncertainties of the future. But history may be ransacked in vain for an instance when the plunder of Churches put a penny into the pockets of the people.

Before we conclude, we shall have more to say on the misrepresentations of these nineteenth-century 'Propagators.' For the present, we return to the condition of Wales in the eighteenth century. And first of South Wales. In 1710, the Archdeacon of Carmarthen made a Visitation in the Diocese of St. David's. His official records, compiled with great care, state the number of families in each parish, and the number of communicants at Easter. The Bishop of St. Asaph* has given figures for a dozen parishes, taken indiscriminately:—

| Parish. | Families. | Communicants at Easter. |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| Llanefydd | 40 | 100 |
| Abernant | 70 | 140 |
| Llanpumpsaint | 29 | 40 |
| Merthyr | 30 | 60 |
| Llanegwad | 203 | 300 |
| Llangan | 64 | 80 |
| Llanboidy | 240 | 300 |
| Llanwinio | 50 | 130 |
| Laugharne | 160 | 115 |
| Llangadock | 200 | 200 |
| Llandilo | 581 | 200 |
| Trelech | 64 | 150 |

In 1721, Dr. Erasmus Saunders published 'A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David's.' He dwells upon the abuses and difficulties against which the Church had to contend in Wales. He points out its poverty, its disorganization consequent upon the Cromwellian invasion, the appoint-

* See 'Facts and Figures,' &c.: 'The Church in Wales,' p. 20.

ment of alien bishops or of clergymen ignorant of the Welsh language. Finally he notices—

‘the extraordinary disposition to religion which, a learned historian observes, prevails among the people of this country; for whether it be owing to our solitude, or our poverty, or natural disposition, or to the extraordinary grace of God given to us, I know not; but so it is. There is, I believe, no part of the nation more inclined to be religious, and to be delighted with it, than the poor inhabitants of these mountains. They do not think it too much, when neither ways nor weather are inviting, over cold and bleak hills to travel three or four miles, or more, on foot, to attend the public prayers—and sometimes as many more, to hear a sermon; and they seldom grudge, many times for several hours together, in their damp and cold churches, to wait the coming of their minister, who by occasional duties in his other curacies, or by other accidents, may be obliged to disappoint them and to be often variable in his hours of prayer.’

If these devout mountaineers were Pagans, or if the 300 Easter communicants at Llanboidy were heathens, it is to be regretted that Wales was ever evangelized.

In North Wales the evidence of vitality in the Church is still more marked. The following examples, taken indiscriminately from the Visitation Returns of the Diocese of St. Asaph in 1749, prove beyond all question that the Church in North Wales was assiduous in its ministrations, and was rewarded for its efforts by striking results. See Table, pp. 122, 123.

The eighteenth century was the period during which the Church relaxed its hold upon Wales. But the evidence we have adduced pulverizes the theory, that the Church had, to use Mr. Stuart Rendel’s phrase, ‘reduced’ it ‘to heathenism.’ On the contrary, like all inhabitants of mountainous countries, who are familiar with the awe-inspiring aspects of Nature, the Welsh were a profoundly religious people. Their instinctive reverence was deepened by poetry, legend, and superstitions, which for the most part turned upon the invisible world. They were the staunchest of Churchmen. Every household was represented at least at the Sunday morning services, and every adult member of the congregation was generally a partaker of the Eucharist. For the last two centuries, the Church commanded and received the loyal devotion of the people. To what causes was the change of feeling to be attributed?

Moderation of language is least appreciated where it is most needed. The Church in Wales was in no worse condition in the eighteenth century than the Church in England. All accounts of the older Welsh clergy have hitherto come to us from hostile sources. Of the other side we hear little. The records

| Parishes. | Number of Families or Inhabitants. | | | Resident or Non-Resident Incumbents (R. and N. R.) | | | Number of Dissenters or of Meeting Houses. | | | Church Services. | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--|------------------------|-------|--|---|--------------------------------|--|---|--|
| | Fam. 1749. | Inhab. 1809. | Inhab. 1835. | 1749. | 1809. | 1835. | 1749. | 1809. | 1835. | 1749. | 1809. | 1835. |
| Rhuddlan . | 200 | 1600 | 1467 | R. | R. half year. | R. | Nil. | 4 Calv. Meth.; few Wesleyans; 1 Whitfield. | 4 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Mor. and Ev. Prayer Wed. & Fri. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. | 2 Sun. |
| Bodfari . . | 103 | 845 | 850 | R. | N. R. | R. | 4 Rom. Caths.; no Diss. | Few Calv. Meth. and Wesleyans; no minister. | A considerable number; 2 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Every Holy Day. | 2 Sun. with 1 Sermon. — Every Holy Day. | 2 Sun. |
| Llanfair-Tal-haearn. | 156 | 955 | 1228 | R. | R. | R. | Nil. | 60 Diss.; no licensed M. H. | 4 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Days and Ember Days. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Day. | 2 Sun. with 2 Sermons. — Holy Day. |
| Abergele . | 300 | ? | 2400 | R. | R. | R. | Nil. | Both. | 4 M. H. | 2 Sun. — Holy Day. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Week days in Lent, and Holy Days. | 2 Sun. with 1 Sermon in winter, and 2 in summer — Holy Days. |
| Cerrigydruidion. | 250 | 600 | 1026 | R. | Rector N. R. Curate R. | R. | Nil. | Both. | 4 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Day. | 2 Sun. — Holy Day. | ? |
| Dyserth . . | 66 | 436 | 585 | N. R. | N. R. | N. R. | Nil. | A few; but no licensed M. H. | 2 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Days. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Day. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. |
| Llanrhaidryn-Mochnant. | 330 | 1900 | 2229 | R. | R. | R. | Nil. | Nil. | 2 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermons. — Holy Days, Wed. and Fri. in Lent. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. | 2 Sun. with 2 Sermons. — Holy Day. |
| Llanstilin . | Inhab. 1200 | 1400 | 1697 | N. R. | N. R. | R. | Nil. | Very few; no licensed M. H. | 5 M. H. | Do. | Do. | Do. |
| Llangollen . | 400 | 2500 | 3535 | R. | N. R. | R. | Nil. | 3 M. H. | 4 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Day. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Day. | 2 Sun. with 1 Sermon. — Holy Day. |
| Llandrillo-Corwen. | 140 | 400 | 783 | R. | R. | R. | Nil. | 2 M. H. | 3 M. H. | Do. | Do. | 2 Sun. with 1 Sermon. |
| Eglwys-fach | 213 | 900 | 1517 | R. | R. | R. | Nil. | A good many; but no licensed M. H. | 3 M. H. | 2 Sun. with Sermon; alternate Sundays. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. — Holy Day. | 2 Sun. with Sermon. |
| Meliden . . | 60 | 350 | 569 | Vicar N. R. Curate R. | Vicar N. R. Curate R. | R. | Nil. | 2 M. H. | 2 M. H. | 2 Sun. | 2 Sun. | 2 Sun. and every alternate Holy Day. |

* The books used in 1749 were Bishop Beveridge's *Exposition of the Catechism, or the Oxford

| Schools. | | | Catechising.* | | | Celebrations and Communicants. | | |
|--|----------------|----------------------|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 1749. | 1809. | 1835. | 1749. | 1809. | 1835. | 1749. | 1809. | 1835. |
| Nil. | Nil. | Boy and girl school. | Every Sunday afternoon in Lent. | Lent. | Lent. | Every month, average 80-100; Easter 300-600. | Every month, average 15. | Every month, average 15. |
| Nil.; but children taught to read English. | Nil. | S. | Every Sunday in Lent and in summer. | Wednesday and Friday in Lent. | Lent. | Every month, average 30-40; Easter about 200. | Every month, average 10; Easter 70. | 6 or 7 times a year. Communicants about 60. |
| S. children | S. 15 children | S. | Every Sunday from Lent to Michaelmas. | Lent. | Lent. | Every month, average 80-100; Easter 391. | Every month, average 18. | Every month and Great Festivals, average 30-35. |
| S. children | S. 12 children | S. | Every Sunday in Lent. | Lent. | Lent. | Every month, average 60-70; Easter 450. | Every month, average 20; Easter 70. | Communicants 15. |
| S. kept by Grace. | Nil. | Nil. | Lent. | Lent. | Every Sunday. | Every month, average 50-60; Easter 300. | Every month, average 30; Easter 80. | Every month and Great Festivals, average 20. |
| Nil. | Nil. | S. | Lent. | Lent. | Lent. | Monthly; Easter 100. | Monthly, average 12; Easter 85. | Monthly, average 50. |
| S. children | S. | S. | Lent and summer. | Lent and Whitsuntide. | Every Sunday. | Monthly and Holy Days, average 50; Easter 800. | Monthly and Festivals, average 25; Easter 300. | Monthly, average 25; Great Festivals, average 140. |
| Nil. | Nil. | S. | Lent. | Lent. | Lent. | Monthly and Great Festivals, average 30; Easter 450. | Monthly and Great Festivals, average 20; Easter 350. | Monthly average 30; Easter 300. |
| S. children | S. | S. | Every Sunday afternoon. | Lent. | Lent. | Monthly and Great Festivals, average 140; Easter 625. 1200 communicants in parish. | Monthly, average 20; Easter 150. | Monthly and Festivals; Easter 130. |
| S. | S. | Nil. | Lent. | Lent. | ? | Monthly, average 20; Easter 300. | Monthly, average 30-40. | Monthly communicants 150-200. |
| Nil. | Nil. | Nil. | Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday in Lent. | Lent. | Occasionally before morning service. | Monthly, average 80; Easter 400. | Monthly, average 15; Easter 300. | Monthly communicants 70. |
| Nil. | Nil. | Nil. | Lent. | ? | Lent. | 3 times a year. | Monthly, average 6-10. | Monthly 45. |

Exposition.' The Vicar of Abergele had translated into Welsh Bishop Synges Catechism.

records of unassuming piety are rarely written upon earth. A Laodicean tone of thought, a cold and lifeless theology, the inculcation of moral philosophy rather than religious truth, pervaded England as well as Wales. But they were far more chilling and uncongenial to the Welsh temperament. The Welshman craved for words that glowed with the fire of conviction upon the foundations of a Christian's hope; in their stead he received the stone of an academic discussion of the evidences of Christianity. So again, pluralities, non-residence, a neglect of education, a formal studied style of preaching, a low standard of moral and intellectual life among the clergy, an ecclesiastical system which was rigid and inelastic, a church which was too much an edifice of stone and timber and too little a moving tabernacle,—these were evils which prevailed in England as well as in Wales. But as the dominant tone of thought was more repugnant to the Welsh than the English mind, so the abuses of the ecclesiastical system were aggravated by the religious feeling of the Welsh people and the peculiar circumstances of the Church in Wales.

The Cromwellian episode left the Church plundered and impoverished, her system disorganized, her buildings neglected, decaying, and falling out of repair. Before she had recovered the shock, an old evil was revived. The House of Hanover used the Church in Wales as a garrison against the Stuarts. From 1715 to within the last twenty years, no Welsh Bishop was appointed to a Welsh diocese. Most of the Bishops were non-residents, who regarded their sees as steps in the ladder of preferment. Judged by the eighteenth-century standard, it is no reproach to them that they could not, and did not, preach to the people. The nineteenth-century conception of episcopal functions is higher and more exacting. But excellent men as many of the Bishops were, they were absentees, perpetually changing, and strangers, in thought, feeling, and language, to the clergy and the people. Upon the native clergy, with whom they could hold no personal intercourse, their influence was necessarily numbing. Their patronage was often unwisely administered. Lay landowners were regarded as the proper channels through whom candidates for benefices applied for preferment. The richer benefices were accumulated in the hands of a favoured few, most of whom were Englishmen, and owed their advancement to political and family influence. Residence became the exception, and not the rule. Already poverty necessitated the accumulation of two or more livings in one hand, so that, either morning or evening, one church or the other

was

was necessarily closed. The Church had suffered more severely in Wales than in England from ecclesiastical appropriations or lay impropriators. Half the parochial tithes had been alienated. Bangor lost a third; St. Asaph and Llandaff a half; St. David's four-sevenths. In 1720, there were in St. David's 233 livings under 50*l.* a year, and of these 154 were under 30*l.* To this mass of poor incumbents, pluralities added a host of starving curates. Poverty is in itself no degradation, for religion makes the poorest rich, and vulgarity is impossible among the true servants of God. But poverty was an actual cause of degradation among the Welsh clergy. The moral training of their homes was that of small farmers or tradesmen. Taught to read at Sunday or circulating schools, emerging from grammar schools as 'literates,' ordained upon the least possible amount of knowledge, serving cures upon miserable stipends, they retained the faults and habits of their origin. The careless forfeited the respect of the pure by the coarseness of their vices; the zealous lost the esteem of the wise through their illiberal fanaticism. The want of education or refinement exposed the Welsh clergy to peculiar temptation. Surrounded by friends and relatives whose highest enjoyments centred in the alehouse, cut off from the pursuits of literature, never raised above the gross tastes of their youth, they shared in all the social relaxations which their neighbours enjoyed. Emulation died out among the native clergy, when prelate after prelate came from England, followed by relations and friends, on whom the best preferments were bestowed. The influence of the Church decayed, stifled by practices which turned the whole strength of nationality against herself.

In England, as well as in Wales, abuses of non-residence and pluralities created a disproportionate number of curates, who were miserably paid, illiterate, and often immoral. But a temporal policy in the distribution of the highest honours of the Church affected Wales alone. There it told with disastrous effect upon a people, by temperament intensely religious, ardently patriotic, acutely sensitive, who were mocked by ministrations in an unintelligible tongue. A comparison of the Visitation Returns of 1749 and 1809 illustrates the rapidity with which the Church lost ground. Dissenters and their Meeting-houses have sprung up, where none existed sixty years before. More incumbents are non-resident. The services are fewer. Two of the schools have disappeared, and in two the attendance is smaller. Catechising is less frequent. But the most startling change is to be found in the number of communicants. The point is so important, that we reinforce the figures given before
by

by the cases of eight additional parishes, in the diocese of St. Asaph, taken indiscriminately :—

| Parish. | No. of Communicants. | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|---|
| | 1749. | 1809. | 1835. |
| 1. Cwm . . . | Average, monthly, 25; Easter, 200. | Average, monthly, 7; Easter, 60. | ? |
| 2. Glan-Conway | Average, monthly, 30; Easter, 250. | Average, monthly, 10. | Average, monthly, 6; Easter, 60. |
| 3. Llanasa . . | Average, monthly, 20; Easter, 300. | Average, monthly, 20; Easter, 170. | Average, monthly, 10; Easter, 150. |
| 4. Llanrhaiadr in Kimmerech | Average, monthly, 45; Easter, 700 to 800. | Average, monthly, 25; Whitsuntide and Christmas, 100; Easter, 300. | Average, monthly, 25; Easter, 135. |
| 5. Llangedwyn . | Average, monthly, 18; Easter, 50. | Average, monthly, 12. | Average, monthly, 90. |
| 6. Henllan . . | Average, monthly, 100; Easter, 500. | Average, monthly, 35. | Communicants in parish, 150 to 200. |
| 7. Llanmochllyn | Communicants in parish, 600. Average, monthly, 80; Easter, 500. | Average, monthly, 25-30. | Every month and Great Festivals, average, 20. |
| 8. Llanwrst . . | Average, monthly, from 80 to 140. | Average, monthly, 150; Easter, 300-350. | Average, monthly, 30; 3 Great Festivals, 160. |

The figures for 1749 illustrate the activity of the Church at that time, and demonstrate the absurdity of Mr. Rendel's statement, that, prior to the rise of Nonconformity, it had reduced Wales to heathenism. Those for 1809 show a considerable decrease. Those for 1835 show a still more marked diminution. The reason for the former has been explained. The reason of the latter is easily discovered. In 1811 the Calvinistic Methodists, who, up to that date, had been members of the Established Church, had in the interval seceded from its pale.

Welsh Dissent in the whole of the eighteenth century meant the numerically unimportant and insignificant congregations of the Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians. Welsh Methodism, on the contrary, was up to 1811 a Church movement. It was, in its origin, a sign of the strong religious sentiments of the Welsh people, a protest against neglect of the national language and ignorance of the national character, a supply of the demand for more personal and fervid ministrations :—

‘I must also,’ wrote Griffith Jones, in the middle of the eighteenth century, ‘do justice to the Dissenters in Wales, that it was not any scruple of conscience about the principles or orders of the Established

blished Church that gave occasion to scare one in ten of the Dissenters in this country to separate from us at first, whatever objections they may afterwards imbibe against conforming. No, sir! they generally dissent at first for no other reason than for want of plain, practical, pressing, and zealous preaching, in a language and dialect they are able to understand; and freedom of friendly access to advise about their spiritual state.'

The want of native Bishops and native pastors; the inability of parishioners to understand the language of their ministers; the incapacity of English incumbents to meet, or sympathize with, the needs of their Welsh congregations; the Latitudinarian theology of the eighteenth century; the prosaic, colourless style of preaching; the abuses of non-residence and pluralities; the apathy or immorality of an ill-paid, illiterate, and neglected, native clergy; the inadequacy of the ministrations which the most zealous shepherd could supply to flocks that were scattered over vast, poverty-stricken parishes—all these were the causes which facilitated, and the opportunities which demanded, the spread of other religious agencies. But what Dissent could not do, that the Church did. It was to hear the clergy of the Church, that multitudes flocked together, threading every mountain valley from the mouth of the Conway to the mouth of the Wye. It was the solemn words of the Litany of the Church, rendered by the impressive voice of Daniel Rowlands, which awakened the slumbering poetry and religious fervour of the Welsh masses. It was in the Church herself, and among her ministers, that the Methodist revival originated. It was by her ordained clergy that the desire was satisfied for more efficient and zealous ministrations than were afforded by an alien pastorate, an inelastic system, and a cold theology. Welsh Methodism was created, propagated, and organized by ministers of the Church to form a Religious Order, affiliated and subsidiary to the Establishment. All its founders were Churchmen, and all, with one exception, were ordained ministers of the Church. Griffith Jones, the father of national education in Wales, who commenced the practice of itinerating; Daniel Rowlands, the Whitfield of Wales; Williams of Pantycelyn, the poet, and Peter Williams, the commentator, of the movement; Charles of Bala, the recognized leader of Methodism in the present century, were all ordained clergymen of the Church in Wales. The one exception was Howel Harris, the founder of Trevecca, who was refused orders because, at the time of his application, he was below the canonical age. Every one of these men, Charles alone excepted, died, as they had lived, loyal members of the Church in Wales. Every one of them, Charles not excepted,

excepted, retained to the last their love and veneration for the 'Old Mother.'

The strange work, called 'The Mirror of the Times'—a work which seems compounded of the Apocrypha and the Lives of Roman Saints—relates the spread of the movement. Intense religious fervour, a zealous, impressive, highly-poetical style of preaching, and the system of Sunday schools, were the principal weapons of Methodism. Visions, portents, miracles, attested the revival of the faith. John Roberts, in distress about his soul, beheld a head arise in South Wales, and light the whole country. Wild bulls, let loose upon the Saints, gored their owners. Informers were struck dumb, and died before they could denounce the harbourers of preachers. Profane minstrels shook in their limbs, so that they could not approach the messengers of the Gospel. Divine judgments fell upon those who persecuted the Saints. Lawyers were converted by their serving-maids. Preachers were saved from death or insult by the direct interposition of the hand of God. But, in the midst of this wild farrago of superstition and credulity, the facts are lost sight of. The founders of Methodism always remained faithful Churchmen. Griffith Jones never swerved in his loyalty to the Church in which he held the Vicarage of Llandowror. The last years of Howel Harris (died 1773) were spent in the effort to restrain his more eager disciples from 'going to the Dissenters and other parties.' 'And as the late revival,' he says, 'began in the Established Church, we think it not necessary or prudent to separate ourselves from it, but our duty to abide in it, and to go to our parish church every Sunday, to join in the prayers, to hear the reading of God's Word, and to use the ordinances; and we find that our Saviour meets us there.' Daniel Rowlands, the 'Little Priest of Llangeitho,' died in 1790, exhorting his son to be loyal to the Church.

'I have been persecuted,' he said on his death-bed, 'until I got tired, and you will be persecuted still more, yet stand by the Church by all means. You will not, perhaps, be repaid for doing so, yet still stand by it—yea, even unto death. There will be a great revival in the Church of England; this is an encouragement to you to stand by it.'

Williams of Pantycelyn, who followed the advice which he gave to other hymn-writers, 'never to compose till they felt their souls near to heaven,' was in Holy Orders. In 1790 he wrote to Charles of Bala:—

'Believe me, dear Charles, the Anti-Trinitarian, the Socinian, and Arian doctrines gain ground daily. Our unwary, new-born
Methodist

Methodist preachers know nothing of these things; exhort the young preacher to study, next to the Scriptures, the doctrines of our celebrated old Reformers, as set forth in the Articles of the Church of England and the three Creeds,—namely the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. They will there see the great truths of the Gospel set forth in a most excellent and suitable manner; they are a most sound form of words on the high and spiritual things of God.'

In 1801 the Quarterly Association of Welsh Methodists met at Bala to agree upon the 'Rules and Designs' of their Religious Societies. In this document, the Methodists say:—

'The Church of Christ is a spiritual society, and transcendently surpasses all others that ever were, or ever may be formed. All others will sooner or later be broken to pieces and consumed, but the Church shall never be destroyed; she will stand for ever as firm and lasting as the eternal foundation on which she is built. We do not designedly dissent or look upon ourselves as dissenters from the Established Church. In doctrine we exactly agree with the Articles of the Church of England, and preach no other doctrines but what are contained and expressed in them. Our meetings are seldom or never held in Church hours, but in union with the Church we desire the full enjoyment of those privileges which the laws and constitution of our favoured country amply afford us of having liberty without restraint to use every Scriptural means to spread the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ among poor, ignorant, and perishing sinners. Making a sect or forming a party is not the object we are aiming at, God forbid!'

Upon these lines, and in this spirit, Methodism flourished. But in 1811, the Calvinistic Methodists, who are now by far the most numerous, the wealthiest, and the most educated, of the separatist bodies, left the Church. Up to that date they were, as the biographer of Charles tells us, 'considered a part of the Established Church. Only episcopally-ordained ministers baptized their children or administered the Sacraments. But the parochial clergy were too few, and the Bishops set their faces against itinerating. After long resistance, Charles reluctantly consented to the ordination of sixteen of the most prominent lay-preachers in North and South Wales. From 1811 onwards, Calvinistic Methodism has flourished outside the Church. But at first the two organizations worked side by side and not in antagonism. In 1810 Charles wrote to a friend who consulted him as to becoming a Methodist preacher: 'As you are already in the Church, I think rather you ought to continue in it, if not forced out of it. When I began to itinerate, it was because they would not employ me in the Church of this country. I intended removing to England as soon as circum-

stances admitted of it. By a few excursions on the itinerant plan, I got, by degrees, so far into the work, that I could not conscientiously recede from it and leave it.' This is not the language of a man who regarded the Church as an alien institution which had reduced Wales to heathenism. John Elias, a man of child-like simplicity and extraordinary intellectual gifts, was the successor of Charles in the leadership of Welsh Methodism. He uses similar language. Referring to the belief that the Methodists as a body were hostile to the Establishment, he says: 'Never was there an accusation so groundless; for there is no Methodist in the country opposed to paying tithes or any such impost. No true sincere Methodist in the country can be opposed to the Established Church, or to tribute and tithes to support it.' On the 11th of June, 1834, John Elias proposed a resolution at the Annual Association of Welsh Methodists held at Bala. The resolution was unanimously accepted by upwards of 500 preachers and elders who were present from various parts of the Principality. It ran thus:—

'That we deeply lament the nature of that agitation now so prevalent in this kingdom, and which avowedly has for its object the severing of the National Church from the State, and other changes in ecclesiastical affairs. We, therefore, are of opinion that it pertains not unto us to interfere in such matters; and we strenuously enjoin upon every member of our connexion to meddle not with them that are given to change, but on the contrary to pray for the King and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a godly and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.'

It has been shown that, down to 1811, Welsh Methodism was affiliated to the Church, and that in 1834 it was still in close alliance with it. The Calvinists are not, as a separatist body, eighty years old, and the present hostility to the Church is a growth of the last fifty years. In spite of abuses under which the Church everywhere suffered in the eighteenth century, in spite also of special difficulties against which it contended in Wales, it yet commanded the reverence of the mass of Methodists long after their formal secession from its pale. It was reserved for Mr. Henry Richard, Mr. Stuart Rendel, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Ellis, *et hoc genus omne*, to discover that the 'Old Mother,' which Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowland, Howel Harris, Williams of Pantycelyn, Charles of Bala, and John Elias, loved and revered, was an alien Church that had reduced Wales to heathenism. The discovery is historically ridiculous. But it has a meaning, which it would be foolish to ignore.

During the first half of the present century,—in a great measure through no fault of her own,—the Church lost her hold upon

upon the masses in Wales. While still reeling under the shock of the secession of the Methodists, extraordinary demands were made upon her resources by the industrial development of the country. If a Rip van Winkle had awakened in 1851 from a slumber of fifty years, he would not have known Wales. Iron-works, collieries, and quarries, turned barren hill-sides into gold, and transformed thinly populated, scattered hamlets, into vast and crowded haunts of labour and of trade. To increase the difficulty, the pressure of numbers was unevenly distributed. In 1801, the population of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire was 117,000; in 1851, it was 417,000. And this growth was concentrated upon particular spots. Between 1801 and 1851, the population of Merthyr rose from 7705 to 50,000; of Bedwellty, from 619 to 25,000; of Newport, from 1423 to 18,000; of Cardiff, from 1870 to 15,000. The machinery, which had ministered to a handful of shepherds or fishermen, had never been superfluous; it was utterly inadequate to supply the wants of the thousands of a manufacturing population. But the provision remained practically the same as in 1801. Other difficulties followed in the train of the sudden, capricious, and overwhelming increase in the population. A large proportion of the immigrants knew no Welsh. Their wants required to be met as well as those of natives. The Church was comparatively poor; yet, unless she could enlist a double staff of Welsh and English clergy, the needs either of the Welsh or of the English congregations were neglected, or both were inadequately supplied. Added to the bilingual difficulty, was the migratory character of the population. Here to-day, and there to-morrow, colliers, quarrymen, and iron-workers required, so to speak, portable churches and itinerating ministries. The sudden growth of a population, which spoke two languages and was migratory in character, created the difficulty of the old shepherds and the opportunity of the new. Had the Church given herself, heart and soul, to the task of retaining within her fold these scattered thousands, she must inevitably have failed. Administered by Bishops, and officered by clergy, who were often strangers to the wants of the country, still suffering under many of the lingering abuses of the previous century, she made little effort to meet the emergency. She might have done far more than she did. But the pressure was so sudden and overwhelming, that, under any circumstances, the mass of the population must have either provided their own teachers, or lapsed into practical heathenism. It was at this crisis that the great separatist bodies, reinforced by the Calvinistic Methodists, stepped into the gap. They did

not, and do not, attempt to solve the bilingual difficulty. English immigrants were, and are, left outside their ministrations. It was only to the Welsh that they addressed, or address, themselves. In this sphere they did a noble work, which Church agencies alone could not have achieved. And they reaped, as they deserved, a rich harvest of adherents. It is not surprising that men should cling to a system which has proved so practically beneficial, and which now possesses a hereditary claim to their affections.

When men speak of the Church as an alien Church which has reduced Wales to heathenism, they parody the truth. But the charge of alienation has a meaning. It is indisputable that, in the first forty years of the present century, vast masses of the people were either crowded out of the Church, or supinely allowed to stray from her fold. The Church cannot be said to have lost her hold upon their affections. Rather she was unable to seek them, or remained apathetic in the presence of a supreme emergency. She did not reduce them to heathenism; but, for the moment, she partly could not, and partly would not, reclaim them from it. It was then that two-thirds of the population of the country sought among the separatist congregations, with their greater elasticity and freedom, that satisfaction of religious wants which the Church was both unwilling and powerless to supply. The blame which the Church of this period must rightly bear is the blame of omission rather than of commission. The difficulties of the first part of the present century, combined with the previous history of the Church in Wales, sufficiently explain the condition to which she was reduced in 1840. We have asked the question, Why has the Church lost the sympathies of so large a portion of the population of Wales? The answer lies not in absurd conjectures or caricatures of history, but in plain undisputed facts—in sixteenth-century spoliations, in seventeenth-century disorganization, in eighteenth-century torpor and abuses, in the temporal policy of the intrusion of English-speaking prelates and clergy, and, above all, in the prodigiously rapid growth of population in unevenly distributed areas, and the bilingual difficulty which has thrown upon an impoverished Church the necessity of providing for the wants of two different populations.

Past history explains the loss of sympathy which the Church had sustained in 1840. It does not in the least explain the present active hostility. An explanation of this last phenomenon must be sought elsewhere. It will be found in the present condition and future prospects of the Church and of Nonconformity in Wales—in the answer to the two remaining questions,

questions, which were asked at the commencement: (1) Is the Church in Wales now losing or gaining ground? (2) If it is disestablished and disendowed, is Nonconformity in a position to supply its place? The claims of the Church in Wales to the gratitude of the nation, and the reverence she excited among the founders of Methodism, are matters of sentiment; and—for the benefit of Mr. Rendel, and other lovers of fiction, be it added,—matters of fact. The present condition and work of the Church and of Nonconformity in Wales are more practical questions.

And first of the condition and work of the Church in Wales. In 1840 the Cathedral of Llandaff was an emblem of the decay of Church life, a monument of the piety of our forefathers, defaced and disfigured by the neglect of succeeding generations. In 1869 it had risen again in all its primitive beauty and proportions, adapted to the altered circumstances of the day by a wiser arrangement for parochial and cathedral ministrations; a sign of the renewed vitality of the Church, a promptuary to combined and strenuous effort. In 1840 the western portion of the building had remained for a century open to the sky; the south-west tower was tottering to its fall; beyond the three roofless bays of the nave stood an Italian temple of stucco; there had been no choir and no organ since the seventeenth century. No houses existed for Bishops, Deans, or Canons, and those officials were, as a rule, either non-resident* or non-existent. In 1869 there was in the diocese a resident Bishop; there were a Dean, Canons residentiary, a choir, a cathedral service, and a congregation which crowded the nave three times on Sunday; and a restoration of the Cathedral had taken place, which, as Professor Freeman has said, was the greatest work of the kind since Lichfield was restored in 1661. In the same period the same or similar work was accomplished or in progress at Bangor, St. Asaph, and St. David's.

As with the buildings, so with the men. The spirit enshrined in material fabrics stirred the Church to its depths, and stimulated Churchmen to increasing efforts. Within the period from 1840 to 1869 the Church fully awoke to her responsibilities. The difficulties by which she was confronted were enormous. But if the need was great, so also was the effort. Multitudes had departed from her pale. Clergymen, churches, and schools, were needed for crowded haunts of labour and of trade. The country was deluged with a flood of population, which

* The allusion is to Bishop Watson. It is not true of Bishop Copleston (1827-49), who resided throughout his active episcopate.

produced wealth for employers, who too often ignored their responsibilities, and proved to be 'birds of prey and passage,' a curse as much as a blessing to Wales. Without repeating the 'Treason of the Blue-books,' there can be no doubt that the new centres of Welsh industries had become so many Alsatias, where parental discipline, education, or religious training, were practically unknown, and where high wages placed every sensual gratification within the reach of all. Once aroused, the Church strained every nerve to extend or regain her influence. All the abuses of the preceding century were eradicated. Welsh dioceses were administered by Welsh-speaking Bishops. Episcopal superintendence became a reality, and not a fiction. Archdeacons visited their archdeaconries; the obsolete offices of Rural Deans were revived; the Bishops, no longer non-resident, were personally known to their clergy, and were kept informed of what was passing in every corner of their dioceses. Incumbents ceased to employ deputies, and discharged their duties in person. A knowledge of Welsh, as a written and spoken language, was made indispensable for preferment in Welsh-speaking parishes. Pluralities became extinct. Full services were performed with decency and order. Parsonage-houses were built. The clergy were not only more strictly disciplined, but better educated, more efficiently organized, and inspired by a new spirit. New pastors were sent into new districts. New benefices were created and endowed; others, which were miserably underpaid, were increased in value. Church societies were liberally supported. The Church stepped into the forefront of the educational movement. Diocesan Boards of Education were formed in every diocese to organize, remodel, or inspect Church schools. Old parish churches were repaired, restored, or enlarged. New churches were consecrated, chapels were erected, and mission-rooms licensed. The Church ceased to be exclusively a clergy Church. A place was found for laymen, which was not one of passive obedience, but of active co-operation. The laity became more conscious of the responsibilities of wealth, and increasingly generous in their support of the work of the Church. All these combined efforts produced an addition to the number of children educated in Church schools, an increase in the number of candidates for confirmation, a growth in the number of communicants, and in the average size of congregations. Encouraged by success, conscious of a good cause, invigorated by a new religious fervour, clergy and laity rallied in loyal and hearty co-operation round the ancient institution, and fought with renewed vigour '*pro ecclesiâ Dei.*' The Church,

Church, once paralysed by overpowering numbers and deficiencies in her finances, now derived only fresh vigour from difficulties or opposition. At first she found, to her cost, that it was more easy to break down than to restore, to scatter than to gather. In the early years of her revived energy she paid the penalty of her former apathy. She had first to stem, and then to turn, the current. The tide, once turned, has ever since flowed with increasing volume in the direction of progress.

This is not the language of conjecture; nor is the wish the father of the thought. Statistics are dry reading, but they afford the best proof of assertions and the most direct contradiction of misstatements. At the risk of wearying our readers, we give some figures which illustrate the rapid advance of the Church in each of the four Dioceses.

In the Diocese of St. David's between the years 1841 and 1888,—that is to say, from the commencement of the Episcopate of Bishop Thirlwall to the end of the year before last,—97 new churches or chapels of ease have been consecrated, and 113 mission rooms or other places licensed, either temporarily or permanently, for the performance of Divine service. In 1888, there were in the Diocese 621 places of worship, providing accommodation for upwards of 128,000 persons. During the years 1846–88, 131 parsonage-houses were built, the number of benefices below 100*l.* a year has been reduced from 167 to 55, and, as a consequence, the number of non-resident incumbents has fallen from 174 to 7. A corresponding increase has taken place in the number of candidates for confirmation and of children educated in Church and Sunday Schools. Within the last 12 years, the confirmation candidates have increased by nearly a fourth. In 1881–3, there were 7131; in 1884–6, 7841; in 1887–9, there were 9008.* In the schools the increase is still more striking. In 1831, there were 15,799 children instructed in the Church Schools of the Diocese; in 1846, 19,635; in 1888, 63,637.

In the Diocese of Llandaff, during the first twenty years of Bishop Ollivant's Episcopate (1849–69), 41 churches were erected or entirely rebuilt, 67 were restored and enlarged, and 52 mission rooms licensed for public worship. Since 1883, the rate of increase has been still more rapid. Sixteen new churches, 35 mission churches and mission rooms, 7 new chancels and aisles have been built, and 25 churches have been restored and enlarged, and additional accommodation is provided for 17,472 persons.

* This last figure is, at the time we write, partly conjectural. In 1887, there were 3004 candidates; in 1888, 3002. In 1889, the number was over 3000, but the exact figures are not yet ascertained.

In 1821, Bishop van Mildert stated that two-thirds of the livings had no glebe houses; in 1827, Bishop Sumner calculated that 134 parishes were without residences. Between 1827 and 1869, 106 new parsonage-houses were built; in the next 10 years more were added, and from 1879 to 1889, 16 have been built. In 1827, there were 137 out of 235 incumbents non-resident; there are now only 5 who serve their cures by deputy. The number of curates in the Diocese in 1879 was 133; in 1889, it is 194. Finally, the number of candidates for confirmation affords conclusive evidence of the rapid progress which the Church has made. But it is difficult to give any comparative table, because the practice of Bishops has altered. Bishop Ollivant, for instance, held general confirmations triennially, and in the intervening years confirmed only in a few large towns. The present Bishop visits a number of centres every year. The number of candidates for confirmation in the last four years of Bishop Ollivant's Episcopate (1879-82) was 6949; in the first four of the present Bishop, 12,851; in the last four (1886-9), 16,000.

The Diocese of Bangor has been for thirty years presided over by the present Bishop, whose previous labours in the parish of Merthyr can never be forgotten. Between the years 1859-89, 468,623*l.* have been raised for Church work. Men will not give half a million of money to objects with which they do not sympathise. Twenty-seven new churches and 42 new mission chapels have been erected: 110 churches have been rebuilt or restored: 66 new or enlarged parsonage-houses, and 66 new or enlarged schools, have been built. Nine Diocesan Societies have been maintained in full working order. Here, too, the fruit of renewed energy and activity is gathered in the annual increase in confirmation candidates. The number has steadily grown for the last eleven years from 2000 and odd hundreds to 3000 and odd hundreds.

In the Diocese of St. Asaph, during the last forty years (1850-89), there has been expended upon the building and restoration of churches, mission rooms, day schools and parsonages, the sum of 899,298*l.* In 1834, there were 148 parish churches; in 1889, there are 206. Since 1836, 83 churches have been built; since 1837, 35 have been rebuilt; since 1840, 112 have been restored or enlarged. There are also 45 mission rooms. Between the years 1852 and 1889, 71 new parsonage-houses were built. In the former year there were 19 non-resident incumbents; now there are none, and 103 curates are at work in addition to the beneficed clergy. The increased expenditure and more efficient organization have here, as elsewhere,

where, produced remarkable results. In 1884-5, the number of candidates for confirmation was 3748; in 1886-7, 4173; in 1888-9, 4455.* Still more striking, perhaps, is the advance which the Church has made in provision for education. In 1809, there were in the Diocese 47 schools, consisting of 3 Dame Schools, 41 Free Schools, and 3 Voluntary Schools. In 1839, there were 81 Church or National Schools, not including Free or Endowed Schools. In 1888, there were 213 Church Schools. The following table affords a comparison between the educational work of Church and other schools in 1888 :—

| Schools. | No. | Accommodation. | Average Attendance. |
|------------------------|-----|----------------|---------------------|
| Church | 213 | 32,261 | 18,573 |
| Board | 77 | 16,663 | 9,981 |
| British | 26 | 5,153 | 2,737 |
| Roman Catholic | 9 | 2,070 | 1,059 |
| Totals | 325 | 56,147 | 32,350 |

The brief statistical review that has been given of the progress of the Church in Wales proves the efforts which she has made to discharge her responsibilities, and the rapidity with which she is extending her influence. Each year that passes feels with accumulating force the effect of her organized, united action. She will not be properly equipped until, in every bilingual district, she has Welsh and English clergymen and Welsh and English churches. She ought to be a doubly endowed, instead of an impoverished, Church. If the straw is withheld, the tale of bricks cannot be justly demanded. But what she has done is marvellous. The weekly services given in her churches have increased by 100,000 in the last 35 years; she has added to her staff in the same period 700 additional clergy; she has expended on her buildings upwards of 2½ millions; she has increased the annual number of her confirmation candidates by thousands; she educates in her schools 46 per cent. of the children under education. Looking at the enlarged provision which has been made for her missionary work, at her prodigious efforts to meet the wants of a growing population, at the rapid multiplication of her clergy, churches, schools, and congre-

* This increase would probably be much greater, but for the vacancy in the See. The usual time for confirmations was altered, and the notice was shortened.

gations,

gations, it is difficult to deny that she *deserves* to exist, and, unless groundless fears become the instrument of their own realization, must necessarily continue to exist. No surer ground for confidence in her prospects could be afforded than is given by the hostile attitude of Separatist congregations. They are losing, the Church is gaining, ground. In their decadence, material as well as spiritual, lies the secret of their bitter antagonism. They are struggling for their existence.

The material and spiritual decadence of the Separatist bodies is a fact which can be proved from their own lips.

The three most powerful bodies among Protestant Nonconformists are the Calvinistic Methodists, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists. The other groups are numerically unimportant. Of the three bodies which have been named, the Calvinistic Methodists are incomparably the most influential. With them, therefore, we shall mainly deal. They have suffered less than their weaker brethren, and the argument to the others is *à fortiori*. Their present condition and future prospects explain much that is now passing in Wales.

In 1887 a Committee was appointed by the Calvinistic Methodists of North Wales to report upon their decline. The Report of the Committee was published in the Methodist organ, the *Goleuad* for November 19th, 1887. Three reasons are assigned for the decrease of the body,—neglect of the poor, the removal from the list of all who are too poor to contribute to ‘the Cause,’ the superior attractions of other religious bodies. The first two reasons are most significant. On the evidence of the Methodists themselves, voluntary systems afford no place for the poor. Of the decrease itself the Official Year Books of the Welsh Calvinists supply striking details. The Year Books began in 1875. Before that date, it is officially stated that the statistics of the body are incomplete and inaccurate. They cease, in their full and usual form, with the year 1887. The following official returns are given for (1) *members*, (2) *ministers*, (3) *chapels*, (4) *finance*.

1. *Members*.—The ‘applicants for membership’ in 1875 numbered 6205; in the Year Book for 1887, 3720. Here there is a decrease of 2485. ‘Those admitted to membership’ are arranged under two heads; viz. ‘from the seed of the Church’ (a circumlocution for the children of members) and ‘from the world.’ The total number of members admitted was, in 1875, 11,127; in the Year Book for 1887, 6401. Here there is a decrease of 4726. Therefore the applicants for membership and the members admitted show a decrease, between 1875 and 1887, of 40 per cent.

In

In a third column appear the 'Hearers,' who include everyone, children or adults, members or not members, Methodists or tourists. In 1875, the Hearers are put down as 270,065; in the Year Book of 1887, as 277,147. That is an increase in 11 years of 7082. The annual increase of population in Wales is 1 per cent. According to this rule, the Methodists, without enlisting a single convert, would, by the natural growth of their own population, have numbered at the close of 1886, 299,765. Consequently the nominal increase of 7082 becomes, if the growth of population is considered, a real decrease of 22,618.

2. *Ministers.*—From 1875 to 1886, the ministers increased by 124, the deacons by nearly 1000, and the payments to ministers from 57,296*l.* to 72,167*l.*, an increase of 14,871*l.*

3. *Chapels.*—New chapels do not necessarily mean new congregations. Their multiplication is admitted to be an evil of the Methodists themselves. It results from party distinctions and divisions. One and all must have a tabernacle to represent them. Jealousy of the influence of other connexions lays most of the foundation stones. Of this fact the Year Books give direct proof. The increase in 'Hearers,' between 1877 and 1886, is given at 1741. During the same period, the only one in which the number of new buildings is stated, 204 new chapels were built: 204 chapels for 1741 'Hearers' means that the Methodists build one chapel for every 8½ Hearers. It is easier to build than to pay for a chapel.

4. *Finance.*—Between 1875 and 1886, the chapel debt increased from 205,741*l.* to 323,118*l.*, an increase of 117,377*l.* Within the same period, the contributions towards the chapels fell from 42,056*l.* to 31,440*l.*, a decrease of 10,616*l.*

One fact of importance may be gathered from the Year Books. The Official Report of the Calvinistic Methodists states that there are '*six hundred thousand*' (the italics are those of the Report) 'English-speaking people who need the Gospel in English.' The Official Year Book of 1887, the last obtainable, gives the total number of members of 'English causes' in the twelve Welsh counties as 6079. Thus of the 600,000 English-speaking people who need the Gospel in English, Calvinistic Methodism can claim only 1 per cent. as members.

The decrease in members, the increase in the chapel debt, the decrease in contributions towards the liquidation of the debt, the increase in the staff of ministers and in the amount of their salaries, the totally unnecessary increase of chapels,—these are facts vouched for by the Official Year Books of the Methodists. The same decline is proved by the Official Records
of

of the Congregationalists and the Baptists. This material decrease, contrasted with the progress of the Church, and combined with the spiritual decadence of Nonconformity, is the key to the present crisis in Wales.

The spiritual decadence of Welsh Nonconformity is a patent fact, deplored by Nonconformists themselves. The early success of Nonconformity was due to its religious fervour, its sacred oratory, its Sunday Schools, the closeness of its union, the sphere which it offered to the energy of the laity, and its command of the vernacular press. Its spiritual decadence is due to the decay or perversion of these powers. Of the decline of religious fervour an eminent Methodist spoke at the Aberystwith Association in 1887. He said—

‘Is there not reason to fear that this levity, like a destroying plague, is entering our chapels? What is this irreverence, even to impiety, at our sacred ordinances? No pretence, much less feeling, of devotion in our worship! The Throne of Grace is approached in prayer, only a few bowing the head, much less bending the knee. Why, even the minister engaged in prayer is disturbed by the whisperings from the deacons’ seat where the plans of the week are discussed.’

The strength of Nonconformist preaching lay in the passionate outpouring of a human devotion, which relied implicitly on the doctrines and facts of revealed religion. The habit of extravagance has survived the loss of faith, and is congealed into fanaticism, which only thaws in the fierce heat of political or sectarian controversy. Speaking of the decline of sacred oratory, a prominent Welsh Nonconformist used these remarkable words in the ‘Homilist’ for January 1888:—

‘The characteristic feature of the Welsh Nonconformity is the general air of lethargy and sloth that pervades everything. The mournful cry issues from the chapels in the land, “Who hath believed our reports, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?” The dread “Ichabod” appears to have been written over our doors, and the tale be told, “The glory has departed.” The cause must be sought for in the decay of the preachers. In fact, the *real* preacher seems quickly becoming a relic of the past. Enter into conversation with your minister and try and find out his hobby; politics first, politics second, politics to the end of the chapter.’

When the Circulating Schools of Griffith Jones ceased in 1777, Charles of Bala created the Methodist Sunday Schools, which once were the strength of Methodism. What is their condition now? In 1881, a London School Board Inspector, who

who was a Welshman born and bred, read a paper before the Cymmrodorian section of the National Eisteddfod at Merthyr. In this paper, he said

'that it was the firm conviction of educated and observant Welshmen residing in the Principality that the Welsh Sunday Schools were rapidly deteriorating in quality, were degenerating into secular organizations, and were losing their hold upon the Welsh people; that Welsh parents have latterly become unmindful of the religious teaching of their children; . . . that the children of our Welsh Sunday Schools were not now grounded in a knowledge of the Bible and of God's law as they were in days gone by.'

The closeness of union, which once characterized the different Nonconformist bodies, is exchanged for the chaos of religious anarchy. The natural tendency of Nonconformity is to generate self-assertiveness, and breed division. 'Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven,' is interpreted by Welsh Dissenters to mean, that it is better to reign over a society of five persons than serve in a church or chapel where there are 500. No succession of men can be supplied, whose constancy of faith will dispense with sound forms of prayer or fixed articles. The antinomianism of Welsh Nonconformity is now as great a source of weakness, as its serried union was formerly a cause of strength. Infinitely divided against itself, it finds its only unity in the effort to prevent every one from remaining a Christian except as a member of a private sect.

Instability and coldness of faith betray the spiritual decadence of Nonconformity. Its backbone is political, not religious, activity. The Diaconate and the command of the vernacular press are its characteristic features, and, for the present, its strength; but, in the future, they will inevitably accelerate its spiritual decline. Deacons, like Abel Hughes in 'Rhys Lewis,' are daily becoming rarer. Both congregations and ministers suffer from contact with the average type of deacon. At weekly meetings, members are almost forced to divulge their personal experiences at the bidding of men whose daily life commands no respect, and a hideous travesty of Christian life is presented to quick-witted, observant children. The chapel-house is the deacons' smoking-room, and the hot-bed of scandal-mongering. The pulpit-pew represents a worldly financial officialism which has lost the grand simplicity of the religious character, and clings tenaciously to the symbolism of religious pride. Deacons regard ministers as servants, whose payments are regulated by the acceptability of their services. The interference of uneducated vulgarity in spiritual affairs shocks

shocks the least sensitive and refined of men. It also destroys independence. Congregations, which must be caressed into providing means of subsistence, rarely hear the truth about themselves. What Boanerges of the chapel rebuked Chartism? What preacher will now be sufficiently independent to stand between ignorance and crime, and bid the plague cease? One-third of the Methodist ministers endeavours to secure independence by following secular employment. But the remedy is as bad as the disease. Preachers may be none the worse, but assuredly they are none the better, because they are commercial travellers or insurance agents, who arrange their circuits with a view to the transaction of Monday's business. All these, and other, germs of disease are concealed so long as Nonconformity commands the vernacular press. Thoroughly understanding their countrymen, the leaders of Nonconformist congregations were quick to perceive, that preachers were no longer the only teachers, and that the press was ousting the chapel from its office of religious, moral, and political instructor. The newspapers of Wales are almost exclusively in the hands of Nonconformists. But here, even more than in the ministrations of the preacher, the debasing effect of dependence is strongly marked. No effort is made to guide or control popular feeling. The only anxiety is to keep in the front rank of the crowd. From the Nonconformist press, the old spirit of religion, law, and order, has almost entirely disappeared. Irreligion, lawlessness, and the wildest Socialism, are openly propagated.

If further proof be needed of the spiritual decadence of Nonconformity, it will be found in the character of the existing anti-tithe agitation, which is described in Mr. Prothero's pamphlet. We quote from his pages one illustration of the spirit which inspires the agitators:—

‘A clergyman, who had been for many years engaged in a town parish, was recently appointed to a small country living. He came from a considerable distance, put his house in repair, and entered upon his new duties. His wife fell ill, and, after several months' illness, died. Protracted sickness, together with the expenses of entering a new house, leave little money in the pockets of those whose means are, to begin with, small. Ten days after the death of his wife he was informed by his parishioners that they did not intend to pay him his tithe. Inexperienced in rural life, and broken down with grief, he was powerless to resist. He had no money left, and none coming in. Food ran short in his home. His two daughters, naturally delicate, fell into ill-health for want of
nourishment,

nourishment, and died. To add insult to injury, his parishioners sent him a box. On opening it, it was found to contain a collection of nameless filth, and on the top was placed the message, "We hear you are starving; here's food for you."

Into a contest fought with such weapons, it is impossible to suppose that religion enters:—

'Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget!'

By all these circumstances, the material and spiritual decadence of Nonconformity as a religious agency is demonstrated beyond dispute. The rapid spread of the English language in Wales increases the gravity of the crisis. Out of 600,000 English-speaking persons (the figures are their own), the Calvinistic Methodists number only 1 per cent. Nor are the 'English causes' of other Nonconformist bodies more successful. These are the reasons which spread the conviction among earnest men of all shades of religious thought that the future of religion in Wales rests with the Church. Her advance would be, from a worldly point of view, more rapid, if she could adapt itinerancy and parochial councils of laymen to her own system, and, above all, if she could gain some command over the vernacular press. Daniel Rowlands uttered prophetic words, when he said, 'True religion has begun in the Church, and to the Church it will ere long return.'

One word in conclusion. Advocates of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales must be reduced to desperate shifts when they revive the policy of the seventeenth-century Propagators. A few examples may be interesting of those misstatements with a purpose, which the Germans bluntly call '*Tendenz-lüge*.' They are culled from the written or spoken utterances of Parliamentary representatives. The fabrications of Mr. Henry Richard and Mr. Stuart Rendel respecting the 'alien Church,' which 'reduced' Wales 'almost to heathenism,' have already been exposed. These two gentlemen have also produced the statements, that, after the Reformation, the Latin ritual was exchanged for an English, and not a Welsh, ritual, and that the Bible was not translated into Welsh till the reign of James I. The facts are, that the Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were translated into Welsh in 1547; that an Act of Parliament was passed in 1562, ordering the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible to be translated into Welsh; that the Book of Common Prayer and the New Testament were translated

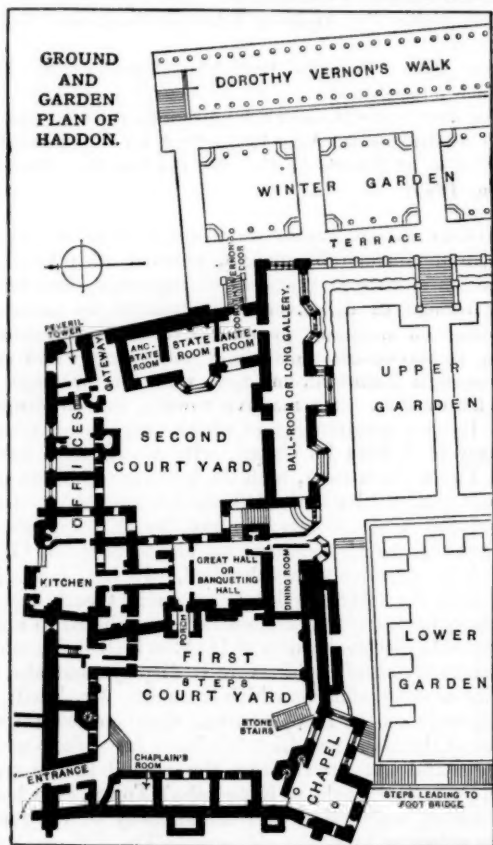
translated into Welsh in 1567, and the Old Testament in 1588. Mr. Henry Richard is also responsible for the statement that, in 1885, Nonconformity supplied Wales with 4503 ministers and lay preachers. The official total of the Methodists, Independents, Baptists, and Wesleyans, was, in 1887, 1557,—an over-estimate of 2946. Similarly, Mr. Osborne Morgan stated in 1888, that the Calvinistic Methodists alone had 4500 places of worship and a corresponding number of ministers and preachers. As a fact, the official total in 1887 for the Calvinistic Methodists was 622,—an exaggeration of 3878. We have already spoken of Mr. Dillwyn's creative feat, when, in 1888, he created a paper-army of 42,882 bodiless spectres in order to strengthen his numerical argument against the Church. It would be tedious to follow Mr. Ellis in the gyrations of his fervid imagination. But, in his case, it is to be regretted that the modern practice of correcting Hansard for the press should facilitate the employment of one set of phrases for immediate effect and another for permanent record. When leaders set the example of misstatement, followers prove apt imitators. One-half that is written in Welsh newspapers, or spoken on Welsh platforms, against the Church in Wales consists of exaggeration or misrepresentation.

- ART. VI—1. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., preserved at Belvoir Castle.* Vol. 1. Historical Manuscripts Commission. London, 1888.
2. *Haddon Hall.* By Andreas Edward Cokayne. Bakewell, 1889.
3. *Haddon Hall.* By the late Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A. London (no date).
4. *Haddon Hall.* By Henry Duesbury. In the 'Journal of the British Archæological Association,' vol. vii. London, 1852.
5. *The History of Belvoir Castle.* By the late Rev. Irvin Eller. London, 1841.

HADDON HALL stands on a green slope, in front of a hill of considerable height, covered with forest trees. It is built on a natural platform of limestone, looking down on the windings of the river Wye, beloved by anglers, and commanding an extensive prospect over broad, well-watered meadows, richly-wooded hills, and sequestered and smiling valleys, towards Bakewell, and the grand tors or crags of the Peak of Derbyshire. Its massive towers, the buildings that surround its two quadrangles, in which every detail is marked by delicacy of finish; its chapel, with its Norman nave; its beautiful Tudor south front, with the immense windows belonging to that period; its stone balustrades and stately terraces, even its lawns and avenues, do not, by any appearance of neglect, convey the impression that since the year 1700 the hall has been practically uninhabited. It has, indeed, been cared for with the reverence due to an ancient building which its possessors for many generations had contributed to beautify. The remarkable picturesqueness of Haddon Hall is due not only to the various styles of architecture it displays, but also to the irregularity of the ground on which it stands. Mr. Jewitt, in his interesting work on the Hall, mentions that 'on account of the abruptness of the slope on which it is built, it stands so unevenly that a horizontal line drawn from the ground in the archway under the Peveril, or Eagle, or King John's Tower, as it has been variously called, would pass over the archway of the lower or north-west entrance from the old park.' The different dates at which the various parts were built may be seen from the character of the architecture; in fact the stones tell their own story. It is recorded that remains of Saxon walls have been found beneath the Norman buildings, which in some parts, for instance in the chapel, are very little altered. Up to 1624, the owners of Haddon continued building; and building judiciously,

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and on a grand scale. Almost every successive Lord of Haddon seems to have taken care to have, in coats-of-arms and dates, a record of his work sculptured on the grey stone of which the Hall is built; and within the Hall the ceilings and walls



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are enriched with initials, dates, and crests, painted and carved, and still unobscured by time.

The preceding ground-plan, made for the fifth Duke of Rutland, will enable the reader to follow the description of the Hall, which we shall presently give.

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But before describing the Hall, and its numerous chambers in detail, it may be well to cast a backward glance on those who dwelt within the grey, but, happily, not mouldering, walls. Where the ivy clusters unduly round the mullioned Tudor windows, it is relentlessly torn away, even though its removal impairs the charm of the scene; and where self-sown oaks spring among the stones of the great entrance tower, or in the clefts of the strong Eagle, Peveril, or King John's Tower, these little trees are carefully removed. Here and there a buttress is propped, and a great beam, or a flight of stone stairs, is made secure; and thus, with never-ceasing care, the ancient Hall seems to have changed but little, and is substantially preserved.

Haddon is named in Domesday Book as a 'berewite' of the Manor of Bakewell. The first possessor, of whom authentic record remains, was William Peveril, a natural son of William the Conqueror, who gave him Haddon, with many other lands, including Peveril Castle near Castleton. Haddon remained in the possession of William Peveril's descendants till the reign of Henry II., when that monarch deprived the Peveril, who was then Lord of Haddon, probably the grandson of William Peveril, of his honours and lands. In those early days men made short work of their enemies, and Peveril, who was a partizan of Stephen, poisoned, it is said, the Earl of Chester, a supporter of Matilda, and fled to avoid the punishment of his crime. Haddon was at that time held on the tenure of knights' service by William de Avenell, who thus became tenant-in-chief of the Crown. From the Avenells it passed to the Vernon family by the marriage of Richard de Vernon with Avicia, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of William de Avenell, about the year 1190.

The arms of Vernon, with quarterings of Avenell and other families, may be seen in the Gothic window in the dining-room. Richard de Vernon's family came from Normandy, where their castle stood in what is now the Department of the Eure. His descent can be traced through a long line of ancestors.

Soon after Richard de Vernon came into possession of the property he obtained a license from John, Earl of Moreton, afterwards King John, then acting as Regent for his brother, Richard I., to build a wall twelve feet in height round 'Heddon,' but without 'kernell,' or 'crenelle;' that is, holes through which the men of war might shoot, or, may be, cast boiling lead on their foemen. It is believed that Haddon owes much to this prohibition against its being fortified, for it never appears to

have been attacked, time having hitherto been its only enemy ; nor has it suffered from the hands of the modern restorer. This instrument of John is still preserved at Belvoir ; it bears no date, but it was probably issued at about the same time as another document, dated 1193 (also preserved at Belvoir), granting to Richard de Vernon one annuity of 6*l.* out of the lands of Tideswell, in Derbyshire. It is probable that this Richard de Vernon built the south aisle of the chapel, which is undoubtedly Norman, although it has been altered and modified.

Passing over his immediate descendants, we next come to a Sir Richard Vernon, of Haddon, who was born in 1312, and died in 1377. He married the sister and heiress of Sir Fulk de Pembrugge, Lord of Tonge, in Shropshire, who brought large possessions into the family, and her husband is hence styled Sir Richard Vernon of Pembrugge. He put two shields of arms, carved in stone, containing those of Vernon and Pembrugge, over the door of the great porch leading into the banqueting hall. He was succeeded by his son, who died in 1401, and the latter by his son Sir Richard Vernon, who was Treasurer of Calais, Captain of Rouen, and Speaker in the Parliament at Leicester, which office he held in 1426.

We are particular in mentioning these dates, because many have erroneously supposed that the Sir Richard Vernon, who plays a prominent part in Shakspeare's '*Henry IV.*,' and who was executed by order of the King after the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403,* was one of the Lords of Haddon. But we have seen that no owner of Haddon died in 1403 : in addition to which, the property of Haddon would have been confiscated, if its owner had been executed, but of this we have no trace.

During the period between 1250 and 1428 great progress was made with the building of Haddon : the hall porch, the great banqueting hall, the huge kitchen, and part of the buildings in the upper court were erected ; and even at that time it was found necessary to undertake repairs in the north-east tower and the chapel. In the latter the west window was introduced, and on the painted glass of the east window we find the date 1427. The great hall is in the early perpendicular style. The buildings round the courtyards are two-storied and battlemented ; they owe much of their charm to the beauty and variety of the windows.

Sir Richard Vernon seems to have been somewhat of an imperious neighbour, for among the manuscripts of the Manners' family, discovered at Belvoir Castle, was a long paper of

* 'Bear Worcester to the death, and Vernon too.'

(*Henry IV.*, First Part, v. 5, 14.)

complaints

complaints against him or his servants, probably about the year 1400.

These important manuscripts, to which we are indebted for much valuable information respecting the Lords of Haddon, and the political and social events of their times, deserve a more particular mention. They were discovered by Mr. Maxwell-Lyte, when he visited Belvoir in 1885 on behalf of the Historical Manuscript Commission, and he gives the following interesting account of their discovery :—

‘In looking for the key of the lumber room [in the upper part of the Castle], I came across a key bearing a label with the words “*Key of old writings over stable.*” I accordingly repaired to the stables, which are at the bottom of the hill on which the Castle stands, and there, in a loft under the roof, discovered a vast mass of old papers. No one had entered the room for some years, a curtain of cobwebs hung from the rafters, and the floor was so covered with documents, piled to a height of three or four feet, that at first there was scarcely standing-room. Over everything there was a thick layer of broken plaster and dirt, which made white paper undistinguishable from brown. In the course of the first half-hour, I found a holograph letter of Lord Burghley, a military petition addressed to the Marquess of Granby, in the reign of George III., and a letter from Charles James Fox. The discovery of these three representative papers in close contiguity tended to show that it would be necessary for me to examine the whole mass. At this stage a labourer was called in to assist in the manual work of separating the manuscripts from the printed matter, which consisted of pamphlets, almanacs, parliamentary papers, catalogues, and files of newspapers coming down to the year 1820. This disturbance of the surface caused a horrible stench, and it soon became evident that the loft had been tenanted by rats, who had done lasting damage to valuable MSS. by gnawing and staining them. Some documents had been reduced to powder, others had lost their dates or their signatures. The entire centre of a long letter in the hand of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, had entirely disappeared. Those that remained were of a very varied character. A deed of the time of Henry II. was found among some granary-accounts of the eighteenth century, and gossiping letters from the Court of Elizabeth among modern vouchers. Letters to Henry Vernon of Haddon from the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and Kings Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., written on paper and folded very small, lay hidden between large leases engrossed on thick parchment.’

These documents, dating from the reign of Henry II., describe many scenes in the Wars of the Roses, with the sign-manuals of Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.; contain contemporary records of important events in the reigns of
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Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth; narrate the captivity and execution of Mary Queen of Scots; the accession of the Stuart monarchs; the Civil Wars; the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne; and the first three Georges down to 1787. Mr. Maxwell-Lyte, to whom all historical students are deeply indebted, collected and arranged these documents with the greatest care, and has described them in the *Calendar*, the title of which is printed at the head of this article. The first volume, which is all yet published, comes down to the year 1641, when the older line of the Mannors came to an end in George, seventh Earl of Rutland; and we look forward with interest to the remaining volumes, the publication of which, we hope, will not be long delayed. The present Duke of Rutland, who has taken a warm interest in the work, has had all the papers cleaned, carefully repaired, mounted on guards, and bound in a series of handsome volumes. How they found their way into the loft over the stables can only be a matter of conjecture. They were probably removed to Belvoir, when the Mannors' family finally quitted Haddon, and were no doubt placed in safety in the castle; but when the fire destroyed a part of the castle in 1816, they may have been hastily thrown into the dark and dusty place where they were found. It is, however, possible that they may have been removed to Belvoir at an earlier period, and may have been taken to their strange hiding-place during the sieges sustained by Belvoir in the Civil War. This impression is strengthened by a very large and heavy iron chest having been found two years ago in the loft referred to. The chest was opened after considerable difficulty, and was found to contain a very large number of iron bullets, each separately wrapped in several folds of silver paper, the chest having been evidently hidden away during the sieges.

The *Calendar* begins with an abstract of the complaints against Sir Richard Vernon, already alluded to. But the main interest of the collection commences with the letters addressed to Henry Vernon during the Wars of the Roses. He was a grandson of Sir Richard Vernon. His father, Sir William Vernon, married Margaret Pype, the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Pype. 'He continued the works of the chapel, introduced the Pype arms in the south window, and fitted up the south aisle with seats. The old vestment chest is of his time, and has upon it shields, quartered with the Vernon, Pembrugge, and Pype arms only. He probably built the chapel turret, as a raised **W** is carved upon it.'*

* 'Journal of the British Archeological Association,' vol. vii. p. 289.

Henry Vernon, who succeeded his father in 1467, was an astute man of great influence, who was courted in turn by the Lancastrians and Yorkists. Among the letters in the Calendar several are addressed to him in 1470 and 1471 by the Duke of Clarence and Edward IV., urging him to come to their assistance; but perhaps the most interesting in the whole collection, as Mr. Maxwell-Lyte observes, is one sent to him by Richard, Earl of Warwick, the celebrated 'King-Maker.' While the body of the letter and the title of the writer are in the hand of a secretary, the signature and the remarkable postscript are in the Earl's own hand, probably the only specimen of Warwick's writing now extant:—

'[1471,] March 25. Warwick.—Right trusty and righte wel-biloved I grete you well, And desire and hertily pray you that asmoche as yonder man Edward, the kinges oure soverain lord gret ennemy rebelle and traitour, is now late arrived in the north parties of this land and commyng fast on southward accompanied with Flemynges, Esterlinges, and Danes, not exceeding the nombre of all that he ever hathe of ij^m. persones, nor the contre as he commeth nothing falling to him, ye woll therfor incontynente and furthwith aftir the sight herof dispose you toward me to Coventre with as many people defensibly arraied as ye can redily make, and that ye be with me there in all haste possible as my vray singuler trust is in you and as I mowe doo thing to your wele or worship heraftir, And God kepe you. Writen at Warrewik the xxvth day of Marche.

(*Postscript in the Earl's own hand.*) 'Henry I pray you fayne not now as ever I may do ffor yow.

'Therle of Warrewik and Salisbury. Lieutenant to the king oure soverain lord Henry the Sexte. (*Signed:—*) R. WARREWIK.'

We are not told what answer he returned to these letters, but he probably adopted the prudent course of staying quietly at home; for a few weeks later we again find several letters from the Duke of Clarence and Edward IV. addressed to him. On the 6th of May there is a letter from the Duke of Clarence, giving an account of the battle of Tewkesbury, fought two days previously, and stating that 'Edward, late called Prince,' was 'slain in plain battle,' which is the earliest extant authority upon the controverted question as to the manner in which the son of Henry VI. met his end.

On the final establishment of Edward IV. on the throne, Henry Vernon was made one of the squires of his body; and in the reign of Henry VII. he was knighted, and appointed Controller of the Household of Arthur, Prince of Wales, who lived at Haddon for some time. There are several letters addressed to him by Henry VII., with whom he seems to have been

been a favourite. 'In 1503, he was ordered to escort the King's daughter, Margaret, to Scotland, attired in his "best array," as it was thought unbecoming "that any mourning or sorrowful clothings should be worn or used at such noble triumphs of marriage." A list is given of the English knights and squires who accompanied the Princess on her journey to the Court of her future husband.'

A petition from the Townsmen of Walsall to Sir Henry Vernon gives such a pleasant description of a good priest, whose example might with advantage be followed, that it deserves to be quoted. The writing is direct to the point:—

'N.Y. January 18.—We have a chaplain and true bedeman of yours amongst us, whose name is Sir John Staple. We hear that you intend to take him away from us. He has always been ready to maintain the service of God. He has caused charity amongst the people, where else there would have been much discord and debate. He has kept a school, and taught the poor children of the town of his charity, taking nothing for his labour. He has done many more good deeds, specially to the poor people. That he should thus depart were the greatest loss to the poor town of Walsall that it has ever had by the departure of any priest. If you will suffer him to continue with us, you shall have the prayers of him and of us all.'

Sir Henry Vernon continued the buildings at Haddon. The western range of buildings, the panelling, the ceiling, and the rich glass in the dining-room are his work. He left a son of the same name, who was made High Steward of the King's Forest in the Peak, and was held in esteem by Henry VIII. He died in 1515, and was buried in the Vernon Chapel, built about the year 1360, at Bakewell Church. He had two sons: Sir George Vernon, the redoubtable King of the Peak, who succeeded to the Haddon estates; and Sir John, who acquired Sudbury by his marriage with the daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Sudbury, and was ancestor of the family of Lord Vernon.

Sir George Vernon finished the buildings at Haddon, commenced by his two immediate predecessors. In the dining-room the panelling is enriched with shields, heraldic devices, and coloured flags, bearing the Vernon crest. Over the fireplace appear the initials 'G. V.' and 'M. V.' beneath 'Anno Domini 1545,' 'Monseigneur de Vernon.' Higher up are the royal arms, and below is the motto, 'Drede God and honor the Kynge.' In this room there is a handsome oriel recess. The portraits of King Henry VII. and his Queen hang there, and that of their jester, Will Somers. The ceiling was adorned by frescoes, but unfortunately was whitewashed.

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When a portion of the plaster was taken off, the Tudor rose, the Talbot dog, and the coat-of-arms of the Vernons were discovered. The fire-place and the fire-dogs are curious. The room is richly decorated with shields; one of them bearing quarterings of Vernon, Avenell, and others. Several of the rooms, decorated richly and lavishly, and with good taste, are approached by flights of stone steps, some in the open air, others in the building; and a stone staircase leads from the Great Hall to the upper story. On the right of the landing is the drawing-room, which must have been a very bright and pleasant apartment, suited to the daughters of Sir George Vernon, concerning one of whom tradition tells us romantic tales. Panels of oak in green and gold adorned the deep oriel recess; and from the latticed window a lovely view may be seen over the pleasaunce down to the river, and over a charming combination of wood, hill, vale, and meadow. The Derbyshire meadows in spring, summer, and autumn, have peculiar charms; their luxuriant grass is literally enamelled with flowers, clear streams, teeming with trout, flow through them, and the cattle find, under the trees, a shelter from the noonday sun. The distant moors and tors must always have afforded good sport, though among the manuscripts no allusion to grouse has been discovered; and altogether it is not to be wondered at that Sir George Vernon preferred being 'King of the Peak' to paying his court in the crowded city.

Sir George Vernon had immense possessions, being lord of thirty manors, and exercised great influence; while his hospitality seems to have been unbounded, fourscore retainers doing him service in the hall. It is related of him, that a murder having been committed near Haddon, he pursued the offender and promptly caused him to be hanged near the toll-bar at Ashford. Tradition says that he was summoned to London by the name of 'King of the Peak,' in order to answer for his conduct. To this summons, twice repeated, he made no answer. The third time he was called to surrender by his proper appellation, Sir George Vernon. He then answered, 'Here am I.' However, after a reprimand, he was discharged, the indictment having fallen through, because it was addressed to the 'King of the Peak.'

Sir George Vernon was the last male heir of his race who inhabited Haddon. He died in 1567, and was buried at Bake-well. He left two daughters, joint-heiresses of his vast possessions, both of whom were married in his lifetime: Margaret, the elder, to Sir Thomas Stanley, of Winwick, in Lancashire, son of the third Earl of Derby; and Dorothy, the younger, to John
(afterwards

(afterwards Sir John) Manners, second son of the first Earl of Rutland. The well-known and romantic story of the elopement of Dorothy with John Manners will hardly bear the test of criticism, at all events in its details, though it may have some historical foundation. The story runs that Dorothy's family disapproved of the love that had sprung up between her and John Manners, and that her suitor disguised himself as a forester, and from time to time had short interviews with Dorothy. During the festivities in celebration of her sister's marriage, a ball was going on, and at midnight, while the dancing was proceeding merrily, Dorothy slipped out by the door, which still exists, ran down the flight of stone steps, and then down the hill to the bridge, where John Manners was waiting for her with a fleet horse. They galloped all night till they reached Aylston, in Leicestershire, where they were married. But, as Mr. Duesbury has pointed out, 'in the first place it is difficult to imagine where the ball could have been held; in the next, it is not clear that the doorway and the steps leading to it existed, because Sir John Manners finished the long gallery, and the rooms adjoining; and in the third place, such a proceeding was quite unnecessary, as Sir John Manners was in every way an eligible match, and there is not the slightest hint of any quarrel between him and his father-in-law.' Dorothy brought Haddon and the Derbyshire estates into the Manners' family. A glance at John Manners's ancestry must now be given.

In the 'Roll of Battle Abbey,' by the Duchess of Cleveland, we read that the house of Manners took its name from Mesnières, near Rouen, being mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls of 1198. We find at the time of the Conquest, Richard de Manieres, who held lands under Odo de Bayeux, in Kent and Surrey. These lands were forfeited by his family, in consequence of their adherence to Clito, the dispossessed heir of Robert of Normandy, rightful heir to the throne. But the ancestor, from whom the present family of Manners traces its descent, was Sir Robert de Manneries, of Ethale (now Etal), in Northumberland, near the Scottish border. Passing over some generations, we find that Sir Robert de Manners represented Northumberland in Parliament, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Edward III., from whom he received a grant to fortify his castle of Ethale. His descendant, Robert Manners, was in 1466 deputy to Richard Duke of Gloucester, Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. He married Eleanor, co-heiress of Edmund, Lord Roos, and thus acquired Belvoir, Hamlake in Yorkshire, and Orston in Nottinghamshire. On his death in 1487 his son George became,

became, in right of his mother, Lord Roos, and succeeded to the baronies of Vaux, Trusbut, and Belvoir. He married Ann, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas St. Leger, by Ann Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV., and widow of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. He was sent by Henry VII. on the expedition into Scotland, in consequence of the Scottish King supporting the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck. He was equally in favour with Henry VIII., and was with that monarch at the siege of Terouenne, and afterwards at that of Tournay, where he died, 1513. He was buried in the Rutland Chapel, in the north aisle of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

George Manners was succeeded in the title of Lord Roos by his son Sir Thomas Manners, who was created Earl of Rutland in 1525, a title which hitherto had only been borne by members of the Royal family. The Garter was conferred on him, and he filled many important offices under Henry VIII.; he was Warden of the Marches, and took part in several military movements. In 1546 he, with Lords Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, was ordered to suppress the insurrection in Leicestershire, which broke forth on the dissolution of the monasteries; he was successful in putting down a similar rising in Yorkshire. He was Lord Chamberlain to Queen Anne of Cleves, and in 1540 he was appointed Chief Justice in Eyre of all the King's forests beyond Trent. The King granted him many manors in Leicestershire, others in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, some in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, and in Yorkshire. He accompanied the Duke of Norfolk, who was general of an army of 20,000 men, in an invasion of Scotland, where twenty towns and villages were burnt by them in one week. On his return, he, in conjunction with Robert Tyrwhit, obtained a grant of the Priory of Belvoir, and of Egle in Lincolnshire. Egle had been 'a commandery' of the Knights Templars, who received it from King Stephen, from whom it had passed to the Hospitallers. The ancestors of the Earl of Rutland had given great part of this property for ecclesiastical purposes. The Earl died in 1543, and was buried in Bottesford Church. Among the many other documents relating to him in the Belvoir MSS., there is a letter addressed by him to the Lord Privy Seal of the day, saying 'that he had been summoned to speak to his Royal mistress [Anne of Cleves], soon after 4 o'clock in the morning, with reference to the King's intention to divorce her, and that, seeing her "to take the matter heavily," he had "desired her to be of good comfort," assuring her that Henry VIII. was "so good and virtuous a prince" that he desired nothing which was not conformable to the

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the law of God and the dictates of his conscience, and necessary for the future quietness of the realm.'

This first Earl of Rutland rebuilt a great part of Belvoir Castle, which had been laid in ruins in the wars, and after the dissolution of the monasteries he removed many ancient monuments of the Albin and Roos families, from the Priory of Belvoir and from Croxton, to Bottesford. He had five sons and six daughters, of whom, for our present purpose, we need only mention three sons,—Henry, the eldest, who succeeded him; John, who married Dorothy, daughter of Sir George Vernon; Roger Manners, of Uffington in Lincolnshire, of whom we shall speak presently,—and his eldest daughter, Gertrude, who was married to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

John Manners continued to reside at Haddon till his death in the reign of James I. The Long Gallery, which is 109½ feet long and 18 feet wide, is believed to have been built by him; and it is hard to say whether the three immense recesses of the windows are more beautiful from within or from without the hall; but the south front is far the most picturesque part of the building. In this Long Gallery the crest of the Manners first appears; here the peacock alternates with the boar's head, and with roses and thistles, on the frieze. A report, which obtained credence in the family, declares that the whole of the flooring was cut from one oak, which grew in the park. The six large steps, by which the gallery is entered, are said to have been made of the root of the same tree. The love of gardens, and the skill in woodcraft, for which several members of the Manners' family were noted, may have been inherited from John Manners, for he is believed to have made the gardens, and laid out the terraces. But the bowling-green, to the north-west of Diana Vernon's walk, and the pavilion erected there, were of much later date (1696), being the last works done at Haddon, before the removal of the family to Belvoir Castle.* John Manners was in constant correspondence with his brother, Henry Earl of Rutland, on public and private affairs, as well as with his brother Roger, and other members of his numerous family.

Henry, second Earl of Rutland, held many important posts in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. He took Haddington in 1547, and in the reign of Philip and Mary he was made Captain-General of all the forces ordered to proceed to France; he was also appointed Admiral of the Fleet, and in 1561 he was made President of Her Majesty's Council in

* 'Journal of the British Archæological Association,' vol. vii. p. 291.

the North; and several letters addressed to him in that capacity have been preserved. Among others there is one under date of June 10, 1563, from Thomas Randolph, the English envoy to Scotland, giving a long and interesting account of the opening of the Parliament at Edinburgh:—

‘Speaking of “the four virgins, maids, Maries, damosels of honour, or the Queen’s minions,” he says that “a fairer sight was never seen,” and that they were followed by others “so wonderful in beauty” that no other Court could be compared to that of Scotland. He proceeds to relate how the corpse of the Earl of Huntley was brought into the Parliament house in a coffin, and set upright as if he were alive, and how he was there condemned of treason. He also tells how the “preachers” induced the unwilling Lords to determine that adultery should be accounted a capital offence, and describes the proceedings against the Bishop of St. Andrews for maintaining the mass. Speaking of the relations between Mary and Elizabeth, he says that their familiarity was “entertained by continual recourse of letters written in whole sheets of paper with their own hands, the one to the other, by continual messages,” and the like, and he expressed a hope that the two would “live like good sisters and friends.” He mentions incidentally that a letter reached him at Edinburgh “within three days after it was written in London.”’

The second Earl of Rutland died in 1563, and was succeeded by his son Edward, the third Earl. The latter spent some months in Paris in 1571, where he received several letters from friends in England, especially from Lord Burghley, who appears to have taken a great interest in the young Earl. Lord Burghley writes to him from Hatfield on August 15, 1571, informing him that a marriage had been arranged between Anne Cecil, the eldest daughter of the writer, and the Earl of Oxford, but he shows very plainly that he would have preferred the Earl of Rutland, as his son-in-law.

A letter to the Earl in Paris from his agent in London is worth quoting:—

‘1571, September 21. Holborn.—Roger Wood and I have hired a house for you for a year, of Mr. Browghton, dwelling by the Strand, at a rent of forty marks. Houses are unreasonably dear. This house has all furniture except linen. Wood and coals I have already bought.’

Soon after his return the Earl of Rutland engaged himself to Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Holcroft. He seems to have resided chiefly at Belvoir, or Newark Castle, where ‘he received frequent letters from the Court, which are noticed in the Calendar; the Earls of Leicester and Sussex, Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Walsyngham being reckoned among
his

his intimate friends and correspondents. He was also in constant communication with his uncle, Roger Manners, a member of the Royal household, and Thomas Screven, the agent and trusted adviser of three successive owners of Belvoir. The series of letters from these two persons extend over a long period, and deal with a great variety of subjects, political, social, and sporting.' Roger never married. He kept his brothers and nephews informed of the chief events that took place in London; in addition, as years glide on, he becomes the mentor of the family, and towards the close of his life his letters are full of affectionate and pious counsels. Roger's chamber at Haddon, with the tapestry hangings, still looks as if a very little trouble would make it comfortable for an occupant.

A letter written by John Manners from Wilton to the Earl of Rutland, June 18, 1570, may here be quoted:—

'I remain with Lord Pembroke all this summer. Your sister finds them both rather parents than kinsfolk. She is somewhat better, but I do not know how she would have done if she had not come hither, for Lord Huntingdon's house is so often flitting. I am for the time a country man, and I go hunting with my Lord every day.'

It would be interesting to ascertain what animals John Manners could have hunted in the month of June.

George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who had, as we have seen, married as his first wife the eldest daughter of the first Earl of Rutland, figures conspicuously in the correspondence of his brothers-in-law, John Manners and Roger Manners. Unfortunately there is not much information in the Calendar about the captivity of his 'charge,' Mary Queen of Scots, of whom he was endeavouring to be relieved in December, 1583, and again in the following September.

The papers give a great deal of new information about the disputes between the Earl of Shrewsbury and his second wife, the celebrated heiress 'Bess of Hardwick,' whom he describes as his 'wicked wife' and his greatest enemy, but to whom the Queen was ever desirous of reconciling him. Thus we find Roger writes to his brother John on September 23, 1584:—

'You have great reson to honor and love your contrye Erle [of Shrewsbury] for I perceve he loveth you moch. . . . Her Majestie hath bin sondry tymes in hand with him for his wiffe, but he will nowais agree to accept her. She hath bin kept till this day from her Majestie's presens, greatly to her grief and disgrace as she sayth.'

Again, in 1586, he writes to John:—

'Your

'Your great Erle [of Shrewsbury] is very well, sayfe that he is more stoute agenst his lady then ever he was, and will in no wyse be reconysled. If he can be brought to yeld it is well for my lady; if he will not, she can nowais help herself for ought I can perceiue.'

And again in the same year he writes:—

'The peace made by your great Erle and his wyfe, is made by her Majestie as greatly to the honor of the Contes as may be. And if it be not to his honor and lyking, ther is none to blame but himself, for it is don by his owne accord without knowledge of eny his frendes or servantes, and he nedd not to have don it if he had listed.'

This sort of truce between the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury appears to have been soon broken, for, on July 30, 1586, the Earl writes to John Manners that he should have been

'downe before this but for my wiked wyfe, her tyteling in her Majestie's ere. She wold have me to kepe her of my charge, and she to have her lyving to pledge me withall.'

A letter from Sir R. Sadleir to John Manners, January 6, 1584[5], informs him that the Queen having commanded him [Sir R. Sadleir] to remove the Queen of Scots from hence to Tutbury, the gentlemen of best reputation in the country are to prepare to attend her, and he summons John Manners to escort her to Derby, and next day after to Tutbury. For his services on this occasion he was formally thanked by the Lords of the Council. A good deal of correspondence follows concerning the confiscation of Anthony Babington's goods and chattels. John Manners, Sir Thomas Cockayne, and John Bullock inform Lord Burghley that they repaired to Babington's house at Dethick, but found no valuables—only two of his sisters, a child, and three maid-servants, whom they did not disturb:—

'It was doubtless on this occasion that certain old letters of the Babingtons noticed in this Calendar came into possession of the Manners' family. Edward, Earl of Rutland, was one of the noblemen appointed to sit on the commission for trying the Queen of Scots, at Fotheringay, in September 1586; and in August following, John, Earl of Rutland, and his wife were ordered to attend her funeral at Peterborough. Their suite on this occasion seems to have consisted of three gentlemen, three gentlewomen, and sixteen yeomen; all of whom, as well as the Earl and Countess, were provided with "blacks" out of the royal wardrobe.'

On April 16th, Easter Day, 1587, Roger Manners writes from the Savoy, announcing the death of Edward, third Earl of Rutland, to John, the brother of the latter, who succeeded him as fourth Earl. The third Earl left one daughter and heiress,

heiress, Elizabeth, who, in right of her father, became Baroness Roos. She married, when only thirteen, William Cecil, eldest son of Sir Thomas Cecil, who was eldest son of Lord Burleigh, afterwards Earl of Exeter. They had a son, born in 1590, who was named William, after his father and great-grandfather, Lord Burleigh; and upon the occasion of his christening, the aged statesman wrote the following touching letter to John Manners:—

‘1590, June 8.—I most hartely thank you for your courtesye and payns taken at Newark to supply my place, for assistance as a God-father to christen your young coosyn the Lady Ross’s sonne. And in that you have named hym William, therby I may affirm he is the youngest William Cecill and I the eldest. God bless him to follow my purposes, but not my paynes nor daungers.’

The good Roger never loses a chance of pushing the fortunes of his family. John, fourth Earl of Rutland, held the title for less than a year, and died in February 1588. He left three sons, Roger, Francis, and George, who were successively fifth, sixth, and seventh Earls of Rutland. Their great-uncle Roger watched over them with the utmost care. He obtained for their sister Lady Bridget Manners a place in Queen Elizabeth’s Privy Chamber, and the advice, which he gives to her on her appointment, would be profitable to all young ladies of whatever period. He writes August 29, 1589, from Uffington:—

‘Understanding of her excellent Magestie’s great and spetial favor towards you in accepting of you to her service, and that of her Magestie’s privie chamber, I must nedes let you know that it is to the exceding great comfort of all your frendes, that wisshe your behaviour to be soch as may be to her Magestie’s best lyking. Wherunto, for that in nature I am bound to love and honor you I am bold to give you thes advices. Fyrst and above all thinges, that you forgett not to use daly prayers to the almightie God to endue you with his grace; then that you applie yourself hollye to the service of her Magestie with all meekness, love and obediens, wherein you must be diligent, secret and faythfull. To your elders and superiors, of reverent behavior; to your equalles, and fellow servantes syvill and courteys; to your inferiors you must show all favour and gentleness. Generally that you be no medeler in the causes of others. That you use moch sylens, for that becometh maydes, specially of your calling. That your speach and indevors ever tend to the good of all and to the hurt of none. Thus in breve Madam have you thes rules, which, if you have grace to follow you shall fynd the benefitt, and your frendes shall reioyse of your well doynge.’

Lady Bridget remained at Court five years, and there are many letters from persons at Court addressed to her mother Elizabeth, Countess

Countess of Rutland, stating the satisfaction Lady Bridget gave to the Queen. Thus Mary Harding writes to the Countess in 1592:—

'She is in very great favours with Her Majestie and is employed with the nearest service about her; for she carves at all tymes and is in no way at commaundement but by her Majestie. All the rest of the ladyes and others doth like very well of her disposition. So I trust in God your Ladyship shall have much comfort, for she groweth every day better to be like of.'

But in 1594 Lady Bridget having obtained leave of absence from the Court, contracted a marriage with Mr. Tyrwhit, apparently with the consent of her mother, but without the sanction of the Queen. So incensed was Elizabeth at this clandestine marriage, that she sent the husband to prison, and placed Lady Bridget in the custody of the Countess of Bedford, and was with difficulty persuaded to pardon the pair. The marriage of any of her maids of honour seems always to have given offence to the Queen. We read in these manuscripts that when Mary Shelton, another lady attached to the Court, announced her intention of marrying, Elizabeth abused and even struck her.

'1576 (?), January. Hampton Court.—The Queen has used Mary Shelton very ill for her marriage. "She hath telt liberall bothe with bloes and yevell wordes, and hath not yet graunted her consent." No one ever bought her husband more dearly.'

About 1590, mention of the gout occurs frequently in Roger's letters to John Manners; the brothers dare not take long journeys, on account of their infirmities. The Earl of Shrewsbury died in 1590, and Roger writes from the Savoy to John Manners, December 21 of that year, informing him of the death of the 'great Earl,' as he always calls him, and that although 'accounted for cattle, corn, wool, lead, iron, lands, revenue, and of ready money, the greatest and only rich subject of England,' he is stated to have died so poor that no executor could be induced to prove his will.

In 1592, the first rumour of the plague, which is often referred to in subsequent letters, reaches John Manners from his 'brother,' John Fortescue, August 27, 1592, Hendon:—

'I thank you for your good venison. "I remayne at my power house at Hendon nor can I further eloyne myself from London although the plague wekely encreaseth greatly, and my business and service daily requireth conference with cytoyans."'

Roger, the fifth Earl of Rutland, was only eleven at the time of his father's death; and there are many letters from Lord
Vol. 170.—No. 339. M Burghley,

Burghley, who gives in them most excellent advice concerning the young Earl, and the management of the family and the property. In December, 1594, he writes to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland:—

‘The Queen has consented to allow the Earl of Rutland to travel, but she requires that choice should be made of some discreet, honest man to accompany him. In conversation with the young Earl I found that he was quite ignorant of his estate, and as my own knowledge thereof is not much better, I beg that before his departure you will acquaint him fully therewith, and will also let me understand the same.’

In 1597 to 1600, great levies of money and men were made by the Queen’s command. It was desired to equip armies to proceed to Ireland, and to resist the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada. Great difficulty was found by John Manners of Haddon in raising the required funds, and numbers of letters of excuse to him from the gentlemen of the county exist.

‘There is a long letter from Sir Robert Cecil at the Court, dated July 25, 1588, describing the progress of the great Armada as it sailed up the Channel watched by the English fleet. Writing while the issue was still doubtful, he praises the “magnanimity” of Queen Elizabeth, and states that she was “not a whit dismayed.” He himself intended to ride to Margate and to go in a boat as near to the enemy as safety would permit. The next paper noticed in the Calendar gives a more detailed account of the Armada, and records its destruction.’

The peace of John Manners at Haddon must have been greatly disturbed by an announcement from the Earl of Shrewsbury, brother of the ‘great Earl,’ made 13th February, 1600, that his nephew, the Earl of Rutland, had joined the rebellion of the Earl of Essex, together with his two younger brothers. The Earl and his two brothers were committed to the Tower, and for some time it seemed probable that they would share the fate of the Earl of Essex. The Calendar gives many curious particulars as to their imprisonment in the Tower, and includes letters from the aged mentors of the family, Roger Manners and Thomas Screven, showing how deeply they lamented the apparent disloyalty of the head of a house ‘never yet spotted since it took being.’ Roger Manners writes to John, at Haddon, Feb. 16, 1600-1:—

‘Good Brother, of this tumult this berer can tell you more then I have will to write. I wold my three nephewes had never byn borne then by so horrible offence offende so gratius a sufferan, to the overthrow of ther howse and name for ever, alwais before loyall.

‘But I pray you, brother, comfort yourself and commit all to God,
and

and his will be don, whoe can turne, and if it please Him, all to the best. Her Magestie this other day sent Sir John Stanhope to me to comfort me with a very princely and gratius messayge. Mr. Secretary lykewise sent to me most honourably assuring his old friendship to me, with promess to doe for our Erl his best indevor. Therefore if he serve God, no dowte but he woll put mercie into Her Magestie's brest, wherof I dout not but he shall tast as soone as eny, for he is generally more pytied in Court then eny other. I pray you impart this moch to your sonne George, for I heare this accident greveth him moch, and then burne this letter, for I wold not have it knowne that I am in so good hope. Shortly, God willing, you shall here more from me.'

And again, February 25:—

'Joyn with [me] in prayer to the almyghtie that he woll forgive the syns [of] ther youth, and mak them better servantes to him and our gratius soverayn, whos hart I trust he woll inclyne to have mercie of our miserable howse, so longue true and now defamed by them. *Postscript.* I desyre no worldly thing more than that I may end my days with you in contemplation.'

The old-established friendship between the houses of Cecil and Manners proved very valuable to the latter on this as on other occasions. Chiefly through the influence of Sir Robert Cecil, the Earl of Rutland and his brothers were treated leniently. Sir Robert Cecil writes to Roger Manners, March 21, 1600-1:—

'In few wordes I pray you believe that I have honoured your house and loved you. And for the particular person of your nephew although I might have been jelous of his match yet I protest his case came never in question for anything but I was glad to my small power to do him any honor I could. For the matter as now yt stands, he is in the hands of her Majesty's justice and mercy: for the one—such is the power of the other in her devine nature—as the stay of yt must be attributed under God to herself, whose onely yt is. . . . To yourself I wishe all comfort and pray you if I dy to do no better to poore Will Cecill than I wishe to your noble nephew.'

Roger, Earl of Rutland, had married Elizabeth, only daughter and heir to Sir Philip Sidney: hence the allusion. Only those who have studied the letters of Sir Robert Cecil, to various members of the Manners' family, can properly appreciate the watchful friendship shown to them during his long life. The Earl of Rutland writes to his uncle, John Manners:—

'1601, May 16. At the [Tower].—The greatnes of my misfortunes have made me more silent then I wold have bene because I shold be sorrie to add any grieffe to my frendes in the remembrance of my

mishapps w[hich] I assure you I have more greved for t[hen] any wordly thing, that I should live to geve cause of discomfort to my best frendes and hasarde a stayne uppon my house ; but att the first the cleernes of my own harte breed in me a strong hope of good, and since it hath pleased God and her Majesty to be so favourable as I doubt not but live to be som comfort unto my poor house, although my estate is like to be much meaner then it was, which I thank God I greatly esteeme not. It hath pleased the Lords to call me twice before them and at first they layd before me the gretnes of my fault and the infiniteness of Her Majesty's mercy. To the one I gave humble thanks, and for the other I pleaded repentence and penitencie. The last tyme I was with them they gave me my doome which was thirty thousand pound, to which I did humblie submitt myselfe, determined to serve her Highness of what it shall please her to leave me. As yet there is no mittigation, but my frendes despayr not in the lessning of it, and my confidence in ther power is great, for I have bene much bond to them, especially to Mr. Secretarie, who both myself and my howse are highly bound unto. As yet I am wher I was, but hope of further liberty, and then if you do come uppe it will be a great comfort to me to see you, which I much desire.'

The Earl of Rutland was released on a fine of 30,000*l.*, which was afterwards reduced, through the influence of Sir Robert Cecil, to a third of that amount.

We learn from a letter written by Roger to his father, John Manners of Haddon, May 27, 1601, that—

'Sir George and Mr. Frauncys Manners were fyned at 4,000 markes a peece, but Sir Robert Cecill hath begged both their fynes, and so we hope it shall coste them litle or nothings.'

During this year alarms were raised that the Spanish fleet and army had arrived at Munster, in Ireland. John Manners is therefore commanded by the Queen to 'provide a horse with a sufficient man to send upon him.' Levies of horsemen were being provided by many others. Lists of Derbyshire gentlemen who are 'charged with horses' are found about this date. Money was also to be raised by Privy Seals being sent to gentlemen of the county. The first indication in these manuscripts, that the lion-hearted Queen's strength was failing her, occurs in the letter from Roger Manners to his brother, John Manners, at Haddon, March 12, 1602-3:—

'It has been a troublesome and heavy time here owing to the Queen's dangerous sickness; but now we rest in better hope, because yesterday she found herself somewhat better. "Brother, for myself I am an old man willing to forsake the world and to geve myself to contemplation and to prayer. I wolnot goe about
to

to make king's! nor seke to pull downe eny; only woll obay soch as be chosen and crowned."

On March 24, 1602-3, Thomas Screven writes to the Earl of Rutland to suggest that he should take his sheriffs and friends to proclaim King James I. at Nottingham. He also advises his giving his brother, George Manners, money in his purse and sending him with a letter to the King, offering his service, 'with message of love and duty.' He ends, 'the Queen's corpse and the Household will come presently to Whitehall.' The loyal Roger Manners must have rejoiced that his great-nephew followed the advice. He and the Countess entertained King James on his progress from Edinburgh to London. A contemporary writer, quoted in Eller's 'History of Belvoir,' describes the visit as follows:—

'April 22, 1603.—The King rode from Newark to Belvoir, hunting all the way as he rode, saving that on the way he made four Knights. By the right noble Earl of Rutland his highness was not only royally, but most plenteously received. Next morning, before he went to break his fast, he made forty-six Knights; among these were Sir George and Sir Oliver Manners.'

The King went on to Burleigh; and March 29, 1603, King James is proclaimed in Derbyshire by Lord Darcy, John Manners, Sir Francis Leek, William Cavendish, George Manners, and Peter Fretchville.

The interest of the Papers, now, assumes a melancholy tinge. Roger Manners, in 1607 (July 2), writes to his brother John, at Haddon, from Great Saint Bartholomew's, London:—

'It doyth me good even at the verie hart to hear of your good health. Surely my desire to see you is as great as yours to see me. But brother, to dele playnely with you I am afrayd to take so longue a jurney. I am so old, my body is so weak and so exceeding hevie, that syns I saw you I durst never come opou a horse's back. And agayn, I am subject to see meny sudain fallings and syck, whereof I had a taste yesterday, but now God be thanked, very well.'

On the same page is the draft of an answer from John Manners, congratulating himself and his brother on their long and prosperous lives.

On December 12, 1607, Sir Francis Fortescue of Salden announces the death of Roger Manners to John Manners, his father-in-law. After some commonplace remarks, he assures Sir John that his brother had died 'happilie.' He adds:—

'I humbly beseeche you, lett yt nott be greevous unto your farder than the losse of your honourable brother, which is greife enough'

enoughe to lose so affectionate and most deere brother; nether will greife helpe, and therefore I hope your wisdome is soche as you will consider therof and rather joye that he is gone to soe happie a place beinge a man wholly resolved to die ever since his beginninge of his sicknesse. I humbly entreate you to make Salden your home till you have finished his last obsequie; as private as you will you maye be, and as quiett. Adventure nott your boddy soe tedious a iorney which may be your own overthrowe. With greife I write and with humblenesse we entreate you to returne backe.'

Roger Manners was buried in the church of Uffington, where a marble monument was erected to his memory and that of his brother Oliver. He gave four scholarships to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and was a benefactor to the chapel there. Architectural authorities have remarked a singular resemblance between the quadrangles and ground-plan of Haddon and the general design of Queen's College, Cambridge. Perchance Roger may have given ideas on the subject to his brother John, who undoubtedly built much of the south front of Haddon.

The blank felt by the family of his brother at Haddon, and also by that of his nephew at Belvoir, must have been very great after Roger's death. The correspondence from which quotations have been made, so far as Haddon is concerned, now ceases for a time to be interesting, except to descendants of the family. Sir John Manners died on the 4th of June, 1611. He was buried in Bakewell Church, in the Vernon Chapel. He is represented kneeling, in armour, facing his wife, Dorothy Vernon, who died on the 4th of June, 1584. At the base of the monument effigies of their four children are represented, also kneeling. When Bakewell Church was restored, the workmen discovered near the monument of which we are speaking the remains of two persons. One was recognized as Sir John Manners, from his likeness to the effigy above; while the lady, lying near him, with beautiful auburn hair, must have been Dorothy. Among the mass of letters found at Belvoir, there were none from her; but it is believed that there are still papers that have not been examined, so some relic of her may yet be discovered. Their four children were: George, the eldest, who succeeded him, knighted by James I. in 1603; John, who died young; Sir Roger of Whitwell, knighted at Theobalds, 1615; and Grace, married to Sir Francis Fortescue of Salden. Sir George Manners married Grace, daughter of Sir Henry Pierrepont of Nottinghamshire. During his father's lifetime he often expressed a wish to travel, but settled down, and acted as a Justice. In his father's letters allusion is made more than once to his wife as 'a good gentlewoman,'

woman,' while his children are described as 'sweet children.' He is usually said to have died in 1623, but Mr. Duesbury points out that 1624 is carved on the roof of the chapel, which was re-roofed by Sir George. He was succeeded by his son John, who became eighth Earl of Rutland, as we shall presently see.

Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, died in 1612, and was succeeded by his brother Francis, the sixth Earl, who entertained James I. in the same year, when he visited Belvoir Castle a second time. His daughter was married to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James I. and Charles I.; but the Belvoir manuscripts give no information about the interesting circumstances connected with this marriage;* and the only letters from her in the collection relate to matters of business. On Earl Francis's death in 1632, without male issue, his brother George became the seventh Earl.

One of the most interesting documents printed by Mr. Maxwell-Lyte is the diary kept by George, seventh Earl of Rutland, when in attendance upon Charles I., at York and other places in the north of England, between the 30th of May, 1639, and the pacification of Berwick in the month of June following. We know from other sources that many of the English nobles who accompanied Charles were averse to a war with the Scots, and to the proposal of a military oath binding them to fight in the King's cause 'to the utmost hazard of their life and fortunes.'† The Earl of Rutland gives an account of the Council in which their oath was proposed:—

'Sunday, April 21 [1639].—The Kinge . . . called to Mr. Mewtis clarke of the Councell and bade him reade an oath, which all the Lords of the Councell risinge from the table tooke, with myselfe, untill it came to the Lord Say, who humbly besought his Majesty's pardon and desyred tyme to consider of it. Then rose upp and secondly kneeled downe and told his Majesty that he would take the oath of Allegiance and Supreamacy, to adventur his lyfe and fortunes for the defence of this Kindome of England against any that should invade it. But to goe and kill a man in Scotland he was not satisfied of the lawfulness therof. Whereupon the Kinge passionately replied: My Lord, there be as good men as you that will not refuse to take it. But I fynd you averse to all my proceedings. The Lord Brooke also was called and did refuse to take the oath.'

The Earl of Rutland took the oath, but in the following year (1640) he joined Lords Saye and Brooke in opposing in the House of Lords the King's proposals.‡

* See Gardiner's 'Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage,' vol. i. p. 329 foll.

† See Gardiner's 'Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.,' vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

‡ See Ranke's 'History of England,' vol. ii. p. 193.

The Earl also describes in his Diary his visit to the Covenanters' camp after the conclusion of the treaty, and the courteous reception accorded to him and his companions by General Lesley. He was struck with the healthy appearance of the Scotch troops, and contrasts it with the very different condition of the English soldiers:—

'I observed not so much as a sickely man amongst [them]. And they said except that morninge they had not buried a man since theyr comminge thither. I wish our campe had beene so fortunat, for many were deade to our great shame thorough falte of officers, who did not forcast for victualls and hotts to lye dry in wett weather.'

With the diary of George, seventh Earl of Rutland, the Calendar closes at present. On the death of the latter in 1641, without children, he was succeeded by his cousin, John Manners of Haddon, as eighth Earl. Thus, in the person of the grandson of John Manners of Haddon, the two lines of the family of Manners were united, the present Duke of Rutland being directly descended from John Manners and Dorothy Vernon. During several generations the Manners inhabited Haddon alternately with Belvoir; indeed, during the vicissitudes that befell the Castle in the Civil Wars, Haddon was their home. This period may be distinctly traced in the building. We find the Earl's dressing-room opening into his bedroom; these rooms being hung with tapestry, hunting scenes predominating. It is said that Count Rumford took his plan for preventing chimneys smoking from the grate in the Earl's dressing-room. A page's room is close by, and two flights of stone steps communicate, one with the courtyard, the other with the terrace. A little ante-room near the Long Gallery contains many pictures, and it leads into the State Bedroom. Here is a gigantic bed, the green velvet draperies of which are said to have been worked by Eleanor, wife of Sir Robert Manners, co-heiress of Lord Roos; and in the bay window stands Queen Elizabeth's looking-glass. By the side of the bed is a very rough wooden cradle, in which many successive Earls of Rutland were rocked; a fitting cradle for a sturdy race of men, ready for war, foremost in the chase, and prompt to share work and hardship with their comrades. Gobelins tapestry hangs on the walls, representing scenes from Æsop's fables. The firedogs here, as in several other rooms, are very handsome; but the bas-relief in plaster over the chimney-piece of Orpheus charming the wild beasts, is certainly more curious than beautiful. A door from this room leads to the ancient State-room, which is probably one of the oldest parts of

of the building; the walls are very thick, and the workmanship of the bolts and bars bears the stamp of great antiquity. Beyond this is the Archers' room, where is preserved a frame for stringing bows; and a spiral stone staircase leads to the Peveril Tower, from which there is a beautiful view. A graceful little watch-tower springs from the Peveril Tower. Several of the rooms in this direction show signs of being rather unsafe from age. The contrast between the richness of the decorations in the chambers of the lords and ladies, or the knights and dames, with the extreme roughness of the accommodation provided in old days for the retainers, is very remarkable.

John Manners, the eighth Earl of Rutland, lived in troublous times. His grandfather, John Manners of Haddon, and his great-uncle, Roger Manners of Uffington, would indeed have grieved had they lived to know that the representative of both branches of the loyal family of Manners embraced the cause of the Revolution against Charles I. The Earl was one of the twenty-two peers, who in January 1642-3 declined to obey the King's summons to attend him at Oxford. Belvoir Castle was besieged and taken by the Royalists. This event was mentioned at the time as being 'of special consequence and importance for his Majesty's service; as by reason of the situation of the castle on an hill of difficult access, and being built on the confines of Lincoln and Leicestershire, with a very fair prospect also into that of Nottingham; and thus having a strong power and influence on all those three counties.' In October 1643, the Earl of Rutland took the solemn League and Covenant, with the few peers who remained at Westminster. During this time Colonel Gervase Lucas, who had raised a regiment of horse at his own expense, to defend the King's cause, was Governor of Belvoir Castle. King Charles slept at the castle in November 1645. Soon after a skirmish, the Earl of Rutland consented to the stables and outbuildings, as well as the whole village of Belvoir, being destroyed; and the old church of Woolsthorpe, about half a mile from the Castle, was burnt down by Parliamentary soldiers. In December, it was reported that the garrison at Belvoir wanted necessaries, especially water, and a strong force a little later having attacked the Castle, Sir Gervase Lucas was forced to surrender. Captain Markham was then appointed Governor of the Castle. In May 1649, the Council of State 'ordered the demolishing the Castle, which the Earl of Rutland was content with.'

The Earl established himself at Haddon, where, according to all accounts, he kept open house. He took part in the Restoration of Charles II., was favourably received at Court, and made

Lord

Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire. It is not believed that he made additions to the Hall; he was probably sufficiently occupied in rebuilding the Castle at Belvoir, which he completed in 1668. A model of this new building exists in the guard-chamber of the present Castle.

The eighth Earl died at Haddon in 1679, and was buried in Bottesford Church, where he has a monument. His two elder sons died in infancy; his third son, John, succeeded him as ninth Earl of Rutland. Of his daughters, Frances married John, Earl of Exeter; Grace married first Patricius, Viscount Chaworth, secondly, Sir William Chaworth of Charlton, Kent; Dorothy, Anthony, Lord Ashley, son and heir to the Earl of Shaftesbury; Elizabeth, James Lord Annesley; Margaret, James Earl of Salisbury; Anne, Sir Scrope Howe, afterwards Lord Viscount Howe; and Mary died, aged twelve. Roger died an infant.

Many manuscript letters from the Countess of Salisbury to her mother exist at Belvoir—in one, from her husband's mother, the Countess is described as 'the best and the discreetest young waman y^t I know.' Judging from her letters, she was a loving daughter, wife, and mother. Lady Salisbury must have traced a likeness between the gallery at the home of her childhood, Haddon, and that of Hatfield. There is still a room at the former called Lady Cranborne's Chamber, hung with beautiful tapestry, and is one of the quaintest rooms in the Hall. It contains a full-length portrait in tapestry, said to be Henry IV. of France.

John, the ninth Earl, was married three times: first to Lady Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester; secondly, to Lady Diana Bruce, daughter of Robert Earl of Aylesbury; thirdly, to Catharine, daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden. Before his father's death he bore the title of Lord Roos, till he was created Baron Manners of Haddon. He preferred the life of a country gentleman to one in town; and 'loved greatly buck hunting.' It is mentioned that he and his retainers hunted clad in green. So many letters of thanks were found, in acknowledgment of red-deer pasties, and bucks, addressed to the successive owners of Haddon and Belvoir, that it is evident deer abounded on both those estates. He was created by Queen Anne Marquis of Granby and Duke of Rutland in the second year of her reign. From letters of Lady Rachael Russell to King William III., it seems that sovereign had intended giving the Dukedom, but was prevented by the illness which terminated fatally. One letter about the King's last illness mentions that Sir Walter Raleigh's cordial and Jesuits' bark were administered,

administered, but without much effect. The present Duchess of Rutland, in November 1889, examined two large sacks of papers, brought from the loft over the stables at Belvoir. Under a mass of more recent papers, old pamphlets and account books, she found letters relating to the creation of the Dukedom; one in particular from Godolphin, with many letters of much earlier date.

John, the first Duke of Rutland, died at Belvoir in 1711, and was succeeded by his son John, who had married in 1693, Katharine, second daughter of William Lord Russell, who was beheaded in 1683. After bearing nine children, Katharine, Duchess of Rutland, died. Lady Russell, after seeing her beloved daughter in her coffin, was called to the bed-side of her other daughter, the Duchess of Devonshire, from whom, on account of the state of her health, it was important to conceal her sister's death. When her daughter earnestly enquired about her sister, her mother answered, 'I have seen your sister out of bed to-day.'

The second Duke died of small-pox in 1721, and was succeeded by his son John. The third Duke lived partly at Haddon, but it was during his life that the family finally quitted the ancient Hall. The family is said to have moved in the year 1700, but the Hall does not seem to have been partly dismantled till 1740.

Many rooms in the north wing of the Hall are still hung with tapestry, some of it being very beautiful. A large number of pictures of varying merit remain, and some Venetian frames of enormous size. Many of the pictures are Italian, and may have been sent by Sir Oliver, brother of Sir John Manners, husband of Dorothy. Sir Oliver travelled much in Italy; a letter from him, when ill, dated Milan, begs his relations not to expect him to write, as a relapse had been brought on by his doing so. The furniture is said to have been stored in the barn, now pulled down; and in course of time some of it became mildewed. A few ancient black oak cabinets and oak tables, the latter of extraordinary solidity, remain. Some of these are at the Woodhouse, a small place belonging to the Duke of Rutland, in the immediate neighbourhood of Haddon, and some are at Longshawe Lodge, also belonging to the Duke, about ten miles from Bakewell. No doubt some found their way to cottages of the retainers, and one or two fine pieces of dark oak still remain in the custodian's house. The fifth Duke of Rutland, when a young man, made a tour through England and Wales, during which he visited many places of interest, including Haddon, of which he wrote an account as if he were a stranger.

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He kept a journal, which was printed for private circulation, in which he mentions that, when the family left Haddon, a hundred persons are reported to have gone with them.

The old oak table was left in the Banqueting Hall on the dais, and on the walls hang very fine stags' heads and antlers. There, too, is the picture of Martin Middleton, of Hazelbadge, or -batch, which was a manor-house belonging to the Vernons, and is now a farm-house, situated near the village of Tideswell. On the Elizabethan gable is inscribed H. V. III., the Vernon crest, and the date 1549. The kitchen at Haddon is enormous, and contains massive appliances for cooking the banquets in which our forefathers delighted; the huge salting-trough made out of one block of wood must have been of great use for the winter provision of salt beef and fish; the tables are of solid oak. Many old papers, deeds, and books were also left; indeed, one would hope that a return to the Hall was contemplated as possible. It is said that the ladies objected to the communications with some of the rooms being outside, or through the courtyard; one pretty little covered galley was evidently built to obviate the necessity of going through the open air, and this objection may possibly have been one reason for the removal of the family. It is mentioned in the journal of the fifth Duke, that the deeds concerning the property were kept here in a large oaken chest, and that when the rents had been collected, they were placed under the floor of the chapel beneath the seats of the retainers. A very large chest may still be seen in the chapel, which formerly held vestments. The chapel is of fine proportions and contains some interesting glass that Sir Richard Vernon put into the east window in 1427, as already mentioned; but much of the stained glass, which is said to have been very fine, was stolen by night in the early part of this century. The font is Norman, and so is the south aisle; the centre column bears the date 1160. The chapel is much disfigured by pews, evidently put in about the time of the Reformation; its walls were decorated with patterns of rose branches, leaves and flowers, and groups of figures appeared on the east wall of the chancel; but they must have been covered with whitewash, probably at the time of the Reformation.

The third Duke, after leaving Haddon, made what is described as a picture-room at Belvoir, and he also built a lodge in the ancient deer park of Croxton, near the ruins of the Abbey. Here the family used to retire from time to time, a circumstance worth recording, since the poet Crabbe, when chaplain to the fourth Duke, accompanied them there.

The history of Haddon from the time of the Manners quitting

ting it, and taking with them a part of its contents, is no longer intimately connected with that of its possessors; but as the fabric itself has always been kept up, a glance at the lives of its successive owners must be given here. There is a small house in Bakewell, the existence of which is little known, built on a very steep hill above Bakewell Church. It has miniature terraces and pointed gables, and is believed to have been built by the second Duke; and probably some of the family stayed here when they came to visit this lovely part of Derbyshire.

The Duke's eldest son was the 'generous' Granby, who commanded the British troops in Germany in the Seven Years' War, and was in 1766 made Commander-in-Chief. During his campaigns he wrote daily to his father, and was said to be a good soldier, brave, active, careful of his men and beloved by them. He resigned all his appointments in 1770 on the formation of Lord North's Government; and his death in the same year, in the prime of manhood, was a serious loss to the Opposition.* He died in the lifetime of his father, who survived till 1779, and who was succeeded in the dukedom by Granby's son.

Charles, the fourth Duke of Rutland, was, like his father, an adherent of Chatham, and an opponent of Lord North. He was an early, and always a staunch friend of the younger Pitt, for whom he obtained a seat in Parliament in 1780 through his influence with Sir James Lowther. On the formation of Pitt's Administration in 1783 he became Lord Privy Seal, and in the following year Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he died in 1787 at the early age of thirty-three. The Duchess, his widow, a daughter of the Duke of Beaufort, survived till 1831. His correspondence with Mr. Pitt, while he held the office of Lord Lieutenant, preserved at Belvoir Castle, was printed for private circulation, with the permission of the fifth Duke, by the late Lord Stanhope, in 1842, and copious extracts from it are given in the 'Quarterly Review' in the same year.† The originals of the letters were returned to the fifth Duke, but unfortunately cannot now be found. Throughout this correspondence, as we remarked at the time, the Duke of Rutland appears to very great advantage, combining a frank and cordial spirit, and a delicate sense of honour, with good judgment, prudence, and vigilant attention to his duties. To this may be added the testimony of Lord Stanhope,‡ that the Duke's letters to Mr. Pitt show 'both ability and attention to business; and had his life

* Lord Stanhope, 'History of England,' vol. v. p. 414.

† Vol. 70, p. 289 *seqq.*

‡ 'Life of Pitt,' vol. i. p. 274.

not prematurely ended, his name perhaps might have deserved to stand as high in politics as does his father in war.'

John Henry, the fifth Duke, was only nine years of age at the time of his father's death. In 1799 he married Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle, and was the father of the late and present Dukes. The Duke pulled down the Castle at Belvoir, to which reference has frequently been made in these pages, and built the existing Castle. The work was begun in 1801, and in 1816 the south-west and south-east fronts were completed. The grand staircase and the picture gallery were nearly finished, when a fire broke out, which destroyed the north-east and north-west fronts. The Duke immediately began to rebuild, and he completed the present Castle. He is said to have hesitated, when Her Majesty was about to honour him with a visit, whether to receive her at Haddon or at Belvoir, but he decided on the latter. The Duchess took a great interest in the part of Derbyshire belonging to the Duke, adding much to its beauty by planting trees in many directions; and the Duke delighted in coming to the Woodhouse near Haddon, for grouse-shooting in the winter. After a life of great mental and bodily activity, and practical benevolence, cheered by keen appreciation of social intercourse, the good Duke, as his neighbours were wont to call him, died in 1857, and was succeeded by his son Charles Cecil John, the sixth Duke. To him the ancient Hall was a source of interest and pleasure. He yearly spent some weeks at Longshawe, about ten miles off among the hills, and in this wild country he made nearly twenty miles of drive, and frequently visited Haddon, where his keen eye was ever on the watch to mark any need of attention, and to suggest improvements. Himself an artist of merit, he delighted in encouraging the many painters, who sketched the old Hall from every point of view, and he felt much gratification in believing that the possession he prized so highly gave pleasant hours to the thousands of sight-seers who yearly visited it. In the winter of 1872, the late Duke entertained the Prince and Princess of Wales in the Banqueting Hall at luncheon, when the boar's head and peacock in pride were carried in, and formed part of the fare, as in olden days, while once more musicians filled the minstrels' gallery, great logs blazed in the huge fireplace, and scarlet hangings were spread over the walls. With this event our attempt to shadow forth the ancient glories of Haddon must close.

ART. VII.—1. *A Treatise upon the Law of Extradition.* By Sir Edward Clarke. Third Edition. London, 1888.
2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Extradition, 1878.*

THE theory of Extradition has never been more clearly and concisely stated than in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1878, a commission composed of the highest authorities on the subject, and presided over by the late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, a master mind, whose complete grasp of criminal law in all its bearings has never been questioned. The Report states:—

‘I.—The extradition of fugitive criminals is founded on a twofold motive:

‘1. That it is the common interest of mankind that offences against person and property, offences which militate against the general well-being of society, should be repressed by punishment, as the means of deterring others from committing, as well as of deterring the criminal himself from repeating the offence, as also of disabling the offender, either permanently or temporarily, from further crime.

‘2. That it is to the interest of the State into whose territory the criminal has come that he shall not remain at large therein, inasmuch as from his past conduct it may reasonably be anticipated that, if opportunity offers, he will again be guilty of crime. No State can desire that its territory should become a place of refuge for the malefactors of other countries. It is obviously its interest to get rid of them.’

Fairly considered, this will now be accepted by all as the correct view of the subject; but in the earlier part of the present century there was a disposition on the part of Great Britain to regard the surrender of fugitive criminals in the light of a *concession* to Foreign States—to be jealously refused or grudgingly conceded; and there can be little doubt that the law and practice of this country have, down to comparatively recent times, done much to discourage and hinder the application of sound principles of Extradition. This attitude was no doubt principally due to an exaggerated importance attached to the right of asylum; but it may perhaps be questioned whether too high a price has not thus been paid for a guardianship of the national honour which in this respect has often verged on the quixotic.

Surely, when we read in Sir E. Clarke’s treatise under review, that under the operation of the Treaty of 1843 between Great Britain and France, only one demand for extradition made by the latter country was successful during twenty-two years, it must be felt that a salutary change has now come over
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public feeling in England. At that time, numberless demands were made by France, only to be dismissed upon some legal technicality; whilst at the present day it may be fairly asserted, that there is no country in the world, where a just and well-supported demand for extradition is more certain to be successful than in Great Britain. We speak of ordinary cases. There still exist blemishes in the law, which occasionally lead to miscarriage of justice, and to which we shall presently refer.

It is a matter of very common belief, that extradition treaties are entirely the product of a modern and complex civilization, rendered necessary only by the facilities of travel and by the manifold ramifications of international dealings and correspondence in these days of steam and electricity. Although this belief is to a certain extent well founded, it is by no means strictly accurate. The necessity of making provision for the surrender of fugitive offenders taking refuge in a Foreign State, has indeed been recognized—in some instances by treaty—from very early times. It will, however, strike most people with surprise to read in Sir E. Clarke's work, that the Romans concluded a treaty with Antiochus, king of Syria, which stipulated for the surrender of Hannibal and four Greeks, who had been instrumental in promoting the war; and that instances occurred before the Christian era which raised the modern problem of the surrender of nationals—that is to say, the duty of a State as regards the surrender of its own subjects to another State; as when, in 188 B.C., Romans were surrendered by Rome to the Carthaginians in extradition.

The thorny question of surrender for political offences is not new. Hannibal might now have been considered a political offender; and the same question, in an even more delicate form, was involved in the Treaty of February 23rd, 1661, between Great Britain and Denmark, which provided for the surrender of those implicated in the death of Charles I.

Although difficulties have occasionally arisen in modern times in regard to the extradition of those who have committed grave crimes with some real or pretended political object, civilized States are now unanimous in considering that assassinations, or attempts on life, if not committed during a state of war or of open and organized revolt, are crimes which justify extradition, although prompted by political motives. The frequency of attempts against the lives of Heads of States has indeed produced express stipulations in some modern treaties, to the effect that crimes of this character shall not be sheltered behind the screen of alleged political motive.

Probably the earliest treaty for the extradition of ordinary offenders

offenders against the law is that of 1174, between England and Scotland; but this early precedent does not seem to have soon given rise to any systematic arrangements for international extradition. It has, however, been the practice of various States to surrender such fugitives to foreign countries without the existence of any express treaty stipulation; and many writers of authority on international law have, even in recent times, insisted that this is an international duty, dictated not only by comity but by self-interest. Latterly, the crystallization of the common law into statute in England has rendered the retention of this theory impossible; and the surrender of fugitive criminals by Great Britain to a Foreign State, in the absence of a treaty, is now precluded by the provisions of the Extradition Act, 1870.

The principle of non-surrender without treaty was, however, evolved from the common law before the date of the passing of the Act; and experience in the first half of the present century proved that in practice the surrender of fugitive criminals could never be granted by Great Britain. Such a state of things gave rise to reflection. Public feeling would no longer tolerate that England should be made a place of refuge for malefactors of every kind; and especially the increasing traffic between Great Britain and the United States caused the question to assume serious proportions. Thus it was that negotiations were commenced, and the first modern extradition arrangement between this country and a Foreign State was concluded with the United States in 1842. The Ashburton Treaty, as it is called, is not wholly, or even mainly, an extradition treaty, but its tenth article provides for the surrender of those guilty of seven of the most serious crimes. No reservation is made that nationals shall not be given up, nor is any mention made in the treaty of political offences. As there was no Extradition Act then in force in England, it was necessary to confirm the treaty by a special Act of the British Parliament.

The benefits secured by this treaty, limited as were its stipulations, at once became apparent, many notorious criminals being handed over to justice under its operation. Few persons who have now reached middle age can have forgotten the dramatic episode of extradition in connexion with the famous case of Franz Müller in 1864. Mr. Briggs, a citizen of London, was found dead on the line of railway near Hackney, with injuries pointing to murder. In the carriage, from which he had evidently been thrown, were found traces of a struggle, and a hat of peculiar make, which had apparently been left by the assassin in his hurried escape. The watch

and other effects of the deceased gentleman were missing. Suspicion at length rested on Franz Müller, a young German residing in London; the evidence given by Mr. Death, a jeweller of ominous name, with whom had been pledged or exchanged some of Mr. Briggs's missing property, being principally relied upon. It was also proved that Müller had worn a hat such as that found in the carriage. A warrant of arrest was consequently issued, when it was found that Müller had decamped to the United States. Two detectives, accompanied, for purposes of identification, by Mr. Death, started in hot pursuit by a fast mail steamer. Fortune favoured their passage, and they arrived at New York before the steamer conveying the fugitive. On his arrival, Müller was at once confronted by the officers, and, being fully identified, was arrested; his horror at this unexpected reach of the arm of the law going far to betray his guilty secret. Brought before the United States Commissioner in New York, he wished to be allowed to plead an alibi; but this request was not entertained by the Commissioner, who held that his duty was merely to satisfy himself that a *prima facie* case had been established. Franz Müller was thereupon surrendered in extradition, conveyed to England by the officers, tried, and hung; the justice of the extradition being conclusively affirmed when on the scaffold the German chaplain urged him to make by confession the only reparation still in his power. 'Gott weiss was Ich habe gethan,' replied the culprit. Again the chaplain urged him to make a clean breast of it and to confess in direct terms; but it was not until the supreme moment, when the bolt was about to be drawn, that the dying man whispered in the chaplain's ear those words which have since become historic in the annals of crime—'*Ja, Ich habe es gethan!*'

What better than this memorable case can show the advantage of a system of extradition, which can be relied upon to work smoothly and effectually?—such a capture in the remote places of the earth being perhaps even more potent as a deterrent than the subsequent condemnation and execution. Let the conviction once become firmly rooted that the hand of justice is unfailing—that capture is certain whithersoever the fugitive may betake himself, not only would crime generally be discouraged, but many classes of criminals would well-nigh cease to exist, such as those of the educated classes committing the more serious kinds of commercial crimes—forgers, embezzlers, fraudulent bankrupts, or trustees, *et hoc genus omne*—who, in the commission of their crime, have relied on the absence of extradition treaties with certain countries, or on the uncertain working of the provisions of some treaties which exist.

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The Treaty of 1842 with the United States was followed by those with France and Denmark, each confirmed by a special Act of Parliament; but until about the time of Franz Müller's case, attention had not again been very prominently directed to the subject of extradition since 1842. About the year 1864, however, public attention was aroused by frequent difficulties in connexion with the treaty with France, the utter inadequacy of the British law giving rise to lamentable failures of justice, and to repeated complaints from the French Government. This led to the whole question of Extradition being referred to the consideration of a strong Committee of the House of Commons in 1868, upon whose recommendation the first general British Extradition Act was passed.

As the 'Extradition Act, 1870,' is the law under which extradition is carried out in this country at the present day, it may be worth while to devote a small space to an examination of its provisions; our object being to show how far its practical operation has been satisfactory, and in what respects it appears open to amendment. Nor can it be doubted that the importance of the subject commends it to careful study—the perfection of extradition arrangements going too close to the life-roots of the social system to be ignored by those to whom the government of any great country is entrusted.

The scheme of the Extradition Act, 1870, is, that it may be applied by Order in Council to those Foreign States with which Great Britain may conclude treaties of the nature contemplated by the Act; but, if such a treaty is not concluded, the Act cannot be so applied, and a fugitive cannot be surrendered.

The gist of the Law is contained in Sections 3 and 4. Section 3 imposes four restrictions which are to be observed in regard to the surrender of fugitive criminals, and which are to the following effect:—

1. That no one shall be surrendered for a political offence, or if he prove that his extradition has been demanded with the view to try him for such an offence.

2. That no one shall be surrendered to a Foreign State unless provision is made by the law of that State, or by treaty, that he shall not, without being allowed an opportunity of returning to Her Majesty's dominions, be detained or tried for any offence other than that for which the extradition is granted.

3. That any person accused or undergoing sentence in the United Kingdom cannot be surrendered in extradition for another offence committed abroad, until he has been discharged or has completed his sentence.

4. That fifteen days must elapse between committal and surrender.

Section 4 provides that an Order in Council applying the Act in the case of any Foreign State cannot be made, unless the treaty is terminable at one year's notice, and is in conformity with the provisions of the Act, and especially of Section 3, alluded to above. The Order in Council must embody the terms of the treaty, the provisions of which are then read with the Act, and may modify or restrict its operation within certain limits.

No express provision is made in the Act with regard to the surrender of British subjects, who may therefore be given up or not, according to the stipulations of each particular treaty.

Provision is made as to procedure, the authentication of documents to be received in evidence, and other matters of detail. The crimes for which extradition may be granted are specified in a schedule attached to the Act, which schedule was extended to additional crimes by a short amending Act in 1873. The two schedules now comprise practically all that is required. Under these two Acts treaties have been concluded with most civilized States, and there can be little doubt that an important improvement has been thereby effected in the practice of extradition in Great Britain.

The practical process by which extradition arrangements are thus concluded and brought into operation is, for negotiations to be opened with the Foreign State for the conclusion of a treaty. The treaty is made to comprise as many offences as possible within the schedule of extradition crimes annexed to the Acts, but may not comprehend any that are not mentioned therein. Provision is made as to whether or not the surrender of nationals is to be permitted; and, as an imperative condition, the arrangement must expressly stipulate that the four restrictive provisions of the Act are to be observed. If, on the signature of the treaty, it is found to comply with the terms of the Act, it is forthwith ratified by Her Majesty and the Head of the Foreign State; and the ratifications are exchanged usually at the place of signature. The issue of the Order in Council in England, under the provisions of the Act, then follows as a matter of course; no special confirmation by Parliament being necessary in this country.

Liberty is usually reserved by a special article of the treaty to vary the procedure to a certain extent, to meet the circumstances of certain British Colonies, notably Canada, which has now, in accordance with a provision of the Imperial Act, made arrangements for extradition by a special law of its own.

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When the Order in Council has been so issued, the treaty is in force throughout Her Majesty's dominions, and extradition demands may at once be made upon, or conceded to, the Foreign State in question.

In the case of a fugitive criminal escaping from England, evidence is taken on oath before a magistrate to prove the facts alleged. This evidence, when reduced to writing, is successively authenticated by the magistrate before whom it was taken, by the Home Secretary, by the Foreign Secretary, and by the Diplomatic Representative in London of the State upon which the demand for extradition is to be made. The documents, thus verified as correct, are forwarded through H.M.'s Representative in the State in question, and, if the fugitive is arrested, are tendered in evidence before the competent court. Detectives are sometimes sent out to aid in tracing and identifying the accused, or to give evidence on important points on which the documentary evidence may seem to be insufficient. If a *prima facie* case is held by the Foreign Court to have been established, the offender is surrendered, and brought home to take his trial in England. If the evidence in respect to identity or other points is considered insufficient, the prisoner is remanded, in order that further proof may be obtained, or is released at once.

The practice of sending out detectives having personal knowledge of the fugitive, might, we think, notwithstanding its expense, be more frequently resorted to in serious cases than is the custom at present, in order to guard against cases of mistaken identity, which may readily occur upon a mere written description. A case of this kind happened some years ago under very singular circumstances. The extradition was demanded by Great Britain of a fugitive charged with the commission of a serious crime in a rather out-of-the-way place in England. A detailed description of the accused was sent out, and amongst the indications mentioned was a lump on a particular part of the head. A man was subsequently arrested by the foreign police who tallied closely with the description of the accused, and who acknowledged that he had come from the neighbourhood where the crime had been committed. On examination, however, no lump could be discovered on his head; but a cicatrix was found in the identical spot indicated, which might possibly have been caused by the removal of such a lump by surgical means. Notwithstanding these extraordinary coincidences, it was, we believe, satisfactorily established that the person in custody was not the right man, and, after a somewhat prolonged detention, he was released.

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We recollect another case of a somewhat similar character which arose from the same cause. A fugitive from justice escaped from one of the Australian Colonies on board a vessel bound, *via* the Suez Canal, for an Italian port. It being thought that the accused might possibly land in Egypt, H.M.'s Consul was instructed by telegraph to keep a watch, in order to arrest him in such case, with the view that he might be sent back under the provisions of the Fugitive Offenders Act, which has been applied by Order in Council to Egypt. A detailed description of the fugitive accompanied these instructions. The Consul, however, reported that he had not been able to ascertain that any such person had disembarked on Egyptian territory. The description was forthwith telegraphed to H.M.'s Representative at Rome, with instructions to request that the Italian police might effect the fugitive's arrest, if he should be discovered. On the arrival of the vessel at the Italian port, the police promptly arrested an individual who appeared to answer to the description given; and the fact of the capture was at once telegraphed to London. So far so good; but three or four hours later there arrived another telegram from the Consul in Egypt, stating that it had been found that the fugitive had in reality landed after all in Egypt, that he had been identified by the description, and was now in custody. Here was a predicament which for the moment taxed the combined intelligence of the various Government officials in London! Eventually it transpired that the individual captured at the Italian port was the Simon Pure, and his double in Egypt was accordingly set at liberty.

In considering the efficacy of the Extradition Act, the first point for investigation is, whether the four restrictions imposed by Section 3, above recapitulated, are in reality wholesome and prudent safeguards, or are precautions of an over-cautious or vexatious type. We propose, therefore, to examine them *seriatim*.

Subsections 1 and 2, which relate to non-surrender of political offenders, and to non-trial for a second offence, are interdependent; for it is obvious that, if it were conceded that a man might be tried for an offence other than that for which his extradition had been granted, that other offence might possibly be one of a political character. There can be no doubt of the necessity that provision should be made against the possible surrender of persons who might be tried for political offences. In regard to this point the Report of the Royal Commission of 1878 states:—

‘The general sentiment of mankind is against the surrender of the political exile to death or other grievous punishment. To have lost his

his country for which he has been risking life is no small loss to such a man, no light punishment for what he may have done, and he may be suffered to rest in peace in his place of refuge. The principle hitherto adopted in the matter of extradition of excluding offences of a political character should therefore be maintained.'

We can call to mind no case since the passing of the Extradition Act, where it has been necessary for Great Britain to refuse the surrender of a fugitive on the ground, that his extradition had been demanded with the view to try him for an offence of a political complexion. It seems therefore that the provisions in this respect, which are contained in our law and treaties, have been effectual to prevent any demands being made upon this country with that object.

The principle of non-surrender for political offences being conceded, it is, however, clear that immunity from punishment should not be granted to those who, though not political refugees properly so called, have committed murders or other grievous crimes in furtherance of some political object, when a state of recognized war or open revolt has not existed. Such offenders should be relentlessly handed over to justice. Few persons would now be found to contend that, for instance, the Phoenix Park murderers, or the assassins of the late Czar of Russia, ought not to have been given up in extradition, if occasion should have arisen.

It being granted that a person when surrendered shall not be tried or punished for a purely political offence, the question then arises, Is it proper that he should, under any circumstances, be tried or punished for any other offence than that for which his surrender was granted? The Act of 1870 declares that it is not; but the report of the Royal Commission of 1878 observes on this point: 'Political and local offences being excepted, we see no reason why he should not' (be tried for a second offence). This point is one of serious importance, and has given rise to difficulties between this country and the United States.

In 1876, C. L. Lawrence was surrendered to the United States, charged with forging and uttering a certain bond and affidavit. On arrival at New York, he was, however, arrested on three warrants in respect of forgery and smuggling, not being the offences for which he was extradited. The question being tried whether he could be punished for these offences, the United States Court decided in the affirmative, the judge adding 'that an offender against the justice of his country can acquire no rights by defrauding that justice. Between him and the justice he has offended, no rights accrue to the offenders by flight.

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He remains at all times and everywhere liable to be called to answer to the law for his violation thereof, provided he comes within the reach of its arm' (Clarke, p. 83). The circumstances of the case being brought to the attention of H.M.'s Government, it was pointed out to the United States Government, that the British Extradition Act of 1870 did not contemplate that a surrendered fugitive could be tried for a second offence, and that had it been known that he would be so tried, Lawrence could not have been given up. The United States Government, however, replied that no stipulation to that effect was contained in the Anglo-American Treaty of 1842, and maintained that the provisions of a subsequent British Act could not limit the treaty, nor impose conditions not to be found in the compact. Whilst the controversy was pending, a demand was made by the United States on Great Britain for the surrender of another fugitive from justice, Ezra D. Winslow, accused of forgery; but H.M.'s Government absolutely refused to surrender him, unless an assurance were given that he should not, until he had an opportunity of returning to Her Majesty's dominions, be detained or tried for any offence committed prior to his surrender, other than the extradition crime proved by the facts on which his surrender was granted. This assurance the United States Government declined to give.* The difficulty thus produced for a time threatened the existence of the treaty; but subsequent decisions of the United States Courts—especially that of the Supreme Court in the case of *W. Rauscher* in 1886—have affirmed the principle that trial for a second offence under such circumstances is not legal in the United States. The difficulty has thus been removed.

These international complications were caused by a conflict between law and treaty, which in itself was sufficiently regrettable; and although the attitude of H.M.'s Government was strictly in conformity with the express provisions of the British Act, it is clear that, in the case of *Winslow*, a failure of justice occurred, if the accused were guilty of the crime imputed to him. It is evidently to the interest of both countries concerned that technical difficulties of this kind should not be allowed to hamper the administration of the law; and indeed, as a matter of comity and domestic expediency, much may be said in favour of permitting trial for a second offence in extradition cases.

The principal objection to this system appears to be that the surrendering State is, according to the general conception of

* 'Parliamentary Papers,' North America, No. 1, 1876.

national duty, bound to safeguard the sanctity of asylum by a decision of a competent court of its own, so that the surrender shall not be granted, unless a *prima facie* case has been made out, showing an offence to have been committed which is properly cognizable by the extradition arrangements in force. Now, if a prisoner is surrendered in respect of one offence of which satisfactory evidence has been produced, it is clear that if, when he arrives in the demanding State, he is to be put on his trial and punished for some other offence in respect of which evidence has not been tendered in support of the demand for extradition, the surrendering State has had no opportunity of satisfying itself by the decision of a competent court of its own, either that there is *prima facie* proof of the second crime, or that such crime is one for which the surrender could have been properly granted.

Notwithstanding a certain force in this objection, we are yet of opinion that, if satisfactory proof is tendered of one offence, the fugitive, having been tried for that offence, ought properly to be amenable to the law of the country whence he has escaped, for other offences—within certain limits. These limits seem to be, that the accused shall in no case be tried for a second offence in respect of which he could not have been properly surrendered, if the demand had been originally made in respect of such second offence. Such a limitation would preclude punishment for offences of a political complexion, or of such trivial character as to be undeserving of the somewhat severe penalty of extradition: for it must be borne in mind that extradition often implies prolonged detention, and heavy expense, not only in regard to the eventual trial, but also for preliminary proceedings in the surrendering State.

But take a case such as the following:—A man is surrendered for murder, the penalty being death. In the course of the eventual trial it is found, that the evidence will not conclusively support the charge of murder, but facts are disclosed which afford absolute proof of burglary. Why is this criminal, who might have been hung if the first charge had been established, to escape scot free because it is only possible to prove an offence to which a lighter penalty is attached, but for which, had the facts come to light in time, he might and would have been extradited? Of course it may be argued that the original demand for extradition ought to have been based on both crimes; but it may frequently happen that the complete facts, which establish the second charge, are not known until disclosed during the proceedings at the eventual trial, and that thus it was not possible to furnish in respect to it sufficient *prima facie* evidence

evidence to support a demand for extradition. If, however, the offender is once suffered to go free, he can escape to any country; and having once experienced the chances of extradition, it is likely that he will favour with his presence some State where the risk of recapture is small.

The true solution of this difficulty appears to be that, if a man is once surrendered to the justice of the country whence he has escaped, he should be liable to be tried for any offence comprised in the Extradition Treaty, under which he has been surrendered, but for no other. Even in this alternative there is a certain element of difficulty—as it will then lie within the discretion of the demanding State to decide, for instance, whether a second crime for which it is desired to try a surrendered fugitive is or is not of a political character; and the decision arrived at might not be acceptable to the surrendering State.

It has never yet been found possible to devise a satisfactory formula defining what constitutes a political offence. In the course of the debate in the House of Commons in 1866 upon the Extradition Bill then in contemplation, Mr. J. S. Mill suggested that the political offences to be excepted from the provisions of the Act should be defined as ‘any offence committed in the course of or facilitating civil war, insurrection, or political commotion.’ Many other attempts at definition have been made, but so far none have commanded general assent. The chances, however, of serious difficulties arising on this score are not great; and on the whole it is probable, that a criminal, once given up on proved offence, may be safely left to the justice of the country demanding him within the limits indicated above.

In regard to the third restriction contained in Section 3 of the Act, viz. discharge or completion of sentence before surrender for another offence committed abroad, it is only necessary to observe, that this provision is one principally of a domestic order, and is inserted to maintain the power of the Crown to carry out judicial sentences. If this were not provided for, it might be argued that a prisoner, undergoing penal servitude for life in England, ought to be surrendered in extradition to account for an offence committed abroad to which a lighter penalty was attached. If such a demand could be insisted on before the completion of the original sentence, the criminal would escape the greater punishment. On the other hand, there is no reason why a person, who has completed his sentence in this country, should not be made to suffer for another offence committed abroad.

The fourth restriction in Section 3, to the effect that fifteen days

days must elapse between committal and surrender, is an important provision, designed to afford the prisoner due opportunity to apply for a writ of Habeas Corpus. When he is committed, the magistrate is bound, by the terms of Section 11 of the Act, to inform him that this right is secured to him. It has, however, been found in practice that the offender sometimes desires to dispense with this delay of fifteen days, and to return at once to answer to the charge. Even in such a case, however, the terms of the Act peremptorily forbid an earlier surrender. The wisdom of this seems to be questionable, and it might be more satisfactory to permit the surrender to take place immediately in all cases where the prisoner signifies his wish to that effect in writing under his hand.

Having thus examined the effect of the four important restrictions contained in Section 3 of the Act of 1870, it is unnecessary to consider in detail the various provisions respecting procedure, authentication of documents to be received in evidence, &c. Important as these points are as regards the efficiency of extradition arrangements, they would not be of interest to the general reader. It may, however, be observed in passing, that difficulties have frequently arisen, principally in the United States, on this score, many failures of justice having occurred in regard to the authentication of documents. The terms of the American Statute in this respect are somewhat obscure, but it is now hoped that a new form of authentication lately adopted may remove any further chance of difficulty.

As a matter of common sense it is pretty clear that nothing more is required than some *primâ facie* evidence that the documents are accurate records of statements made on oath before the competent authority. The documents are invariably transmitted through the duly accredited Diplomatic or Consular authority of the demanding State, who must be acting under instructions from his Government, and such a mode of transmission is the best evidence that the papers are authentic. Much, however, depends on the smooth working of these technical details, and a more general international agreement is much to be desired, to the effect that documentary evidence, bearing the seal of a competent Court, and transmitted through the duly authorized Diplomatic or Consular functionary, shall not be questioned upon purely technical ground of informality.

The next point for consideration is, whether the provision in the Act is wise, which forbids extradition, unless a treaty has been concluded containing the prescribed safeguards. The Royal Commission examine this question at some length in their

their Report, and the substance of their recommendation is contained in the following paragraph :—

‘ We would therefore suggest that extradition treaties with other States, which appear to be practically of use only for the purpose of insuring reciprocity, should no longer be held to be indispensable, and that, while the power in the Crown of entering into extradition treaties with other nations, as now existing by statute, should still be retained, statutory power should be given to the proper authorities to deliver up fugitive criminals whose surrender is asked for, irrespectively of the existence of any treaty between this country and the State against whose law the offence has been committed. It is as much to our advantage that such criminals should be punished, and that we should get rid of them, as it is to that of the Foreign State that they should be brought within the reach of its law.’

We may say at once that we entirely concur in the advice thus given, which appears thoroughly judicious.

If, as we think, the best method of treating the question of trial for a second offence is that an offender may be tried only for offences comprised in a list given in a treaty—some international stipulation is indispensable for extradition worked on these lines. The same may possibly be said in respect of trial for political offences, since it can hardly be affirmed that international law imposes any perfectly explicit obligation, in the absence of treaty stipulation, that a prisoner, if once surrendered for an ordinary offence, shall not then be punished for one of a political nature.

Whilst, therefore, we believe that a treaty on a satisfactory basis affords the best and most complete method of carrying extradition into operation, it might readily happen that it should be found desirable to concede the extradition of a criminal to some State with which Great Britain had no extradition treaty. Suppose, for example, that a Turk were to murder a British subject in Constantinople and flee to England. We have no extradition treaty with Turkey ; but it can scarcely be seriously maintained, that any visionary fear of his being tried for another, even a political, offence should stand in the way of his extradition.

We therefore think it very desirable that the Act should give latitude to the executive to meet cases of this kind ; and for this purpose it might perhaps be provided that, where a treaty with a Foreign State did not exist, a person accused of any, or perhaps only of some, of the offences mentioned in the Schedule to the Act as extradition offences, should be surrendered on *prima facie* proof, if the Foreign State were prepared to give an assurance that he should not be tried for any

any other offence than the one for which he was given up. The Dominion of Canada, which has an Extradition Act of its own, has lately passed an Act somewhat to this effect. So far as we know, this is the first attempt at legislation on these lines; and if the Act is brought into operation, it will be interesting to watch how it works in practice.

We now come to the most thorny question of extradition,—the *surrender of nationals*. Up to the present moment this very difficult problem has received no satisfactory solution in this country; the stipulations in our various treaties being not only inconsistent in themselves, but in many instances utterly inadequate to secure the ends of justice.

As a preliminary to the study of this question, it may be well to remind our readers that, as a general principle, the trial of British subjects by a British Court for offences committed abroad, is not permitted by the English law. Some exceptions have been made to this general principle, as in the cases of murder and manslaughter, with the view to prevent duels between British subjects taking place, say, at Calais; and in respect to certain offences under the Merchant Shipping Acts, and within the Admiralty jurisdiction. Nevertheless it may be roughly stated, that the ordinary offender against the law of foreign countries, although a British subject, cannot be punished by an English Court. In this respect our law differs from that of most Foreign States, which, with few exceptions (notably that of the United States, which is analogous to our own), provides an extra territorial jurisdiction for the punishment of offences committed by their own subjects abroad. For this reason no Foreign States, save the United States and Ecuador, have bound themselves unconditionally to surrender nationals to Great Britain. In most cases, they say that they can punish them themselves, and this according to the legal customs and forms of their native land.

For ourselves, it is obviously desirable, in the interests of the community, that some means should exist for punishment, where a British subject commits an offence abroad, and then returns to his own country. It is equally evident that there are only two ways in which this can be accomplished—viz., either by surrendering such offenders to the foreign justice which they have offended, or else by establishing an effective means of trying them at home for the offence committed beyond Her Majesty's jurisdiction.

The Extradition Act of 1870, as we have already observed, does not prohibit the surrender of British subjects, so that the executive is free to regulate this matter by such treaty stipulations

tions as may seem expedient in each particular case. There is reason in allowing this latitude; for, whilst in the case of an English-speaking community, with a system of jurisprudence practically identical with our own, like the United States, no serious reasons can be urged against the surrender of British subjects, the same cannot be said with regard to most Foreign States.

Only three modes exist in which it is possible to deal with the question of the surrender of nationals by treaty stipulation:—

1. *Non-surrender*, as in our treaty of May 14, 1872, with Germany: 'No German shall be delivered up by any of the Governments of the Empire to the Government of the United Kingdom; and no subject of the United Kingdom shall be delivered up by the Government thereof to any German Government.'

2. *Facultative surrender*—that is to say, either party may surrender nationals, but is not bound to do so, as in our treaty with Russia of November 24, 1886: 'Either Government may in its absolute discretion refuse to deliver up its own subjects to the other Government.'

3. *Unconditional surrender*, as in our treaty of 1842 with the United States, wherein we engage to surrender *all persons* accused of the specified offences; or in our treaty of November 26, 1880, with Switzerland, where Great Britain engages to surrender *all persons*, and Switzerland 'all persons excepting Swiss citizens.' The terms of the various treaty articles vary somewhat, but all are substantially to the effect of one or other of the three modes given above.

Up to the date of the Report of the Royal Commission in 1878, all our treaties, save those with the United States and Austria, stipulated that British subjects were not to be given up by Great Britain. The Commissioners reported on this point:—

'It is obviously immaterial whether the fugitive criminal is a subject of the State demanding his surrender, or a subject of the country from which it is claimed. The matter is not, however, altogether free from difficulty, and in most of the existing treaties a stipulation is contained that a fugitive criminal, if a subject of the State in which he is found, shall not be surrendered in respect of a crime committed in the other State.'

After examining the subject in some detail, the Commissioners go on to say:—

'On the whole we are of opinion that the stipulation in question is unnecessary and inexpedient, and we recommend that it should be omitted in future treaties; and that endeavours should be made to have the existing treaties modified in this respect.'

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At the present moment, eleven of our treaties prohibit the surrender of nationals, viz. those with Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Guatemala, Haiti, Italy, Netherlands, Salvador, Sweden and Norway, and Uruguay. Five engage to surrender British subjects unconditionally, viz. those with Ecuador, Luxembourg, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States. Whilst in four cases the stipulation is facultative, viz. in the treaties with Austria, Belgium, Mexico, and Russia.

This list presents to the eye some striking inconsistencies. On what principle can it possibly be asserted that whilst we engage to give up British subjects unconditionally to Spain or Switzerland, for instance, and reserve power to do so in the case of Russia, Austria, and Belgium, we should, in the case of France and Germany, for example, refuse absolutely to do so?

It is probably impossible to secure absolute consistency in our treaty stipulations in this respect, where so many varying circumstances must be taken into account. There is no harm in surrendering a British subject to be tried in the United States, or, *vice versa*, an American to be tried in England. Moreover, the United States Courts, like our own, have no power to try American citizens for offences committed abroad. It might, however, perhaps be possible to secure consistency in all cases where the circumstances were similar, as, for instance, in the case of States which possess the power of extra-territorial jurisdiction.

Now let us, in the first place, consider how the non-surrender clause works. Except in the case of the United States, the surrender of a British subject to the justice of a Foreign State is no doubt open to very grave objections. The evidence tendered to support the *prima facie* case before an English magistrate is usually by affidavit, and in some countries false witness of this description can readily be procured. The criminal proceedings in the foreign country are conducted in a foreign language, and may be dilatory or hostile to the accused. The insanitary condition of some foreign prisons, where the accused may be confined even before his trial, is notorious; and these disadvantages become aggravated, if any prejudice on the score of nationality exists, as may be the case from time to time in some Foreign States.

On the other hand, the obligation not to surrender the British subject, when coupled with the inability to try him at home, results in complete failure of justice, of which one or two illustrations will at once demonstrate the gravity.

During the year 1886, the international mails from London were three times attacked by thieves; in the last case the robbery

robbery being effected under the following circumstances:—The registered letters from the United States to Russia had been carefully watched by a gang composed mainly of British subjects. The thieves accompanied the mails to Ostend, where the fastenings of the Post-office van were ingeniously removed, and the bags containing the registered letters were abstracted, apparently during the journey between Ostend and Brussels. Here the thieves quitted the train with their booty, drove to another station at Brussels, and returned without loss of time to England. The personality of the gang was well known to the police, and it is believed that, if those suspected could have been surrendered to Belgium, there would have been sufficient evidence against them to secure a conviction. It was, however, evident that no British Court could take cognizance of such a crime committed on Belgian territory, and the Treaty between Great Britain and Belgium at that time expressly forbade the surrender of British subjects. The failure of justice was complete, and in this case it was evident that the robbery had been deliberately planned by thieves of British nationality, who selected Great Britain as the base of operations, from a knowledge of the immunity which would be secured to them, if they could at once return to British soil after committing a crime in Belgian territory. The case was so glaring that the terms of the treaty between Great Britain and Belgium were forthwith altered; and the clause, which had previously stipulated for non-surrender of nationals, was changed to one of the facultative class.

Another case which occurred recently will afford an example of a difficulty which in one form or another has frequently arisen. A murder and mutiny was committed on the high seas by three seamen, two Englishmen and a Swede, forming part of the crew of a Swedish ship. Under these circumstances the crime was not cognizable by any British Court, but could have been punished in Sweden. On the arrival of the vessel at an Australian port, the culprits were handed over to the local police, when it was speedily discovered that the Colonial Courts had no jurisdiction. An application for the extradition of the three men was consequently made by the Swedish Government, and the Swede was surrendered; but the two Englishmen, his companions in iniquity, could not be given up, because the Anglo-Swedish Extradition Treaty forbade the surrender of nationals. They therefore escaped with entire impunity.

This last case might possibly have been met by an amendment of our Merchant Shipping Act, but the necessary alteration was difficult to effect, and open to some serious objections.

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The following, extracted at random from the daily press, will further illustrate the danger of the non-surrender clause. It needs no comment, save that the Anglo-French Extradition Treaty forbids the surrender of nationals:—

'PARIS, Thursday night.—A bank messenger in the employ of the Société Générale has been the victim of a daring thief, who is supposed to be an Englishman. The messenger was at the district post-office in Rue d'Amsterdam getting some letters registered, when someone ran away with his portfolio, containing securities worth over three hundred thousand francs. The messenger had placed the portfolio beside him, and only noticed its disappearance after he had obtained the receipts for the registered letters.

'The police were immediately communicated with, but they have not arrested the thief, who is supposed to have crossed the Channel as soon as possible after the accomplishment of the robbery, not, however, before throwing the messenger's portfolio into the Seine. It was found this morning, washed up on the bank at Billancourt. It had naturally been emptied of the securities, with the exception of a receipt for four hundred francs of Rente, which, being registered in the name of the owner, could not be disposed of by any other person.'

So much for the principle of *non-surrender*. Whilst the British law remains in its present state in regard to the trial of British subjects for offences committed abroad, it is very evident that this principle cannot be maintained with due regard to the interests of justice. Let us now examine the next alternative, viz., *facultative surrender*.

This plan would appear at first sight to remove the difficulty, since a British subject may be given up, whenever it appears certain that a failure of justice will otherwise occur, and when it is believed that he will have a fair trial. On a closer examination, however, it is found to be open to many and grave objections. In the first place, it would not easily be possible to refuse the surrender of an accused person against whom a thoroughly good *prima facie* case had been made out, whilst our law did not permit of his trial at home. The Government, however, might have the strongest objection to the system of trial and imprisonment in force in the foreign country in question, and might thus hesitate to grant the extradition. To refuse on such grounds, or on no grounds at all, would involve a diplomatic difficulty in each case. Beyond this, there is the question as to the proper authority to decide whether surrender should, or should not, be granted in the case of a man against whom a *prima facie* case had been made out. Under a facultative clause it would be apparently in many cases beyond the

province of the magistrate to decide; and his knowledge of the procedure in foreign States might not enable him to make a decision with advantage; whilst, if the decision were to rest with the Home Secretary, advised by the Foreign Secretary, it would have the inconvenient effect of relegating to non-judicial officers the question, practically, whether a British subject against whom a good case had been made out, should or should not be punished at all.

In practice, therefore, the facultative clause must develop into unconditional surrender in almost every case. The first article of this kind was in our treaty with Austria of 1873; and although, in view of the terms of our other treaties of that date, it may be doubted whether the intention of the Contracting States was clearly expressed, an interesting case arose soon after its signature, but to which we find no allusion in Sir E. Clarke's work.

In 1876, the extradition of De Tourville was demanded by the Austrian Government, on a charge of murdering his wife in the Tyrol. It appeared that, on the 15th of July, the accused and his wife drove from Spondinig to Franzenshohe, where the carriage was dismissed by De Tourville, who with his wife walked to the spot near to which the body of the latter was subsequently found at the foot of a precipice. Traces of a struggle were discovered on the road, and De Tourville's fingers were covered with blood. Various other facts of a circumstantial nature pointed to the conclusion, that the wife had been deliberately thrown over the precipice. The local magistrate before whom the case was brought in the Tyrol did not, however, think that the evidence then adduced was sufficient to justify the committal of the accused, who, on being set at liberty, forthwith proceeded to England. Fresh facts were, however, then brought to light, and the Austrian Government claimed the man's extradition. The magistrate at Bow Street was satisfied that a *prima facie* case had been made out, and was about to commit the accused, when it was pleaded in his behalf that he was a British subject by naturalization, and as such could not be surrendered, in view of the terms of Article 3 of the Treaty between Great Britain and Austria, which ran as follows:—

'In no case, and on no grounds whatever, shall the High Contracting Parties be held to concede the extradition of their own subjects.'

His British nationality being proved, it was contended on De Tourville's behalf, that this clause was meant to prohibit absolutely the surrender of nationals. The magistrate, however, decided that these words must be interpreted in a facultative sense,

sense, and that, whilst neither party was *bound* to surrender its own subjects, it was still open to them to do so under the terms of the treaty. An order for the extradition was consequently made, and the prisoner was surrendered, tried, found guilty, and punished. This instance proves what the practice will probably be in the case of all treaty articles of a facultative nature.

The objections to the third alternative, viz. *unconditional surrender*, have already been set forth, and it is needless to dwell further upon them here. In the case of some foreign States it would certainly be cruel and impolitic to hand over a British subject to their Courts.

It is therefore apparent that difficulties exist in treating this question by means of any treaty stipulation. The only alternative is the creation of power to try British subjects at home for offences committed abroad. The objections to such a change in British law are not inconsiderable, and might be stated at great length: the main point, however, is the difficulty of procuring witnesses. The offender is taken from the place where the crime was committed, and where the witnesses most likely will reside, but whence it is impossible to compel their attendance before a British Court. A trumped-up charge might, therefore, easily be made by two or three persons bearing a grudge against another, who might, however, have been readily able to prove his innocence could he have compelled the attendance of certain witnesses residing abroad. On the other hand, an English jury will always be found reluctant to convict on purely written evidence; so that, when this class of testimony is, as would generally be the case, that which alone can be obtained, there is no inconsiderable risk of a culprit escaping the hands of justice. This difficulty in regard to testimony should not, however, prove insuperable. It forms no bar to proceedings under such circumstances in foreign countries, the general rule being to admit, *quantum valeat*, any sort of evidence which might go towards proof of the facts. Oral testimony is preferred where obtainable; but, if not, evidence is taken upon commissions of request, when the witness resides beyond the jurisdiction, and his attendance cannot be procured. The law of some states provides that, in cases where evidence is taken in this manner, those acting on behalf of the accused must be apprised of the time and place when and where the evidence is to be taken, that they may have an opportunity of interrogating the witness.

Difficulties, moreover, might arise by conflict of jurisdiction, if an Act for trial for offences committed abroad were passed.

We are now bound by some of our treaties to surrender British

subjects; and, whilst these treaties remain so, we might find ourselves under a treaty obligation to surrender a man for a crime committed abroad, in regard to which proceedings had already been commenced at home. This difficulty, again, is not insurmountable, and it would probably be easy to alter the treaties in this sense in view of the provision which exists in all of them to the effect that they are terminable upon a year's notice. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, and more which we have not discussed, we are still disposed to think that an Act to enable the British Courts to try offences committed by British subjects abroad is, on the whole, the best solution of the difficulty. No plan can be devised, apparently, that is wholly free from objection; but the alternatives seem to lie between an Act of this description and a facultative surrender clause. Her Majesty's present advisers have evidently been of this opinion, and during last session the Lord Chancellor introduced a Bill for the trial of offences committed by British subjects abroad. The state of parliamentary business did not render it then possible to make any progress with the measure, but it is to be hoped, that when reintroduced next session it will meet with the attention which the importance of the subject demands, and that light may then be thrown, in the course of discussion, upon the difficulties involved.

There is yet another point, analogous to that of the surrender of nationals, to which we must shortly refer. It is that of the right of one State to surrender to another, in extradition, subjects of a third State. In regard to this, Sir E. Clarke states, 'It appears to me that such surrender cannot be justified, unless such third power consents or acquiesces.' Theoretically this is probably the correct view of the question. Sir E. Clarke is one of the most eminent living authorities on extradition, and this doctrine may to some extent be supported on principles of international law. In practice, however, we are disposed to consider that the fewer loopholes of a technical character which are allowed to the criminal the better. We are bound by the terms of several of our treaties to surrender *all persons*; and, if the question of nationality of a third State could be successfully pleaded, delay and expense would be occasioned, even if the particular State, on being applied to, were to permit the extradition to take place. Whilst, in the case of British nationality, the fact is sure to be pleaded in England if the treaty prohibits the surrender of nationals, as discharge is, in such case, a certainty; nationality of a third State is rarely mentioned in the proceedings, as it is not usually worth while to plead what may not after all prove any impediment to the extradition.

extradition. Thus many persons, subjects of a third State, are, no doubt, given up by Great Britain without reference to the State in question, the matter of nationality never having been raised during the proceedings.

Under these circumstances it is probably best to maintain the existing practice, and to make no mention of this subject in our treaty stipulations or in our Acts.

The surrender of fugitives from one part of Her Majesty's dominions, to take their trial for offences committed in another part, is scarcely within the scope of this article; but a brief reference to this point may be permitted, since it concerns not only domestic, but, to a certain extent, international relations. As between the British Colonies and the United Kingdom, or between the respective Colonies themselves, the Fugitive Offenders Act, 1881, provides a ready means of effecting all that is required; and, so far as we are aware, its provisions work without difficulty. In certain foreign States, however, such as Turkey, China, or Siam, where the system of law is not such as to make it possible to submit British subjects to its operation, Her Majesty has, by treaty or usage, an extra-territorial jurisdiction over her own subjects.

In the case of such States it is evidently necessary to make some provision for the surrender—or rather return—to the United Kingdom, or to a British colony, of any person who, accused of committing some offence on British territory, may escape to such a State. It is clear that an ordinary extradition treaty will not meet the case, since a State where Her Majesty exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction has no power to detain or surrender a British subject. The practice, therefore, has been not to conclude treaties of extradition with such States, but to extend by Order in Council, under the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, the provisions of the Fugitive Offenders Act to the State in question. This enables a British subject to be returned to any part of Her Majesty's dominions in the same manner, and under the same conditions, as he could have been returned, had he escaped to some other place in British territory. So far as British subjects are concerned, this is all that is needful, but the present arrangements are far from perfect, since no provision is made for other cases. Suppose an Italian to commit a crime in London, and to escape to Constantinople. How is he to be dealt with? The Porte would not surrender him to Great Britain, neither could the British Consular Court touch him in order to return him under the Fugitive Offenders Act, since the British Consular authority only has jurisdiction over British subjects. Such a case would not come within the terms
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of the Extradition Treaty between Great Britain and Italy, which only provides for the surrender of those who, having committed a crime in the territory of one party, are found in the *territory* of the other, and which, further, forbids the surrender of nationals. It is also unlikely that in such a case the Italian Courts could punish effectively. So, on technical grounds, the criminal escapes. There is also the difficulty that no provision is made in England for the surrender of subjects of States where Her Majesty exercises extra-territorial jurisdiction. If a Turk commits a crime in Turkey and comes to England, we do not want him here, and it is better that he should be sent away to be punished at home. Our existing law would not, however, permit his surrender, and for this reason it would evidently be well to make provision for such cases, whether by treaty, under the existing Act, or, if it be amended, by giving power in the new Act to surrender in such cases, under certain restrictions, without a treaty.

We have now examined all the points which appear to us to present special features of interest in connexion with the question of extradition; and those who have followed the preceding observations will probably have arrived already at the conclusion which we think may be drawn; namely, that whilst in the ordinary, and, so to speak, plain-sailing cases, the existing law of Great Britain works fairly well, there are yet a great many cases, which, though possibly of somewhat rare occurrence, are still sufficiently numerous to demand attention, and which are inadequately, or defectively, provided for by the Extradition Act 1870. Many inconsistencies are to be found in our treaties, for which no reasonable excuse can be urged, and crimes frequently remain unpunished, owing to technical difficulties which might be removed without undue interference with the liberty of the subject. The law, indeed, appears to us to err on the side of favour to the accused. We are aware of no case where a fugitive has been unjustly surrendered, although those evidently guilty have frequently escaped. Sir E. Clarke's work terminates with a chapter headed 'Conclusions,' which commences with the following paragraph:—

'Although thirteen years have passed since the last edition of this book was published, I regret that the law still remains in the unsatisfactory state which I then described. The defects which I pointed out still exist, but, fortunately, they have not been productive of serious inconvenience. Many treaties have been made, and several very important cases have been decided in the English Courts, and these will be found recorded in former chapters, but no legislative amendments have been made in our law.'

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In concluding this article, we will now summarize briefly the improvements which might, we think, be made in the English law and practice of Extradition.

First, as regards the restrictive provisions contained in Section 4 of the Act of 1870, which we have recapitulated above. We would propose that in any new Act these four sub-sections should be dealt with as follows :—

1. The provision as to surrender or trial for political offences to be maintained as it stands.

2. This sub-section to be amended so as to permit trial for a second (non-political) offence; provided that such offence be an extradition offence according to the terms of the British Act, and that it be also comprised in the list contained in a treaty concluded with the State to which the prisoner is surrendered. Where no treaty has been concluded, an assurance to be received before surrender, that the man to be given up shall not be tried for any other offence than that for which his extradition is granted.

3. The restriction respecting completion of sentence or acquittal before surrender to another State, to be maintained.

4. Surrender immediately on committal to be permitted; but only in cases where the prisoner signifies his wish to that effect in writing.

It follows from the above suggestions that Section 4 should be amended so as to permit of extradition even to States with which no treaty has been concluded; but the Order in Council should contain the restrictions which might be thought necessary in each case. The section might therefore allow of Orders in Council being issued for this purpose, but with an imperative provision that in such cases the assurance respecting non-trial for a second offence should be received before surrender.

We are strongly in favour of the conclusion of treaties wherever it is possible. Not only does it seem that the best mode of treating the question of trial for a second offence is by means of a treaty, containing a list of crimes for any of which a person once surrendered may be tried, after trial for the extradition offence; but treaties offer other advantages besides. It is often of the greatest importance to ascertain, from the terms of an International Agreement, the exact conditions under which surrender may be successfully demanded, or promptly granted. From a treaty it can at once be perceived what are the extradition crimes in the case of any particular State, and the exact formalities required in regard to procedure and surrender. By this means diplomatic and technical difficulties are best avoided, and expensive proceedings will not be commenced, till it is
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ascertained from the precise terms of the treaty that the case is likely to be successful. There is, further, the important advantage that in many States the treaty makes law of itself, which is the best guarantee of consistency in procedure—since the Courts are bound to observe its stipulations. In regard to the surrender of nationals, much depends on whether it may be found possible to pass the 'Offences Committed Abroad' Bill. But whether it passes or not, we think that on the whole the best plan is that all our treaties, without exception, should contain a *facultative surrender* clause. If the Bill passes, we could then say in all cases where the surrender of a British subject was requested for an offence cognizable by a British Court, 'We do not propose to give him up, because we can try and punish him ourselves, by proceedings conducted in the English tongue, and in a manner consistent with native custom and ideas of justice.'

If it should not be found possible to pass the Bill, the *facultative surrender* clause still appears on the whole open to the fewest objections of any of the three possible treaty stipulations on this point.

Consistency and simplicity should be the key-notes of extradition arrangements, and in this view we venture to throw out the following further suggestion.

To meet the growing demands of international relations, a general, and, as far as possible, universal system of extradition between civilized States is much to be desired. In order to effect such a system, it might be found possible to establish an International Union, all parties to which should engage to mutually surrender fugitive criminals, under certain fixed conditions, to be expressed in an International Convention, forming the basis of the Union. This plan has already been adopted in many cases where it is desired to treat in a uniform manner a subject of common interest to many States, and it is found on the whole to work well, and is steadily growing in favour. We may cite as instances the Postal, Copyright, and Industrial Property Unions.

The majority of States are now practically agreed on the main principles which should govern extradition; and if such an Union could once be founded on a basis which commanded general assent, the hand of justice would be armed with a new and powerful weapon of the most far-reaching kind, and a great step would have been made internationally towards the maintenance of law and order throughout the civilized world.

ART. VIII.—*Lives of the Fathers ; Sketches of Church History in Biography.* By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1889.

IN these two volumes Archdeacon Farrar has carried to a further stage the important literary enterprise which was commenced, some twenty years ago, by his 'Life of Christ.' Step by step, he has endeavoured to give an account, at once learned and popular, of the origin of Christianity and of its early history. The 'Life of Christ' was followed by the 'Life and Works of St. Paul;' and this was succeeded by the 'Early Days of Christianity,' dealing with the period from the martyrdom of St. Paul to the death of St. John. The present work opens with St. Ignatius, at the commencement of the second century, and concludes with St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, in whom the great period of early Christian theology reaches its culmination, and practically its close. It is but due to the author that we should offer him not only our hearty congratulations on the completion of such an undertaking, but the expression of our admiration of the energy, ability, and learning which have been displayed in its execution. These eight large volumes—their heaviness, in a physical sense, is one of the few faults we are inclined to find with them—represent an amount of labour, both in reading and in writing, which might well have taxed the capacities of a man who had nothing else to do. But all the while Archdeacon Farrar has been discharging with conspicuous devotion the duties of a large and poor parish in Westminster; in Westminster Abbey and in St. Margaret's Church he has been one of the most influential preachers of London; and besides all this, he has thrown off from time to time such offshoots of his learning as the 'Messages of the Books,' which are instructive lectures on all the books of the New Testament; a 'Commentary on the Book of Wisdom' in the 'Speaker's Apocrypha,' and a course of Bampton Lectures, delivered in 1885, on the 'History of Interpretation,' besides constant activity in the cause of Total Abstinence, and innumerable lectures and sermons in all parts of the country.

It is inevitable that copious and difficult literary work, accomplished amidst such distractions, should exhibit some marks of haste, and be occasionally deficient in solidity; and Archdeacon Farrar's critics have not always had the justice to remember that this is the price to be paid for the illustration of so vast and momentous a field of life and thought by a man who is not only a learned theologian, but a popular writer. If mere scholars alone had treated these subjects, it would either have

have been long before the results of modern learning and thought had penetrated the great bulk of ordinary society; or those results would have been too likely to reach them in the negative and one-sided form in which they are presented by sensational writers in popular reviews. But Dr. Farrar has transformed into matters of household knowledge, among the less learned and less leisured classes, matters of religious history and textual criticism, which without such aid would have but slowly and partially reached them. For our part, we think it ungenerous to cavil at the defects by which so great a public service to the English Church and the English world has been accompanied.

We are sorry, indeed, to be obliged to recognize that part of the service, which Dr. Farrar has thus been rendering to the world, is one which an influential School of Theologians find it hard to forgive him, and which they would fain undo by disparaging his authority. He is a trenchant iconoclast to a good many ecclesiastical traditions and assumptions, and he does not scruple to denounce what he regards as ignorance and perversity, even in the most famous names of early Church History. His Bampton Lectures on the 'History of Interpretation' contained a severe, and doubtless in many respects a just, criticism on some ancient examples of exegesis, and it is probably due to the unpopularity of such an attack on some influential ecclesiastical writers that the book has been unduly neglected. It must be owned, indeed, that Dr. Farrar not only takes no pains to soften the severity of his denunciations, but appears to find a congenial satisfaction in indulging them. He scourges the faults of the Fathers sometimes with such vigour as to arouse in us a reaction of sympathy for his victims. He declaims sometimes against Patristic declamation in a truly Patristic style. Jerome no doubt was a violent controversialist; but we might almost be listening to Jerome himself when we read (vol. ii. p. 394) of 'the unblushing sophistry in which he deals, and the immeasurable invective in which he flings truth and decency together to the winds.' To say that Polycarp 'savagely apostrophized Marcion as the "Firstborn of Satan,"' reads itself a little savage; and though there is much melancholy truth in the following passage, it sounds a little too much in the tone which it denounces:—

¶ 'And here we cannot but pause to deplore once again the spirit of slanderous violence, which, in age after age, has been the disgrace of the Church of Christ. Prevalent in every epoch, it shows how the fuglemen of parties are apt to forget the most elementary graces of true holiness, the first and most universal commandment of Christian love.

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They conceal the bitterness of personal malevolence under the conceit of supposed infallibility. But zeal for God, when noble, is pure. It is not a mere fury of egotism disguising itself under the sanction of misinterpreted texts. It does not condescend to unscrupulous wire-pulling and subterranean cabals. When Eustathius of Antioch was driven from his see, Socrates remarks that it was a matter of ordinary occurrence for the bishops "to load with opprobrious epithets and pronounce impious those whom they deposed, without assigning any warrant for doing so." Such has been the universal method of controversy, which leads men to act as though Christ could be served by malignant falsehood, and Christianity advanced by unblushing crime.'—Vol. i. p. 501.

The 'universal' method of controversy! There are people, we fear, who will say that this is the 'universal' style of exaggeration among eloquent ecclesiastics. It is this sort of general invective against theological and ecclesiastical tendencies, which provokes a good deal of the opposition and disparagement which Dr. Farrar encounters, and against which he seems sometimes to be indirectly protesting in his denunciations of offenders in the past; and we are sure that he would do himself and his cause more justice by a calmer tone. But with this mild remonstrance, which a reviewer's duty requires of us, we gladly pass to the substance of his work.

Dr. Farrar has adopted in these two volumes a method of exhibiting the main facts of Church History, which is peculiarly fitted for that subject, and we venture to offer some observations in illustration of it. In a greater degree than any other history, that of the Church depends chiefly on the lives and characters of its leading and representative men. Secular history also may be made by a great man, and the characteristics of an age may often be best appreciated in some prominent character. But such history is at least equally determined by great currents of material interest which overpower individual forces, and are independent of personal influences. The irruption of the Teutonic tribes, the discovery of America, the invention of printing, the development of commerce or of science—impersonal facts and movements of this nature overthrow or undermine existing institutions, and set on foot tendencies and currents in which individuals are lost, and which they can at most lead or guide. There is no more difficult problem in secular history than to give due weight to these almost mechanical forces, which are often silently accumulating, and exerting an unconscious influence, long before they gather in their full strength and produce some convulsive revolution. But the history of the Church, and especially of the Early Church, is
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for the most part the very product of the great characters who have lived and thought and died in its communion. It is in the first place the absolute creation of one Sacred Character, from whose life, from whose words and deeds, from whose Death and Resurrection, it derives its whole existence. Under His inspiration, it is planted throughout the Roman world by Apostles, some of whom stamp upon it the impress of their peculiar gifts and sympathies. For a long time, worldly influences and interests have no place in it. Its members are bound together by moral and spiritual sympathies, and upon those sympathies depend its growth and its character. As one experience after another, persecution, or intellectual and moral error, is brought to bear upon its members, different aspects of Christian character, and different ideas of Christian truth, are called into activity; and this activity finds in each instance some typical representative in the leaders or teachers, or sometimes in the humblest members, of the Christian society. When these characteristics of Christian life have thus been embodied in a conspicuous personality, they become for the future centred in such a person, and their influence radiates from him or her, far and wide. Names like Ignatius, Cyprian, Origen, Athanasius, Augustine, become central forces and motive powers in all subsequent generations, in a far greater degree than persons of equal renown in secular life. This is perhaps mainly due to the fact that the feelings and influences manifested in such lives belong to that class of inner experiences which alone are universal. They are concerned with struggles, difficulties, aspirations, which are independent of external circumstances, and which stir the human heart in all ages and places in proportion to its moral capacity and effort. It is an illustration of the same principle that the ancient Hebrew Psalms have been the supreme expression of the devotion of the most different nations in the most distant ages—of the Jews under David and in the Captivity, of Christian theologians and Christian peasants in the time of Jerome, of the monks of medieval Europe, of Scottish Presbyterians, and of English Churchmen. No poetry has found so universal an echo, because none has touched such deep, permanent, and essential chords in the human soul.

It would seem a natural consequence of this fact, that Church History should be the most human and the most universally interesting of all; and we believe that, when adequately told, it does possess this superiority of interest. But it must be regretfully owned that the ordinary 'Church History' presents a very different aspect, and we much fear that comparatively few students

students of the subject, even among the Clergy, realize its absorbing charm in this respect. The usual works on the subject, even some of the best of them, at once illustrate this misfortune and tend to perpetuate it. There are, for instance, few more valuable works as a guide to study than the late Canon Robertson's *Church History*; but the elements of the deepest human interest seem almost banished from its pages. The eye traverses dreary wastes of heresies and ecclesiastical contentions, with little of the light and shade of human passion and struggle. Probably the misfortune is, in great measure, to be ascribed to the circumstances under which modern '*Church History*' was first written; and a brief review of the course of this study since the Reformation may throw some light upon its present position. The Magdeburg Centuriators were no doubt the victims of their times, but they have a great deal to answer for. The Reformers appealed to the Primitive Church from the corruptions of the Roman Church of their day, and the Centuriators undertook what was then, in the imperfect state of printed editions of the Fathers, the herculean task, of compiling, century by century, an account of the gradual development of the Church from the earliest times. They described their work as '*Ecclesiastica Historia, integrum ecclesiæ Christi ideam, quantum ad locum, Propagationem, Persecutionem, Tranquillitatem, Doctrinam, Hæreses, Cæremonias, Gubernationem, Schismata, Synodos, Personas, Miracula, Martyria, Religiones extra Ecclesiam, et statum Imperii Politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens . . . congesta; per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgicâ.*' Produced in this spirit, and published between about 1560 and 1574 at Basle, in the height of the controversy with Rome, the work was essentially coloured by the polemical interests of the age. Partly for this reason probably, but partly also, perhaps, because the German mind has hitherto been too much like the map of Germany before its recent unification—broken up into a number of principalities and districts,—the Centuriators broke up the history into sections, under the various heads of ecclesiastical or polemical interest. Under one head they described the propagation of the Church; under another, its persecution or tranquillity; under another, its doctrine, this again being subdivided into numerous sections; under another, its heresies; under another, its ceremonies; under another, its government and constitution—and so on, until the unity of interest and action in the whole was grievously obscured. It was a very good method for controversial purposes, for contrasting particular Roman

Roman abuses with the customs or beliefs of primitive times, but it afforded no general picture, and could not bring into one light the individual human agencies which were at work. Individuals under this system are sliced into dried specimens of doctrine or discipline, and the reader never gets a man before him as a whole. It is a curious instance of what naturalists would call, we believe, the persistency of type, that the method adopted in this work has practically been the model on which all German Church historians have worked. Take up any important German History like Mosheim, Gieseler, Kurtz, or even Neander, and you find the subject sliced up into these thin divisions of external growth, external limitation, doctrine, discipline, ceremonial, and perhaps one or two more; and you must swallow your Church History in sandwiches, or not at all. The venerable Dr. Karl Hase's *Lehrbuch* deserves honourable mention, as in great measure an exception to this rule; but even he, with his keen eye for character and his vivid imaginative power, has evidently been cramped by the traditional method of his countrymen. It is no wonder, accordingly, that in the latest general work on this subject in Germany, published last year in the important series of theological *Lehrbücher* now being issued, under rationalistic influences, at Freiburg in Breisgau, the author, Professor Möller of Kiel, at the commencement of his Preface, mentions it as his first object to avoid this fragmentary treatment of his subject. It has been, he says, his desire,

'to exhibit as far as possible in a continuous representation the course of the historical movement as a whole. In a subject which involves a mass of matter of the most various kinds, there is imminent danger of the view of the whole being lost in the collection and arrangement of these matters in distinct classes.'

That is precisely what has been the misfortune of Church History, especially among Protestants, up to the present time. The mischief was aggravated and perpetuated by the fact, that the man, who did most service to scientific Church History at the rise of historical studies in the last century, was a German, Mosheim, and that he thus stereotyped the traditional method. The consequence has been something like that which Bacon describes as the effect of breaking up the sciences into separate divisions—*scissio et truncatio Scientiarum* ('Nov. Org.' lib. i. aph. 80, 107), and not keeping them in contact with the natural realities from which they spring. The result, as he says, was to make them dry and superficial, and incapable of progress. They were cut away from their roots, and it is no wonder if they did not grow. The origin of religious controversies,

roversies, struggles, developments, lies deep in the practical experiences and necessities of human nature; and unless such subjects are considered as a whole, and in their mutual action and reaction, both their interest, and the key to their development, are lost.

There arose, indeed, in opposition to this mode of treating Church History, a different method in the Roman Catholic Church. In answer to the Magdeburg Centuriators, and with the view of maintaining that claim to historical continuity which, with whatever errors, is the strength of the Roman Communion, Cæsar Baronius, afterwards Cardinal, undertook to compile in chronological order, year by year, the '*Annales Ecclesiasticæ*.' He had access to the still unknown treasures of the Vatican Library, and he performed his task with admirable industry and remarkable ability; and the work is to the present day, with the corrections and additions it has received from Pagi and others, indispensable. But just as the Magdeburg Centuriators determined the traditional method of Church History in Germany, so Baronius determined in great measure the method of Church History in his own Church. It is the more historical method of the two; but in it, also, is necessarily involved the disadvantage of too great subdivision of the subject matter, owing to the incessant interruption of topics of interest by others which are chronologically interpolated. It is this too rigid order which has prevented what is perhaps the best general history of the Church from attaining the full influence which it deserves. The Abbé Fleury, who wrote under the literary influences of the reign of Louis XIV., had just that eye for the human side of Church History of which we have been speaking; and his History of the Church does much to bring out, with great simplicity and truth, the living human interest which unites and animates the whole story. But its annalistic form mars its artistic attraction, and prevents it being as popular as in other respects it deserves.

Two great students, however, one French and the other German, offer conspicuous exceptions to these general characteristics. They are both perfect marvels of industry, and it is scarcely conceivable how single human lives can have accomplished the works they left behind them. We refer to Tillemont and Schröckh. Readers of Gibbon will remember the warm debt of gratitude which he expresses to Tillemont, as 'that incomparable guide' (ch. xlvii. vol. vi. p. 34, Smith's edit.), for his guidance through the first five centuries of the history of the Roman Empire; and it has even been thought that Gibbon somewhat falls off when he ceases to have this guidance

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at hand. Tillemont adopted the biographical method ; and with amazing labour he strung together, under the name of each Emperor, all the statements respecting him and his times which he could glean from the original authorities. Every such statement has annexed to it in the margin an exact reference to the authority from which it is derived ; and every explanatory or connective addition which Tillemont may make on his own authority is distinguished from the rest by being enclosed in brackets. After completing this laborious task in six quarto volumes, and thus forming, as it were, a general framework for the history of the period, he proceeded to apply the same method to the history of the Church, and in sixteen more quartos, every page of which is marked by references of the same exactitude, he has treated every name in the history of the Church during the first five or six centuries of which anything material is known. It is a collection of biographical notices of all the known characters of early Church History, with practically complete references to all original sources which were at that day known. A learned historian of the last generation once congratulated a friend who had been appointed to a Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, on the ground that there were now only two books that he need read—Baronius and Tillemont ; and though an exaggeration, there is a great deal of truth in the observation, so far as the essentials of early Church History are concerned. Modern researches have thrown great light on some obscure points of that period of Church History ; but its main characters and main influences would be better learned from a thorough study of those two works than from all the modern monographs. Tillemont, however, described his work, with correctness as well as with due modesty, as *Mémoires pour servir*, and the actual history, as a whole, remained to be written. The next great step was made by Mosheim in the middle of the eighteenth century, who treated the whole of ecclesiastical history, century by century, with the critical acumen of which German scholars were then exhibiting the first important examples. But he retained the old rigid divisions of the subject, and there is a coldness, and as it were a distance, in the judgments he expresses of the great actors and writers of Church History which is fatal to a sympathetic interpretation of the history on his own part, or to a similar comprehension of it on the part of the reader. Nevertheless, Mosheim is justly regarded as the Father of modern writers on Church History, and the translation of his principal work, edited some years ago by the present Bishop of Oxford, is still one of the most useful compendiums of the subject.

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But passing over smaller names, nothing has been accomplished, since Tillemont and Baronius, to equal the gigantic work of Schröckh, completed, in fifty-six octavo volumes, at the commencement of the present century. All but the last two volumes were written by Schröckh himself, and they furnish the most complete and comprehensive view of the whole course of Church History to the end of the eighteenth century which has yet been produced. Schröckh was a moderate Protestant, and Roman Catholic historians vie with Protestants in recognizing his merits. Bishop Hefele, for example, in the first edition of the 'Kirchen-Lexicon' of Wetzer and Welte, described his work as a 'veritable Ecclesiastical Arsenal, of which, even up to the present day, excellent use may be made,' and the latest German *Lehrbuch*, just quoted, by Professor Möller, speaks of it as still indispensable. It is diffuse; but its very diffuseness lends it value; for we are thus led into many characteristic and illustrative bypaths of history, and we are at every turn brought into contact with the original sources. We are, moreover, much disposed to think that Schröckh has hit upon the best method on which Ecclesiastical History should be written. He endeavours to combine the chronological and systematic narration of events with full attention to the characteristic personages; and after giving a general sketch of a period or a crisis, he will devote half a volume to a full account of a man like Athanasius or Augustine. It seems to us that this plan is in accordance with the best examples of profane history; the speeches in Thucydides, for instance, having the effect of bringing into fuller light the personal agencies at work in the drama, than would have been practicable by a mere narration of the course of events. A speech in Thucydides has the same place in a narrative of the Peloponnesian war as a book by Athanasius in the course of the Arian struggle. Yet there are few Church historians who, like Schröckh, will interrupt the course of their narrative to give an adequate account of such a treatise. In Church History, moreover, for reasons already mentioned, this illumination of the narrative, so to speak, is peculiarly essential; for the writings and letters of the great leaders of the Church, and the thoughts they express, are the chief influences in creating the history. The action which is going forward is but in a secondary degree to be seen in the public acts of Councils or other Church authorities. The real drama is being enacted within the hearts and thoughts of Christians, and it is only in the leading writers of the time that this inner movement is to be traced. For these and similar reasons we adhere to the opinion expressed some fifty years ago in

Dowling's useful 'Introduction to Church History,' that Schröckh's work has strong claims to be considered the best Church History yet written, and we are sure that as a guide to original study it is the most useful. Unfortunately he is weakest in the history of the first three centuries, during which he seems to be gradually feeling his way into his subject and his method. At the same time this is precisely the period on which the greatest light has been thrown by modern researches, and in which the guidance of a writer of Schröckh's date is the less necessary.

Since his time a vast number of contributions, general and special, have been made in Germany to the study of Church History. It is impossible to mention more than two or three of the most important—particularly from the point of view of the English scholar. We cannot dwell on Bishop Hefele's splendid 'History of the Councils,' nor upon the admirable studies, chiefly of special periods and subjects, of Dr. Döllinger and his school. We deeply lament his death, of which we observe the announcement at the last moment of our printing. He was a great and venerable name; and whatever may be the issue of the movement with which his influence has of late been associated, there can be no question of his having contributed momentous elements to our apprehension of Church History, and towards a better understanding of the great ecclesiastical problems of the day. We must pass over also the German Roman Catholic manuals, some of which, however, are excellent in their kind, such as those of Alzog, Kraus, and Hergenröther; and must be content with naming four works as still of special use to the student, Gieseler, Neander, Hase, and Kurtz, besides one other of an important, though more popular character,—the 'Lectures on Church History' of the late Dr. Karl Hagenbach of Basle. Gieseler's work is invaluable for its copious and judicious selection of illustrative passages from the original authorities, or rather original documents; but it is conceived in a cold, impersonal, spirit which debars the student from insight into the real life and movement of Church History. It improves in this respect as it proceeds, and in the early history of the Reformation the numerous extracts from Luther and Zwingli render it perhaps the best introduction which a student can have to the history of that time. But it is not a history, nor even a handbook of history; it is a collection of materials for history strung together by a jejune text. Neander's work presents an opposite character. He is hampered by the German system of breaking up his subject into distinct divisions; but his chief eye is for the personal life of which the Church

Church is full, and for the individual spiritual influences which are at work. We can scarcely reckon it as a defect if his views are coloured, and sometimes narrowed, by his own prepossessions and sympathies. It deserves to be borne in mind that the different and conflicting views of historians respecting past events do but, after all, reflect the conflicting feelings and opinions of the past itself; and in the absence of a supreme master of history like Thucydides, a historian does us invaluable service if, like Mr. Froude, he enables us to enter fully into one aspect, at all events, of the times he is describing. Neander's work will remain of permanent value as an account of Church History up to the time of the Reformation by a man of the deepest Christian feeling, and of the highest ability; and a combined study of Fleury and Neander—the one telling the story in perfect simplicity as it occurred, the other interpreting it with the light of modern learning and philosophical thought—would constitute a very valuable introduction to this great branch of human history. Hagenbach's work is a singular and valuable exception to the usual German treatment of this subject. In a series of Lectures, addressed to an educated, but not to a learned, public, he has treated with much interest and lucidity the whole course of Church History. It is a strong testimony to its value that it is now being republished under the learned editorship of Dr. Nippold. Hase and Kurtz offer exactly what they entitle their works—*Lehrbücher*. They are like Murray's Guide-books: they lead the reader over the whole region with which he desires to make acquaintance; they tell him what are the points of interest, with their leading characteristics; direct him where to make a stay; and inform him of the guides and other resources to which he must apply for fuller information. But they are very different in character. Kurtz's is minute and accurate—a sort of Baedeker in Church History; and as fresh editions of it have for some time been issued in frequent succession, and great pains have been taken to mention in each new issue the fresh investigations which have been made since the last publication, it has become an invaluable record of the 'advancement of learning' in Church History, and an indispensable guide to students. Hase's work will probably possess a more permanent value. This extraordinary man—till yesterday the veteran of German Protestant learning alike in Church History, in Dogmatics, in the study of the Life of our Lord, and in Protestant polemics against the Roman Church—has the genius of an artist as well as of a scholar; and his *Lehrbuch* is a succession of

vivid sketches of men and events in a singularly brilliant and epigrammatic style. For this reason, unlike most *Lehrbücher*, it may be better appreciated by those who are already acquainted with the history than by those who have to be introduced to it. Numberless keen allusions and clear-cut cameos of characterization may escape the notice of a student who commences his study of Church History with this work; while the most advanced student—provided he can enjoy a really first-rate and idiomatic German style—finds renewed pleasure at every recurrence to its pages. All Hase's works are marked by the same solid scholarship, and also by the same vivid artistic power. His views are rationalistic; but his sympathies are too deep, and his mind too large, to be hard or narrow; he has too much German truth and sturdiness to be unfair; and the reader of his works is thus always as well informed of other opinions as of Hase's own, and can form his own judgment. In his ninetieth year he was till the other day engaged on a continuous Church History, based on his *Lehrbuch*. As these pages pass through the press, we read with the deepest regret the announcement of his death; and thus, like Von Ranke, he has not been permitted to crown his admirable literary career by completing his last work. But his name will be remembered as one of the greatest in German Theological learning in this century.

Not so much need be said on the modern contributions to this study in France. On the general history of the Church, there have been laborious and useful works, like that of Rohrbacher, produced by Roman Catholic writers; but they are marred by the dead hand of Ultramontanism. There have been, however, several brilliant monographs on particular periods or sections of Church History, written by eminent laymen. M. Villemain's sketch of the great Christian orators and writers of the fourth century; Count de Montalembert's 'Monks of the West;' J. J. Ampère's literary history of the early ages of France, and the sketches of Amédée Thierry, are admirable in the vivid human interest with which they invest their subject. But the most remarkable contribution of this kind to Church History is the Duke de Broglie's 'L'Église et L'Empire au quatrième siècle,' in which the united history of the Church and the State in that century is exhibited with a sympathy, a penetration into character, and a historical capacity, of which there are very few examples. Protestants, like Chastel, have produced skilful sketches, but generally no more. Renan's *Origines* are important to the study

study of early Christianity, but the spirit in which they are written, and the consequent inability of the author to enter into the real spirit of Christian life, are fatal to their value as a Church History. The only important exception with which we are acquainted is De Pressensé's 'History of the First Three Centuries,' now in course of re-issue with considerable improvements—a brilliant and useful work, but rather a review of the period than a history of it.

To pass to our own country, we were until the last fifty years singularly lacking in valuable works on this subject. Dean Milman, in the Preface to his 'History of Christianity,' after enumerating the eminent German authors of the early part of the century, exclaims with justice, 'Where, alas! are the English historians of those times?' Since, in fact, the admirable and enduring works of Cave, at the end of the seventeenth century, the Church History of Milner was almost the only comprehensive work of the kind. Its main object, however, was rather that of spiritual edification than of history, and its chief concern was to illustrate those characters in the past history of the Church in whom the personal and spiritual life of Christianity was most conspicuous. When Milner wrote, Gibbon was the most prominent historian of the Church; and Milner rendered admirable service in recalling, in contrast with Gibbon's cold and superficial sneers, the real inner life of Christians; but his work was extremely imperfect as a history. It is a curious illustration of the limitations of German learning in certain directions, that the authors of most of the handbooks to which we have referred, after a full and minute account of the contributions to Church History in Germany and other countries, state that there has been no considerable work on Church History in England since that of Milner. German writers are still for the most part unaware of the splendid contributions made to that study by the late Dean Milman. It would be curious to enquire if the similarity of the names Milner and Milman misled them. But that they were capable of absolute neglect of the most important of English works is shown by a still more curious circumstance. Herzog's Cyclopædia for the Protestant Church and Theology is perhaps the most comprehensive work of its kind, and it endeavours to treat so fully of the religious life of other countries as to devote an article of considerable length to Dr. Chalmers. But in its first edition there was no article at all on Bishop Butler; and in the second edition, completed three or four years ago, his existence was only discovered in the preparation of the Appendix. This circumstance is the more curious, since
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Bishop Butler's great work was translated into German in the middle of the last century. It must be presumed that its inductive and practical character had no attractions for the speculative philosophers of that country. But when Dean Milman was lamenting the absence of great English writers in this field, he was himself supplying the deficiency. His works are masterpieces of historical composition; and as his '*History of the Jews*,' and '*History of Early Christianity*,' were finally revised after the great movement of German and French criticism during this century had reached its full development in Baur and Renan, his views have great value at the present moment, and deserve more attention than they have yet received amidst the echoes of sensational criticism which are now so loudly heard in this country. We think it may be opportune, for instance, to quote the two following passages from the Prefaces to the last editions of his '*History of the Jews*,' and '*History of Christianity*' during the first four centuries, as expressing the judgment of a singularly historic mind, fully acquainted with German criticism, and not unfavourably disposed to it, respecting its chief representatives and their results.

In the Preface to the '*History of the Jews*' (4th edition, 1868), he says:—

'I must acknowledge, as regards the modern German Schools of Criticism, profane as well as sacred, that my difficulty is more often with their dogmatism than with their daring criticism. If they destroy dominant theories, they rarely do not endeavour to compensate for this, by constructing theories of their own, I must say in general on the most arbitrary conjecture, and assert those theories with as much certitude and even intolerance, contemptuous intolerance, as the most orthodox and conservative writers.... Ewald seems to have attempted (he has no doubt of his own success) an utter impossibility. That the Hebrew records, especially the Books of Moses, may have been compiled from various documents, and it may be at an uncertain time, all this is assuredly a legitimate subject of enquiry. There may be some certain discernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship. But that any critical microscope, in the nineteenth century, can be so exquisite and so powerful as to dissect the whole with perfect nicety, to decompose it, and assign each separate paragraph to its special origin in three, four, five, or more independent documents, each of which has contributed its part, this seems to me a task which no mastery of the Hebrew language, with all its kindred tongues, no discernment, however fine and discriminating, can achieve. I must confess that I read Ewald ever with increasing wonder at his unparalleled ingenuity, his surpassing learning, but usually with decreasing conviction.'

Similarly,

Similarly, in the Preface to the new edition of his '*History of Christianity*' in 1867, he says:—

'I trust that it is from no blind, stubborn, or presumptuous prejudice that I read Baur and his disciples with wonder and admiration at their industry, sagacity, and ingenuity; but without conviction. It seems to me that with them, instead of the theory being the result of diligent and acute investigation, the theory is first made, and then the inferences or arguments sought out, discerned, or imagined, and wrought up with infinite skill to establish the foregone conclusion; at the same time with a contemptuous disregard or utter obtuseness to the difficulties of their own system. Their criticism will rarely bear criticism.'

We are disposed to think that, when the excitement of the present controversy respecting the theories of Wellhausen and his school has died away, and the results can be calmly weighed, Milman's estimate of Ewald and Baur will be found not less applicable to their successors.

In mentioning Milman's name, we could not refrain from this digression in reference to a matter of much current interest. But it is less of a digression than it might seem, for Milman's works, whether on the *History of the Jews*, or of our Lord's life, or of Early or Latin Christianity, form one complete whole, and are really an account of the *History of the Church*, in its largest signification, from the earliest times. One continuous Divine scheme unites the commencement of Jewish history with the latest history of the Church, and the English reader will hardly find elsewhere so comprehensive a review of the whole course of this history, from the time of Abraham to the end of the middle ages of Christianity, as is afforded by the series of Dean Milman's works. They are marked throughout by true historic genius, by a masculine grasp of thought, and by vivid imaginative power; and they constitute, in our judgment, one of those historic masterpieces which can never lose their value. Yet we must confess they seem to us deficient in the representation of that inner personal life of Christianity in which its chief power and its chief interest consist. The biographical element, which is so vital in the history of the Christian Church, is not sufficiently strong in them; and we do not think the reader would obtain from Milman's '*History of Early Christianity*' alone an adequate conception of the sources and springs of Christian life. Milman's style is in some respects a reflection of Gibbon's, and we have sometimes a reflection of something more than the style. He exhibits with more force the external than the internal movements of Church History; and that peculiar spiritual life by which it is distinguished

guished from all other history is not sufficiently elucidated. We fail to see the torch of spiritual life passing from hand to hand and from soul to soul; and we are almost disposed to think that he was mistaken in the choice he made of a title, and that he has really written more the history of the Latin Church, than the history of Latin Christianity.

Of Robertson's work we have already spoken; but we must add that the lack of vitality in it which we noticed is especially to be regretted in its account of early Christian times. There it is above all things necessary that the individual Saints and the individual writers should stand out in their full personality; for they alone make the real history. The Church lives on from soul to soul in these ages, and it is the soul which requires to be depicted. For this reason, perhaps, more may be learnt of the real nature of Christian history from such novels as Kingsley's '*Hypatia*,' or Cardinal Newman's '*Callista*,' or from a recent tale like Professor Church's '*To the Lions*,' than from the pages of most Church historians. Cardinal Newman's '*Callista*,' in particular, is an exquisite story; and allowing for the Romish colouring which he naturally puts upon some of the incidents, it is a wonderfully true and effective picture of Christian life amidst the persecutions of Cyprian's time. We cannot see why historians should not give us a little of this vividness, and we are inclined to crave for an ecclesiastical Macaulay, who would do for Church History what he has done for English History. Whoever undertakes such a task will, we think, find his work during the first eight centuries greatly assisted by the important work of which Mr. Murray has recently completed the publication—'*The Dictionary of Christian Biography*' during that period. It is a pity that the inevitable size of this work should practically confine its use to students who have good means or an access to good libraries; for by common consent, both abroad and at home, it contains the most valuable mass of material, carefully sifted, for the history of the first eight centuries of the Church ever yet brought together. With a rare generosity, the best English scholars combined to devote their services to this great enterprise; and the articles on the greater names alone are a splendid series of monographs. But besides these, the minor names of Church History, even down to those who are but mentioned occasionally in Christian writers, are, as a rule, carefully treated, and much laborious research on doubtful points will thus be spared to future scholars and writers. Here, in English, the student and general reader may for the first time obtain that insight into the real life and thought of the Christian saints and teachers which it should be the object of Church History to

to give. We reserved to this point the mention of one honourable name in the field of Christian Biography, Alban Butler, the author of 'The Lives of the Saints.' Had this work not been written by a Roman Catholic, it would have done much to supply the want of such a personal treatment of Church History as we have suggested. We do not refer so much to the prejudices or erroneous judgments which are entailed by Alban Butler's theological position, as to the partial and limited view which his purpose imposed on him. His object was to write the lives of the Saints, and consequently he considers them primarily from that point of view. Their natural and historical characteristics are of subordinate importance to his object, and these consequently are very imperfectly exhibited in their real relations in Church History. His book is in several respects a beautiful one, and may be used with great advantage as illustrating one momentous side of Church History; but its very virtue lies in its one-sidedness. The 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' on the other hand, supplies, for the period which it covers, a comprehensive view of the great characters of early Christian life. The best methods and surest results of modern criticism are applied throughout it; and, with rare exceptions, the reader may rely on having all the materials brought before him for a thorough and minute knowledge of the Christian life of the first eight centuries.

It remained, however, to bring this vast mass of learning within popular compass; and this could only be done in two ways. An invaluable contribution to this object has been made in America by the great work in course of publication by Dr. Schaff, entitled a 'History of the Christian Church.' It forms rather the most comprehensive Handbook to Church History which has yet been published, even in Germany, and it is cast in the usual form of German works of this nature, as described above. Five large volumes have already been published, of which the first four treat of the history of the Church to the year 1073, and the fifth gives the history of the Reformation up to 1530. As a work of reference it is invaluable. It supplies for the English reader even more information than the German Handbooks, and it cannot fail to render to this department of learning the invaluable service of interpreting between German and English scholars. It is but one of many monuments of indefatigable labour and comprehensive learning which Dr. Schaff has bestowed upon the English and American public, and we earnestly trust he may be spared to complete his great undertaking. But its form must always render it rather a book for scholars than for general readers, and it still leaves
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a living representation of Church History to be desired. With this view, it would be very practicable to make such a selection of the most important articles from the pages of the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' as would present a more thorough account of early Christian life than has yet been made accessible to the public; and we hope that, in due time, and with proper revision, this may yet be done. But such a work would still remain better adapted to scholars and students than to general readers; and the other alternative was to present a connected series of characteristic biographies illustrating the successive periods of Church History. This endeavour has been made with a great degree of success abroad in the work to which we have already alluded—the '*Kirchengeschichte in Biographien*' by Dr. Böhringer of Zürich. The sketches of the great characters of Christian life in this valuable work are full, sympathetic, and discriminating; and they are so chosen and connected as to give a very fair view, at least for the earlier centuries, of the general movement of life and thought in the Church. But the author has succumbed to the danger, to which all such enterprises are exposed, of confusion between the popular and scientific treatment of his subject. The very purpose of such a work is to disengage the essentials of Church History, as exhibited in its greatest characters, from its details of whatever kind. But the philosophical attractions of German thought have been too strong for him; and his account of a Father like Origen or Augustine is overweighted by elaborate expositions of their theological and philosophical views. This mistake was aggravated in the second edition, in which these portions of the original work were at first much expanded, until, as we conclude from one of the Prefaces, a despairing and judicious publisher intervened, and got the author to leave well alone for the remainder of the reprint. But, notwithstanding these defects, the work is an excellent attempt at a most valuable form of Church History. Dr. Farrar says in his Preface in reference to it, 'I have read those interesting monographs, the plan of which is in some respects similar to that which I have adopted, though they give a larger space than I have done to questions of abstract theology.' The list of books, indeed, which Dr. Farrar tells us in his Preface he has consulted or read is appalling; but no doubt he bore in mind Bacon's saying, that 'some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.' But we think he might have found a parallel nearer home in Cave's '*Lives of the Fathers*.' This work, written in the practical and earnest spirit of an English Divine, needs of course much correction in the

the light of subsequent criticism, but may still be read and studied with great profit. An edition of it was reprinted in 1840, under the editorship of the Rev. Henry Cary, of Worcester College, Oxford; and we could wish it were more accessible at the present day. Cave tells his story with admirable simplicity and directness, and with true sympathy. His object, he says, was

‘to draw the lineaments of as many of those apostolical persons, as concerning whom I could retrieve any considerable notices and accounts of things;’ and he adds that, ‘as far as my mean abilities do reach, and the nature of the thing will admit, I have endeavoured the reader’s satisfaction; and though I pretend not to present him an exact Church history of those times, yet I think I may, without vanity, assure him, that there is scarce any material passage of Church-antiquity of which, in some of these Lives, he will not find a competent and reasonable account.’

We think Cave fairly redeemed his undertaking, so far as the exigencies of his own time were concerned; and there is no little pleasure in reading these simple narratives of Church History, uncoloured by the controversies of the present century. This is the kind of task which Dr. Farrar has undertaken in these volumes, and he has discharged it with a considerable degree of success. The reader who desires something more within his compass, both of time and space, than the ‘Dictionary of Christian Biography,’ will find in these two volumes a vivid and eloquent sketch of the chief personages of the first four centuries, and of the controversies in which they were engaged. As we have already intimated, indeed, part of the narration is too controversial for our taste; and in spite of his denunciation of controversy, the author’s powers seem exerted with most energy in describing the most controversial period of Church History and the chief actors in it—the fourth century and the great champions of orthodoxy—than in depicting the Church of the first three centuries. After the first half of the first volume, we are plunged into the Arian controversy, and Dr. Farrar depicts for us with painful vividness the bitter and discreditable contentions by which the Christian Church was then distracted. There are some repetitions in these narratives which it would have been well to avoid—for example, the life of Constantius is twice sketched, at p. 518 and at p. 582 of the first volume; and we could wish that in the life, for instance, of such a man as Athanasius, more attention had been devoted to the substance of the man’s thought and inner life, as compared with the narrative of his public career, and of the course of the controversies which raged around him. The Archdeacon’s
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work seems to us to have grown stronger as he advanced ; and we could wish he had bestowed upon some of the earlier Fathers the energy and sympathy with which he has depicted St. Augustine. But with whatever incompleteness or defects, some of which were no doubt inevitable in the circumstances, these volumes are to be welcomed as containing a more vivid, picturesque, and impartial, as well as learned, account of most of the Christian Fathers of the first four centuries than has yet been generally accessible to English readers.

Nevertheless, we cannot but cherish the hope that one of their chief services will be to encourage the revival among us of that more personal treatment of Church History of which Cave in his day set so excellent an example. We venture to say that the story of early Church History has never yet been adequately told. One reason of this failure is of melancholy omen, namely, that much less attention has been hitherto paid in the English Church during the last fifty years to the earliest periods of Church History than to those which immediately followed them. The Oxford Library of the Fathers, which was due to the sympathies and the learning of the Tractarian School, is mainly occupied with the writers of the third and fourth centuries ; and it is curious that it should have been reserved for a Presbyterian publisher in Edinburgh, followed in the United States by an American divine of a similar communion and of Swiss extraction, to publish an entire translation of the Ante-Nicene Christian Fathers. Unfortunately, however, it is to the controversies of Church History that the attention of historians has been mainly directed ; and the more living and human elements of Christian life, which were more influential in the permanent growth of the Church than all these controversies, have been left comparatively unnoticed. Dr. Farrar does a good deal to supply this want in his introductory chapter, which describes Christian life as illustrated in its earliest monuments, and particularly in the Catacombs. But an adequate history of those times and of their inner movement requires far more attention to the remains of early Christian literature, and a far more sympathetic treatment of those remains, than they have yet received. Dr. Farrar, for instance, disappoints us in his treatment of such a document as the Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians. It may be, as he says, 'a very simple production,' easily summarized. But the very spirit and life of the Church of Polycarp's age are enshrined in it—the absolute conviction which animates their faith in Christ, the assured realization of their new spiritual life and hopes, and the consequent concentration of their energies upon a life worthy of their Lord, and of the present and future salvation

tion He had won for them. 'The main part of the letter,' says Dr. Farrar, 'consists of moral and spiritual exhortations.' No doubt, but how much is revealed in that fact! We had sooner, for our part, have the Epistle to Polycarp, even in an English translation, to comment upon in illustration of early Church History, than all the learned discussions which Baur and others have raised around it.

Historians, in fact, seem to us to make a great mistake in treating this period of Church History as obscure. It is obscure as respects public transactions; and perhaps for the sufficient reason that there were no public transactions to record. But it is not obscure at all as regards the main current and essential spirit of Christian life. The few documents which remain to us are abundantly sufficient to illustrate it in these respects. We have in something like succession the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians; the letters of Ignatius of Antioch; the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, which is really the earliest known post-Apostolic sermon; the Epistle to Diognetus, the works of Justin Martyr, and finally Irenæus and Tertullian—to mention only the chief and most characteristic of our resources; and out of these, the main lineaments of the early Church—its faith, its hope and its charity, in their primitive simplicity—emerge, at once with singular vividness and with singular variety. It is really lamentable, that the attention of students and general readers should be so much diverted, by the usual histories and text-books, from these vital elements of Christian life to the dogmatic controversies or disciplinary disputes by which the Church was distracted. Those controversies and struggles were of course of momentous import; but a history of the Church, which is mainly concerned with them, is like a history of England, which is mainly devoted to a history of its constitution. There is no point in which the modern treatment of secular history exhibits a more conspicuous improvement, than in the greater attention which is paid to the life and thought of the great mass of the people, to their ordinary impulses and interests, and to the literature which expresses their feelings and aspirations. Without a knowledge of these, the constitutional history itself cannot be understood, and they are often its most potent though silent factors. One of the most interesting illustrations of this truth is furnished by the valuable article on St. Cyprian contributed by the present Archbishop of Canterbury to the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography.' The constitutional and disciplinary controversies of St. Cyprian's Episcopate occupy by far the largest part of any ordinary account of his life, and they were doubtless of immense influence
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in the subsequent history. Yet the Archbishop of Canterbury has to point out, that the real deciding influence in these controversies, and especially in those which related to the validity of Baptism administered by ministers in schism, was the silent influence of the laity. The conclusions of St. Cyprian's councils were, he says, 'unchristian, uncharitable, uncatholic, and unanimous.' He justly observes, that the unanimity of such early councils and their erroneousness afford a remarkable monition. There is at present a vehement and almost passionate demand for the reference of the disputed questions of doctrine and ceremonial in the Church of England to the purely 'spiritual authority' of ecclesiastics, and the example of the 'primitive Church' is pleaded in support of the claim. The primitive Church, we must needs observe, means too often, in the mouth of controversialists, whatever portion or period of the first four or five centuries they find most convenient for their purpose. But it is very instructive to remember, in reference to these appeals to primitive example in the decision of disciplinary questions, that even the typical Spiritual Courts, held under an exemplary Christian Bishop of the third century, have, by the universal acknowledgment of the Church since then, been adjudged to have been in error, even on so vital a point as that of the conditions of valid baptism, and that, in the judgment of such a divine as the present Archbishop of Canterbury, it was by the general sense of the Church, acting through the laity, that their blunders were overruled and rendered innocuous. 'The consolation,' says the Archbishop,

'as strange as the disappointment. The mischief silently and perfectly healed by the simple working of the Christian Society. Life corrected the error of thought . . . It may be noted, as affording some clue to the one-sided decisions, that the laity were silent, though Cyprian seemed pledged to some consultation with them. It must have been among them that there were in existence and at work those very principles which so soon not only rose to the surface, but overpowered the voices of her bishops for the general good.'—(*Diet. Ch. Biog.* vol. i. p. 753.)

A similar conclusion might be drawn from the melancholy spectacle of ecclesiastical dissension presented in the fourth century, and described with singular vividness in Dr. Farrar's volumes. It was certainly not by the influence of Councils that the Arian heresy was overcome. For some fifty years after the Council of Nice it was as easy to obtain the verdict of a 'Spiritual Court' in favour of Arianism as against it. What decided the verdict was the fact, that the deepest Christian convictions and the best Christian thought were bound up with

with the orthodox belief. It was on the practical dictates of the Christian heart and conscience, in both laity and clergy, that the Creed of Nicæa rested, and these could no more be overborne by spiritual authority or temporal power than could theological convictions or scientific truths in later ages of the Church. Church History, consequently, can only be truly narrated or understood in proportion as these practical and personal influences are brought into prominence. It is the personal and spiritual experiences of St. Hilary, St. Athanasius, and St. Augustine which are of supreme importance in their careers, and which determine the issue of their controversies. If students of Church History were more fully brought into contact with these living human experiences, the controversies by which the Church in the present day, as well as in the past, is distracted, would the more readily be reduced to their just proportions, and the true solutions for them would be discerned.

There is one other topic of vital interest at the present moment which, as it seems to us, demands in an eminent degree the careful study of early Church History from the point of view we are describing, if it is to be adequately elucidated. We refer to the challenge offered by Agnosticism to the principles of the Christian creed. Those principles, as recently enunciated by Professor Huxley, amount to an entire repudiation of the principle of faith as a ground of conviction. The principle of Agnosticism, he seems to say, is never to assume the truth of any statement of which you cannot produce strict scientific evidence. Now it will hardly be disputed, that the starting-point and motive power of all religions is belief in assertions, promises, and assurances, of which no such scientific proof can be given. Considering, moreover, that religion has been, and still is, one of the most universal and powerful—if not the most universal and powerful—of human influences, the agnostic principle involves the repudiation, as illegitimate, of that which experience shows to be a general and predominant human instinct. But it would be peculiarly instructive to review the comment on this principle which is afforded by the early history of Christianity. To those who regard Christianity, at least in its purest and primitive form, as the most beneficent of human influences, the operation of Faith, in the origin and development of our religion, must be a matter of the deepest interest. It was obviously impracticable for those who accepted the message of the Gospel in the days succeeding the Apostles to test it by strict logical enquiry or scientific observation. The demand made on the faith of those to whom it was first preached, putting aside the Apostolic corroboration afforded by miracles,

miracles, was far greater than is made by the same message now. We have in the New Testament a considerable body of writings, of which the origin and the contents can be subjected to close critical and historical analysis, and we have the history of many centuries of Christianity by which to verify its claims. But the early Christians had for the most part simply the personal testimony of its preachers, and perhaps a Gospel, or one or two Epistles, as the only documentary evidence available for them. What was it that secured their faith? The answer is clearly given by the records of primitive Church History. It was the inherent weight of the personal testimony of Christian witnesses, and of Christian writings, which won credit and conviction. The words of our Lord, and His promises, appealed directly to men's hearts and consciences. They were felt to be the truth, and men yielded to them. So Justin Martyr says:—

‘I would wish that all, making a resolution like my own, do not keep themselves away from the words of the Saviour. For they possess a terrible power in themselves, and are sufficient to inspire those who turn aside from rectitude with awe; while the sweetest rest is afforded those who make a diligent practice of them.’

There is a beautiful passage also in Newman's ‘Callista,’ in which he describes the effect on the slave girl of a copy of St. Luke's Gospel which came into her hands in her prison.

‘She opened it at length and read. It was the writing of a provincial Greek; elegant however, and marked with that simplicity which was to her taste the elementary idea of a classic author. It was addressed to one Theophilus, and professed to be a carefully digested and verified account of events which had been already attempted by others. She read a few paragraphs, and became interested, and in no long time she was absorbed in the volume. When she had once taken it up she did not lay it down. Even at other times she would have prized it, but now, when she was so desolate and lonely, it was simply a gift from an unseen world. It opened a view of a new state and community of beings, which only seemed too beautiful to be possible. But not into a new state of things alone, but into the presence of One who was simply distinct and removed from anything that she had, in her most imaginative moments, ever depicted to her mind as ideal perfection. Here was that to which her intellect tended, though that intellect could not frame it. It could approve and acknowledge, when set before it, what it could not originate. Here was He who spoke to her in her conscience; whose voice she heard, whose person she was seeking for. Here was He who kindled a warmth on the cheek of both Chione and Agellius. That image sank deep into her; she felt it to be a reality. She said to herself, “This is no poet's dream; it is the delineation

delineation of a real individual. There is too much truth and nature, and life and exactness about it to be anything else." Yet she shrank from it; it made her feel her own difference from it, and a feeling of humiliation came upon her mind, such as she never had had before. She began to despise herself more thoroughly day by day: yet she recollected various passages in the history which reassured her amid her self-abasement, especially that of His tenderness and love for the poor girl at the feast, who would anoint His feet; and the full tears stood in her eyes, and she fancied she was that sinful child, and that He did not repel her.'

Mr. Balfour has, we think, observed recently that nothing is more needed than a discussion of the nature and just limits of faith; and, no doubt, the Agnostic controversy renders that question a peculiarly urgent one. But for the purpose of such a discussion the early history of Christianity offers the inestimable advantage of real experience, in which the operation of faith can be observed and tested.

For the most urgent difficulties, in short, of our present time, a history of primitive Christianity, written in the spirit we have indicated, would be of inestimable value. Dean Merivale, at the close of his *History of the Roman Empire*, relinquishes with regret the task of describing the process by which the Roman world became Christian:—

'I had hoped to entwine with my relation of events, and my review of literature and manners, an account of the change of opinion by which a positive belief in religious dogmas was evolved from the chaos of doubt, or rose upon the ruins of baffled incredulity; to trace the progress of this moral transformation from the day when the High Priest of Jupiter, the head of the Roman hierarchy, the chief interpreter of divine things to the Pagan conscience, declared before the assembled senators that Immortality was a dream, and future Retribution a fable, to that when the Emperor, the chief of the State, the head of the newly established Church of the Christians, presided over a general council of bishops, and affirmed at its bidding the transcendent mystery of a Triune Deity. But I have learnt by a trial of many years to distrust my qualifications for so grave a task.'

The deficiency has not yet been supplied; and we hope Dr. Farrar will not think us ungrateful for what he has done if we conclude with the hope that he, or some one else, will soon give us something more. It would be a very difficult task; but a greater benefit could hardly be conferred on the Christian world than an adequate and faithful account of the origin and early growth of Christianity.

- ART. IX.—1. *Manual of Political Economy.* By Henry Fawcett. London, 1871.
 2. *The Principles of Political Economy.* By Henry Sidgwick. London, 1883.
 3. *Speech of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons on introducing the Budget, March 11, 1842.*
 4. *Proceedings of the London County Council.* 1889.

OF all the great municipalities in Europe and America none has so important a position as the new London County Council. The youngest Corporation in the world, and yet by far the greatest, it has a sphere and duties, means of wealth and opportunities for the judicious use of means, in which no other non-political association can compare with it. It is entrusted with the largest area of building and the largest population that in the history of the world were recognized as one community and town; and the condition of London at the present juncture is one of special preparation for, as well as urgent need of, great material improvement and reform.

For many years the Metropolitan Board of Works has had in hand the undertakings that Parliament had entrusted to its care; and the drainage of the district, the embankment of the Thames, and various fragmentary local works have done something to improve the condition of the people and the aspect of the town. Of course there have been failures and mistakes. The system of drainage is still defective; and the soil that should be made the fertilizer of the land is still polluting both the river and the sea. Above ground things are just as bad; some fifty years ago a City magnate told the House of Commons that a 'dog-leg' line was preferable to a straight one in the planning of a street. This crookedness of mind and plan appears to be especially municipal in London; and we find that street improvements laid out by the recent Board have mostly been æsthetic failures, cleverly arranged for small economies, but lasting and unfortunate memorials of undiscerning office-work, in substitution for inspection and arrangement on the spot by practised eye and hand. Scarcely an improvement has been made without some needless but obtrusive eyesore. The projecting elevation of the Music Hall at Piccadilly Circus is an obvious but minor specimen of this habitual blundering.

The action of the late Board of Works was mostly administrative. They carried out just what the public had with vehemence required, and what Parliament had sanctioned and prescribed. They had little initiative; and, being mere vestry delegates, they had no independent popular support.

support. The County Councillors are in a very different position; they are independent of the vestries, and they may have, in combination, a great moral power of initiative, if not of authoritative, legislation. By their insistence they can certainly obtain from Parliament the power to make of London, which is now an inarticulate congeries of population, separated rather than combined by mean and inconvenient streets and roads, an orderly association of great district neighbourhoods, permeated and united by wide avenues, facilitating traffic, so that valuable commercial time will not be wasted; a great homogeneous civic power, a true metropolis and mother city to the Empire.

But for all this the population must be influenced by a special pride and interest in the place. For a little time, perhaps, the Council may work zealously, with wise and economical expensiveness; but very shortly rates will rise, and then the populace will grumble and rebel. The great majority of Londoners, having no proprietary, fixed abode, are only accidentally the residents in any particular locality; and so they have no social, sentimental, or material interest in the place. This makes it difficult for them to have a care for any local benefit or public work. Their personal expenditure is held to be of infinitely more importance, and a worthier use of their pecuniary means, than any public outlay. The consequent of this defective public interest is the distinguished dirtiness of the greater part of London, and its general want of the amenities that cities throughout Europe have obtained in due proportion to their means. Within a century London has increased in wealth some thirtyfold, but in its public works its outlay is entirely disproportionate and insufficient. On the whole the district is worse off than it was some fifty years ago. Great sums have been expended on new works, but, owing to the sheer stupidity and greed of the inhabitants, the greater works and plans of an anterior date have been encroached upon. And now the finest boulevard in Europe, made with prudent, liberal foresight by our ancestors, is narrowing to a lane; which our posterity will have, at an enormous cost, to rectify and widen.

‘What you make it a man’s interest to do, that he will do,’ is a dictum that may be extended to communities. And conversely, if there is no interest, nothing will be done. The first thing for the London County Council to consider is the foundation of their power and influence and the support of their existence. For a year or two the interest of their novelty will be their chief momentum; but in time, perhaps not long,

they will exhaust their temporary power, and will be only tolerated as a body not entirely without vitality, but a vegetable merely, with no soul or spirit, an expensive cumbrance of the ground. There is not in the London County any status for an active, energetic municipality; there is no aggregate of individual proprietary interest that will induce the public to pay out of their own purses and with liberal economy for public works. What Parliament insists on they will do; but, when the Legislature made the Council, it was with the expectation, that the new municipality would be a power, an intelligent initiative, as well as an administrator. This expectation is, under present circumstances, sure eventually to be disappointed, as Burke's wisdom has foretold. The County Council have at once to take this question into serious and persistent consideration; they have to lay in the hearts and interests of the population a practical and firm foundation for their own active power. It requires now but little wisdom to contrive most public works; two thousand years and more ago, Rome, then but a petty barbarous settlement, had made her *cloacæ*. But what does need great foresight and experience is to found and build up a great metropolitan municipality, that shall be powerful in its own peculiar sphere, in order that it may be energetic and beneficent. If this sure foundation is not laid, and a sufficient edifice constructed, the new Council will succumb to gradual and increasing decadence; and in another generation, just as heretofore and recently, the Legislature will be called upon to intervene, and give the opportunity for further schemes of requisite municipal reform. The London County Council is not a development, a growth, and an established fact; it is a mere experimental fabrication, that has first to root itself well downwards, ere it can, with permanent efficiency, bear fruit upwards. It has no vital power, but at present is a mere government machine, that can be cleared away in twenty years, when its ineptitude has been discovered, and its public weakness has been fully proved. The natural foundation for municipal, as well as for political, institutions is multitudinous proprietorship of the soil. In no metropolis is this proprietorship so restricted as in London, and in none is the injurious effect of this restriction more apparent; the municipal imbecility of London is indeed a national disgrace.

For instance, it is difficult to find, among the many hundred thousands of the actual municipal electors, even a small number who are well instructed in political economy. Some half a century ago, thanks to the philosophical Radicals—who, it may be noticed, complained bitterly of their ill-advised and
erring

erring followers—the public had a fair amount of education in the principles of economic statesmanship. But now, apparently, no politicians are more ill-informed concerning matters of economy, than most of the political successors of the men who carried out the greatest economical reform in the world's history. We find them, in their various assemblies, advocating the supply of houses by the State for artisans; and as it does not yet appear, that any able workmen have a greater claim than others to such public care, it seems that every working man, with all his family, should be provided by the Government with an attractive domicile. Then the hours of labour for the working classes are to be limited, of course without a corresponding limitation of the pay; yet there is no assurance that employers will continue business at a loss, or that they will not rather move their capital to some place where it will be free to hire labour at its market worth. Such claims are now becoming so peremptory and numerous, that Government would be a sort of providence, to undertake the social duties and responsibilities of all the working class; except perhaps the primal duty of the propagation of the species.

But of all the recent schemes none is more curious and paradoxical than the proposal to rate ground-rents, and, as it is presumed, to make the freehold lessor pay what is absurdly called his share towards the general improvements that are said to benefit what is assumed to be his landed property.

The project is condemned by every canon of acknowledged fiscal science; and indeed it means pure confiscation. The owner of the ground-rents has no interest in the objects of the rates; he has no user of the drains, and sewers, and roads, and lights, and water. At his own residence, where he expends the ground-rent, he pays all the local claims for which his house is rated. There he pays according to his general expenditure, as this can be most fairly estimated; and there is no reason why he should pay double rates, because the property from which his income is derived is of a special kind. The excuse for the proposal is that rates are, sometimes, partly spent on permanent improvements, and that therefore the ultimate reversioners should pay a share. But, as in national affairs, the word 'permanent' is at times used absolutely when but a relative and even short duration is intended. Who can say or guarantee what county or parochial construction will be of permanent continuance, and how long any of it will remain unsuperseded? Each decade and each year has its own quantity of quasi-permanent investment, as well as of temporary outlay; and such outlay and investment will be
always

always simultaneously going on in somewhat varying proportions. Indeed it is impossible to regulate a clear distinction between them. For the present, during the existence of the lease, the owner of the ground-rent gets no benefit from the expenditure; his rental is not in the least improved. He is neither owner nor occupier of the house, and is only an encumbrancer for the leasehold term: a continuous mortgagee. Were there great neglect or great improvement in municipal details and management, there would be neither loss nor benefit to him. Such loss or benefit occurs only to the occupiers of the houses, to those who need and use the lights and roads, &c.; there is no value added to the ground-rent; the works do not affect the covenants of the lease, which prevent an augmentation of the rental for the term. The ground-rent is, in fact, a mere source of income, not representing an article of material form which can be improved, as a house may be improved; and public works have no immediate effect, and may have no effect at all upon it. There is, therefore, no improvement of the property in ground-rents, though there may be great convenience and benefit to the inhabitants of the district. Commercial advantages and the course of fashion rule in the market of house property; and if smallpox, consumption, coal-smoke, and the noise of traffic, ceased in London, there would not be the least increase of value to the houses or to the land, but only less of evil to the local residents. Each household being benefited like the others, land values and house rents would vary according to the respective social and commercial demand for various or special lands and houses, not according to the general municipal advantages of the whole county. If there should be any partial, necessary work affecting only a few houses, they, though not their ground-rents, being thus relieved from long municipal neglect, might be restored or raised to their appropriate value. But in London the authorities do, as a rule, immensely less of public works than is required and might be equitably demanded. The occupier is the only *bénéficiaire*, and he, enjoying the conveniences, pays for them—'*qui sentit commodum, sentire debet onus.*' There is, in fact, no equitable method of relieving those who yearly use these public works from paying yearly for them. It is, moreover, impossible to distinguish and define a benefit that may be supposed to accrue to a reversioner half a century hence; but what would then become of the taxation on the vanished ground-rent that had become absorbed in the reversionary ownership? for it is not yet proposed to tax mere freeholds. Here is a phenomenon that should awake suspicion in the minds of those who would tax ground-rents.

At

At the end of a lease there is no ground-rent to tax; but the property on which the occupant is rated is precisely the same as heretofore.

A proposal to tax present ground-rents is one that never will be accepted by any responsible Chancellor of the Exchequer, or by any intelligent and honourable Government. It would be mere plunder, that would class with the worst acts of Oriental despotism; a curious condition of affairs for England. It would be to single out a special class for multiplied taxation. These people would not merely have to pay for what they use, but for what other people use, merely because they have very visible possessions that excite the envy and cupidity of the ignorant and the unendowed. Again, for fifty years out of the usual ninety-nine years' lease the freeholder's reversionary interest is of no commercial value; and many successive freeholders may die, and do die, without any accruing benefit from the exhaustion of a lease. Why, then, should they be taxed for that which they never enjoy? What they do enjoy is the public works that they themselves use where they reside, and these they properly pay for. But there is neither equity nor reason for taxing the owners of one peculiarly obvious kind of property a second time.

Rates, as they are called, are personal obligations of the occupiers of houses for the construction and the use of roads, sewers, and lights, and for other Parliamentary and parochial provisions for the common benefit of residents in each locality. They are not, as is generally supposed, taxes on property, but on individuals, the rating of each man's house being merely a criterion of his general expenditure, and of his potential use of the local works; and, the occupant failing, the premises are not liable. A man with a large house is supposed to have a large income, a large establishment, and many servants; while a cottager is taken to be limited in these affairs. In the medical profession there is, in country districts at least, a similar method of regulating professional charges. There is a graduated scale according to the seeming house-rent of the patients; but this is evidently not a tax or charge upon the domicile itself.

With few exceptions rates are 'struck' periodically, and the demands and payments, allotted according to the rating, are an annual grant, for an annual expenditure, out of the annual income of the community. No doubt part of the expenditure is of a more than temporary kind; but such expenditure is generally spread over a number of years, so that there is a fairly constant average rate from year to year. In national affairs, for instance, the present outlay for 'battle-ships' is made to extend

over

over several years. The special expenditure for such ships, so far from being of 'permanent' result, has been thrice repeated during the present reign; and there has been a corresponding outlay on such 'permanent' works as arsenals, and docks, and forts, artillery, and equipment, most of which is of similarly transient value. Even our public buildings are always undergoing change; but the payment for all these things is, as a rule, made out of annual income.

True it is that in time of national peril there have been exceptional demands on persons and on property. Impressment for the navy, the drafting of militia-men into the army, the land tax, and some other confiscatory taxes were the result of urgent danger. They were compulsory on the nation, and were so accepted, and were not in any sense adjustments; they had no equitable initiative, and had reference to external pressure, not to internal convenience and improvement. Moreover an immense proportion of this great national insurance has been thrown upon succeeding generations, and is paid for out of income. Even the income tax is confiscatory; and appropriately a war-tax only. Those who pay it, and then out of their thus diminished income buy commodities the subjects of Excise or Customs' duties, pay twice over to the State. Sir Robert Peel, as a mere temporary expedient, reimposed the income tax; and Mr. Gladstone, recognizing its unfairness, promised many years ago, at Greenwich, to abolish it. But Mr. Gladstone is, it seems, prepared to promise anything to gain political support. He did not when again in power terminate the income tax, as he had undertaken; but he now pretends, in his peculiar way, to approve of taxing ground-rents; though he knows quite well—no one knows better—that taxation of ground-rents is confiscation; that, being, *pro tanto*, a nationalization of the land, it is, as he has declared, 'a fraud,' and not for him 'a folly.'

Whatever be the extent of their possessions, great or small, men generally use a very large proportion of their income in their current annual expenditure. And this expenditure is the real object, though not the actual subject, of taxation. The ability of a Chancellor of the Exchequer is shown in reaching, by the simplest method, the largest proportion of personal expenditure throughout the kingdom; thus spreading his taxation as widely, and with as light an individual incidence, as possible.

To those who remember the discussions in Parliament half a century ago, and particularly the debates on Sir Robert Peel's income tax in 1842, all this is trite and commonplace; and the

the fact that no such discussion has recently occurred may be an excuse for those who, born mostly since that epoch, have not had the practical circumstances of the matter properly explained to them. They do not see at once, or even after some deliberation, why property should not be taxed as capital, repeatedly, from year to year. The students of such matters must for the present be referred to 'The Times' of 1842, for ample information. It may, however, be mentioned that the property of the comparatively rich does pay occasionally a legacy and a probate duty; which, inequitable as a tax, is a sort of donative by those acquiring wealth to those who are comparatively destitute.

When ground-rents first were made by letting land on lease, it was found convenient that both the national and the local rates and taxes should be paid by that one of the parties interested who is locally present, who is in fact the occupier of the premises, and who pays the full annual rental for the whole; the freeholder of the land, the proprietor we may say of the bottom of the house, covenanting that the owner or lessee shall pay all taxes. But it may be said that new rates or taxes may be made for new objects, and that for these the freeholder should be taxed; as has been shown, however, the rates are for the benefit of the resident occupier, and he should therefore pay. And even setting aside the question of user, the owner of the house has taken all present dues and future risk by deed upon himself, to be devolved upon his tenants if he lets the house; his lease having been obtained at such a rental as allows for this responsibility. The deed is equitable, not dictatorial, as the abundance of land to let on building lease will testify; and no prudent landlord would demand, or could secure, a higher rent than would be offered in free, open competition. Thus a special tax on ground-rents, to be paid by the lessor, would not merely be an act of confiscation, but would be a breach of the law of contract, which would be the precedent for a condition of financial anarchy.

It seems to show a want of courage or of observation on the part of those who would tax ground-rents, that they have not similarly sought to put a second tax on owners of house property. The tenant pays the rates; why should not the owner also pay? is the argument respecting ground-rents. Why is it not applied with equal force to rents? The conditions are analogous, except that owners seldom let for more than twenty-one years, whereas the land is mostly let for ninety-nine.

Of course the general income tax falls on the freeholder and owner just as on all proprietors; and the sums charged on the
property

property are allowed to the tenant by the owner, and to the owner by the freeholder, in due proportion. But this is only a convenient way of collecting this peculiar kind of impost, which affects all incomes, from whatever they proceed; and, although unjust, it is not confiscation of one special kind of property. A chief care in national taxation is that the cash shall be gathered in with little outlay, and with little leakage. These two objects are particularly well secured in the case of income tax from house property; the cost of collection is minute, and the opportunity for evasion is seldom discoverable. In other taxes, those, for instance, on tobacco and on tea, there is more possibility of fraud; but otherwise they are very proper subjects of taxation. These articles are in general and constant use; and as the tax falls ultimately on the consumer, its incidence is infinitely distributed over the community.

The advance of civilization and good government is deplorably hindered by such projects as this of taxing ground-rents. These projects are unfortunately more abundant every year; and they reveal the ignorance, if not the dishonesty, of an increasing number of political schemers. They are the cause of much delay in national and social improvement; they excite suspicion, destroy confidence, and paralyse the work of enterprise. In all proposals for reform there should be manifest a spirit of generosity and abnegation. It should be felt, that the general public good rather than sectional gain is sought for; that in dealing with individuals, and even with classes, what is just and equitable is the first thing to be discovered; and that the public weal is nothing, unless all individuals are protected. By such dignity of method opposition to a reasonable scheme is quickly neutralized, and great measures of reform may be accomplished speedily. How much better off we all should be, were it not for the folly and injustice that accompany and discredit so many popular and otherwise reasonable demands. The greatest enemies of national reform are frequently the titular reformers themselves; and it is the super-clever folly of these people that is the great obstacle to a vast amount of social reformation. The vulgar notion, that by asking overmuch a reasonable concession can be best obtained, is just the method of the meanest minds; of hucksters, not of gentlemen and Christians. It is a moderate and tentative policy, circumspect and scrupulously equitable in its conception, and liberal and generous in its dealings, that is most secure and most successful; and those who follow such a policy will in due time obtain the confidence, first of the discerning few, then of the whole nation, and eventually the gratitude and reverence of all mankind.

Continuing

Continuing its special interest in local property, the new County Council have objected to the private rights in barriers across the streets in various parts of London; and it is determined to apply to Parliament for their removal, without compensation; a convenient way of getting rid of any inconvenience. But is there any reason why such legislation should not be a precedent for seizing and demolishing the building in which this peculiar resolution has its home; to make the passage from Trafalgar Square into St. James's Park commodious, without a farthing paid for the proprietary rights of the freeholder or the Council? Here is an obstruction to the widening of the public way. Go to, and let us make away with it; the Council have themselves afforded the example.

It is curious that our reforming members of the Council are so ardent to discover little objects for their zeal, in spite of individual right, while they appear incapable of comprehending the enormous mass of their own duty, and of their inherited municipal delinquency. Compare the general chaotic state of London street arrangements with the plans of the great Bedford, Portman, Grosvenor, and Southampton Estates, on some of which these barriers occur; and then consider which exhibits the great, overwhelming space of street obstruction. On these well-administered estates the roads are straight and broad, the squares and gardens numerous and extensive, and the houses mostly of superior size and quality. How reasonable then that the owners of land and property so well laid out should hesitate to allow the roads, for which they gave the land, and which they made so handsomely, to be the open thoroughfares for all the squalid, ill-conditioned neighbourhoods that have been so grievously neglected by the local boards and vestries. Throughout London there has never been, by metropolitan authority, the slightest prescient arrangement or direction of the general plan of thoroughfares and roads. This is all left to individual proprietors, who, as they give their land for public use, of course have the unquestionable right to give according to their own convenience. And London consequently is a tangle of small streets of building frontages, with no regard for any great and through communications in this seemingly illimitable town. When the authorities do set to work to make 'improvements,' such mean, crooked lanes as Shaftesbury Avenue, Charing Cross Road, and the long, confusing, fragmentary zigzag cut through Clerkenwell, are the result. And in the meantime the old wide and spacious City and New Roads are, by the scandalous permission

sion of the Local Boards, contracted to one-third of their original well-planned, quasi-‘permanent’ dimensions.

It would ill become the inheritors of all this folly and neglect to interfere with those who have so liberally performed their duty as proprietary citizens. The proposal by the authorities of such a huge, disreputable state of things as our metropolis displays, to rectify the ways of those who have been setting them so good and so neglected an example, is grotesque. Let the new Council for a long time yet confine their energies and schemes to those parts of the town and suburbs that are least in order, and are also most exclusively their care. Let thoroughfares, as wide at least as Portland Place, with space for trees, be planned and carried out, as was the case a hundred years ago, throughout the suburbs; and three lines of boulevards should be constructed running parallel, from east to west, and north and south, through the metropolis.

There is in London an accumulation of full half a century's arrears of public works; and millions sterling annually spent in the next ten years would hardly overtake the constantly increasing failure, and bring London even up to a Parisian state of order and amenity. The public, in their ignorance or unconscionness, are curiously indignant at the ascertained, or otherwise, shortcomings of poor, impecunious house proprietors. But they, the richest, and in some respects the most instructed people in the world, have been for fifty years almost entirely neglectful of their duty to their neighbours. Thus a great sum is necessary to make London wholesome and attractive, civilizing, and convenient in its arrangements for the comfort and enjoyment of its constantly increasing population; and yet the principal and interest may within fifty years be all paid off by a wise reduction of the excessive drink bill of the great metropolis. When public works have been humanely done, then private works will liberally follow. It is not the exclusively denounced proprietors, but the reckless, dirty, and destructive poor, and the obtuse, censorious public, and their representative officials, who are most to blame. We can relate, for instance, how a house proprietor spent his whole rental for some years in reparation of a street of houses, so that they were raised from the condition of a pauper-ruined ‘rookery’ to one of comfort and approved respectability. The adjoining house proprietors then took courage, and a whole neighbourhood was consequently raised. But the parish, though it was their duty, though the paving rate had been, for fifty years or so, entirely paid, and though their own committee passed the application, would

would not pave the footway; and the liberal house proprietor had to do the work for which he had already paid these knavish vestrymen.

In sanitary matters, also, our parochial authorities have been exceedingly in fault; and here again they have begun their work of reformation and enquiry at the wrong end. They have, quite properly, become attentive to the state of the inferior houses that are occupied by working people; but they have most culpably neglected the established road-side and railway sanitation, that affects the health, for good or evil, of the entire population; and which is or should be under their own absolute control. These arrangements ought to be in all things perfect, ample, and well managed, under official care and constant supervision. They thus might be not merely a convenience but a means of civilization, especially to the working classes and the poor; examples that would lead to corresponding neatness and propriety in their own homes. Such examples will proverbially do more good than mere directions, even backed by power; and the examples may be multiplied, and kept in perfect order, throughout the metropolis. Washhouses and baths may follow; and in one generation we may have a population so reformed and purified that filthiness of every kind will be to them abominable, and all our working people, to the lowest class, will be in cleanliness of person, home, and habitude entirely gentlemen; the great unwashed will be completely washed away.

Another recent object of the popular cupidity is what is called the unearned increment of value; but this, it seems, of land alone. The limitation is unsatisfactory; there is no scientific reason for it. Everywhere around us there is unearned increment; indeed we are ourselves an increment that is gratuitous. Our life is given, and not earned; yet possibly the followers of Mill, when he had deviated into folly, would not say that they themselves are not by right their own possessors as against the world. The question is a simple one of trade; and trade consists of, first, acquirement, then possession, to give time for increment of various kinds, and eventually, profitable sale. The period of possession varies, and the profit on the sale does as a rule follow the length of time in which possession aggrandizes the possessor; for most profit is essentially a form of interest. Retail dealers, who turn over their whole stock twelve times within a year, and make small profits on their quick returns, may think the greater profit prices of a warehouseman or an importer, who deals largely, but at rarer intervals, and at greater risk, to be unjust. And yet these wholesale profits, probably, are less by far than the accumulated retail profits,
with

with their compound interest, in the same period. If commercial profits should become excessive, there are always those who are prepared by competition to reduce them, or to share the gain. The unearned increment of land is merely the trade profit of the holder, who, perhaps for centuries, perhaps for years, has had his capital invested at a pitiful return of interest. If the property is near a town, and by increasing population and the spread of building, it becomes suburban, then the owner loses his position as a country freeholder; he is no longer a personage of local eminence; he is a mere merchant, and his land attains to a position above that of its possessor. It is a mercantile commodity to which the market has come, instead of its being brought, as is usual with articles of trade, to the market.

But it will be said that the land increases in value without any expenditure by its owner, and merely owing to the neighbourhood of increasing population. This is by no means absolutely the case; but what article of trade, apart from manufacture, is enhanced in price or value save by some neighbouring market? The whole question turns therefore on the difference between the subject of sale being brought to the purchasers, or the purchasers coming to the subject of sale. And that this should give the public any right to profits in land is as absurd as would be the suggestion that physicians should be taxed on their home fees; and that there should be a tax on 'Tom and Jerry,' and not on a 'Hole in the Wall'; on the shop where beer is drunk on the premises, and not where it is sold for consumption at home. The whole suggestion is a folly, and was no doubt a consequence of the imperfect knowledge and appreciation of affairs connected with land tenure which Mill shared with the majority of Englishmen.

This greed for the goods of others, which is so rife among the Neo-Liberals, crops up again in the proposal to be made to Parliament to allow the London County Council to take the property that may be consequentially restored in value by 'improvements' that the Council may create. The one-sidedness of the suggestion seems to have escaped the observation of the Council. Demolitions needful for improvements, and the consequent removal of the population, often cause great local injury; and neighbouring tradesmen who remain, though sometimes brought to ruin, have no legal claim for overwhelming loss. Had the Council been of comprehensive view, and practically equitable, their first proposal would have been that consequential *injury* to any property from their proceedings, or, still more perhaps, from the prolonged *neglect* of necessary public works, should be generously paid for; and they then
might,

might, with a semblance only of propriety, have made the incidental benefit they cause a reason for some claim. But, actually, it has been resolved, in a belated scheme to terminate a long-protracted injury, to ask for power to buy the land and houses north of Holywell Street, Strand, expressly that the present owners may not, but that the Council may, achieve whatever gain the removal of adjacent evil property may cause to these long-suffering houses. And not only so, but in this purchasing of property the compensation is to be restricted, in some confiscating and one-sided way, in favour of the public purchasers; and even the customary and equitable 10 per cent. consideration for compulsory disturbance was by the original proposal to have been withheld. Such schemes are very lamentable; they bring discredit on the Council, and prevent their gaining further delegated powers; while they are entirely impossible, since no Parliament would allow a Local Council to eject proprietors without ample compensation, or in order that the public might obtain the crumbs of profit that by accident accrue from public works. If dealings such as this should be allowed, they cannot be restricted to the case of land and house proprietors. Whatever articles the public needs must also be obtained from tradesmen in the quantity and at the price that suits the purchasers; and, if their needs should raise the price of any article, they then might claim the whole supply, in order that the trade might not obtain the current profit of the market thus improved. This would not be true democratic equity, but revolutionary plunder. Listen to a comment from America. 'Where real estate is taken for public use in the exercise by the government of the power of eminent domain, the use for which it is taken must be a public use in the true sense of the word—that is an actual and necessary use by the general public.*' Thus the law of the United States restricts municipalities to public work alone; and Parliament has not commissioned County Councils thus to speculate in land at private people's cost and to the public risk. They have to make improvements, or, in fact, to abate the nuisances that long have been allowed, or have been actually caused by public negligence; and there of course results some consequential benefit and consequential injury. On whom this injury or benefit may come is the abundant risk and chance of business and affairs; but certainly no County Council will be suffered to compete, at an inequitable advantage, with the great public in the ordinary private business that the public carry on.

* The Hon. E. J. Phelps.

That in the Constitution of an absolutely democratic nation there should be such care for the security and rights of property, might make the most advanced among us cautious and considerate. The framers of the Constitution of the United States, though not devoid of party feeling, were, in matters fundamental, statesmen, and not mere 'parliamentary hands.' They knew that the law of the land, the right of private property in land, was a boon and blessing chiefly to the poor; and they were careful that the small proprietor should have the assurance that his territorial investment is indefeasible,—that he is, in property as well as in person, safe from any but a strictly national demand. To a poor man, with a small, and, in general, an insignificant estate, this security must be of far greater value than it would be to the great proprietor, who might lose much of his extensive property without a sense of loss. The inviolability of property is, with the inviolability of the person, the great aim of government, the chief duty of statesmanship; and this dual inviolability is the principal protection for the poor, and more especially for the thrifty, meritorious, and industrious poor.

It will not do to say that such violation of the rights of property may be confined to the cases of those who are in circumstances of comparative wealth and comfort, and that the poor may escape, and be relieved just in proportion to the pressure put upon the rich. This would be but another form of confiscation; and when confiscation is admitted as an expedient, it soon becomes an object. The foolish poor imagine that they can divide among themselves the possessions of the rich; and they have no historic precedents to show them that such plunder, even with legal sanction, always has its ultimate and chief result in misery to the poor, and in the oppression of all classes by a military despotism. Society may, in its careless and good-natured way, permit a gradual encroachment on proprietary rights, as in the recent Acts for plundering Irish landlords—the most mean, disreputable work of fifty years of British *politics*. But in the end a sharp reaction or national decadence is the inevitable alternative, and the poor are those who mostly suffer. The uninstructed and half-educated classes, those who are the great majority in almost every constituency, have no valid knowledge of political and social, fiscal and commercial history, or of the principles on which history in these several branches has proceeded. It behoves, then, those who should be better taught to instruct their brethren, and to lead them by the precedents of history, and by the principles of science to a just appreciation of their own position, and of their real and important interests. At present there appears to be

be a general feeling, that democracy will be quite legitimately turned to account by doing much, or every thing, especially for the poor, by substituting for the irksome duty of personal benevolence the more comprehensive powers of the State; a hypocritical appearance of philanthropy. The scheme looks generous; it is wholly selfish; and every attempt to distinguish between interests and classes in the incidence of national or municipal taxation is fraught with injury, not least to those whom it appears to favour.

It has been asserted that 'in nearly every State in the American Union there is a provision by which, if an owner of land and houses is benefited by improvements made by the public, he must contribute, under the name of "betterment," to the expense of those operations which have enhanced the value of his own property.' In those great cities of the Union, where sometimes Irish 'bosses' rule, there are things done that we in England should revolt at. Lamentable roads and pavements, and the overhead street railway, would be just as unacceptable with us as 'betterment' for frontages in towns. This American provision, with its barbarous name, is not, however, it appears, the law of the land, but, like much bad recent legislation in the Union, it is special in some States. And we in England have in certain cases somewhat similar provisions authorized by special Acts of Parliament for the direct and ascertained improvement of a district; but with the wide, essential difference of an agreed and equitable schedule of the cost to each proprietor. In large agricultural drainage areas, for instance, and for embankments, such contributions are generally made. In such agricultural works the improvement caused to various qualities and sites of land may be approximately estimated; the occasions for such estimates are rare, and there is seldom much of consequential injury to set off against such agricultural improvement. But in London, metropolitan improvements must be always going on in various districts of the town; and to set up a vague system of indefinite demands for often undiscovered, consequential benefit, with, of necessity, concessions for the similarly consequential, frequent damage—to be known as 'worsement' by American analogy—would, by creating hosts of terrified opponents, tend to increase enormously the difficulty of making such improvements, and would otherwise result in no advantage to the public, since the claims and the concessions would so often practically balance one another. The very name of a London improvement would become a by-word, causing apprehension instead of hope, and raising frantic and determined opposition.

But, besides all this, it should be noticed that in America it is 'an owner of land and houses' that is benefited. Here, in London, as has just been shown, the freehold lessor is *not* benefited; and even an owner, who has let his house on lease, may reap no gain. The tenant has the immediate, though uncertain, advantage of the improvement; but before the lease expires this problematical advantage may be wholly cancelled by the changing current of trade routes, or of residential fashion, or even by some future, for this special property, injurious metropolitan improvement, or neglect. In America the owner is also frequently the occupier; houses are mostly freehold, and the leasehold system does not occur in any noticeable way. The circumstances there are wholly different from those of property in London; and the reference to America is entirely beside the mark. Yet this exotic scheme has been adopted by the London County Council almost without discussion, certainly without discernment; two-thirds of the Council voting for it. But not one among them had the grace to move a resolution to compel the legal preservation of the gardens all along our fine projected boulevard from Finsbury to Paddington. They neglected their own obvious duty; one of infinitely more importance than the demolition of all Holywell Street. But then it *is* their duty, and is therefore onerous. How much more satisfactory and clever to evade it, and to overreach—to 'best' may be perhaps the 'business-like' expression—a small group of isolated people in the Strand!

It seems that here we have two classes, well defined, though not coincident: the residents throughout London, who elect the Council; and the owners, possibly non-resident, and therefore non-electors, who would be the victims of this pretty scheme. Thus, representation and taxation are to be dissociated and antagonistic; and we have a many-headed tyranny proposed to Englishmen. Is it a comedy?

Of late, since Liberalism has been dominant in State affairs, there has been an accumulation of neglect concerning the great thoroughfares of London; and for the initiation of an improvement nothing is more valuable than some personal and local interest directly in its favour. But this foolish scheme of 'betterment' makes those who might become the active motors of municipalities in such affairs the strenuous opponents of material improvements. They will have before them an uncertain gain, or an unmeasured loss; and such uncertainty, to most men, is a terrifying prospect. But there is, besides, the certainty of a protracted, duplex, parliamentary contest, and an expensive suit at law, with years of cankering anxiety,
grievously

grievously imposed upon them in their own despite. This novel project is a specimen of clever dulness, that can see intensely a first gain, but takes no cognizance of ultimate results or of anterior rights, and has no care for probable contingencies.

Every material improvement is projected for the convenience of all the people of the town; and by convenience is meant, not mere comfort, but facility of passage tending to the benefit of trade. Those who are interested in expanding, quickly-paying, trade investments, find that with abundant space for traffic trade returns improve; and they can therefore start new business at a profit. Men of business, who thus have the benefit of the improvements, are infinitely more numerous than the local owners; but no claim is made on them for 'betterment.' Their assets are not localized, nor obvious to the world, and are, besides, so multifarious that they do not class under a special name. But if these people had retired from business, and had invested their late business capital in land, at possibly a tenth of the return that they received from trade, then if a metropolitan improvement comes within a little distance of that land, although they have paid their full share for the improvement, and although they have retired from active user of the streets and roads, they are to pay enormous 'betterment' for what they never may be better for. Their property is by the road side, the lackland populace is envious of it; and, as most men are sinners, and have predatory instincts, this exposed minority is to be made the prey of greater numbers, who may 'have the power.' It is obvious that those who aggregately gain the most by these new roads are those who use them most; and if some partisan complexity is needful to accompany such public works, a toll or turnpike on the road would be the least unfair arrangement.

But all such schemes would be unfair. No class of people should be taxed exclusively a second time for any public object. The existence of municipal government is founded on the principle of general, and not special, contributions. The first object of all government is not the welfare of the public, but the welfare of the individual; which is or should be best secured by public union and mutual help. To frame laws for special contributions for a general good, on any crude distinction of proportioned benefit, is to reverse the process of all social order, and of fundamental right.

This scheme of 'betterment' has probably found some favour owing to dissatisfaction with the work, and its results, at Shaftesbury Avenue. The late Board of Works planned their

improvements so as to make use, as far as possible, of the old streets; and thus the roads are indirect and mean; and many of the public feel that these improvements have been spoiled, though to the, very just, advantage of the inferior property along the old frontages. The County Council should adopt a wholly different method; they should make a comprehensive plan for streets and roads and squares throughout the whole of Greater London, so that every part may have its local 'betterment,' and none may say that others have had undue preference; but that time and means shall be eventually found to do the whole. Wherever property is really 'bettered,' from whatever cause, the rents will rise, and annual rates will rise in due proportion. Here we have the perfect test of 'betterment,' together with full equitable charge or payment for the local gain. But that, without their concurrence or desire, a few selected individuals, within an arbitrary boundary, immediately outside of which no extra claim is to occur, should pay, beyond their equitable due, another share of the expense of works of general public need and benefit, would be a new departure in our English law. It would be more appropriate in those Oriental countries where, when murder happens, those found nearest to the corpse are tried for the offence. That a community, as small as that of a poor market town, should thus be mulcted to supply a main highway for some five millions of the richest people in the world, would be a modern parallel with expiatory human sacrifices; a return in form to elementary barbarism.

For more than one generation the condition of the Strand district has been a public scandal, and its improvement was a recognized neglected public duty. Those interested in the immediate locality have suffered grievously for generations from this great neglect. The first discovery the Council have to make is the full compensation that is due to this afflicted district for the evil it has borne so long; the proposal now to tax these people for removing it appears indeed absurd. And then the case is so exceedingly exceptional: why should the Strand be mulcted, after all its sufferings, when places that have quite escaped such ills, and have indeed been always in a state of 'betterment,' are yet exempt from double taxes? The fine neighbourhoods of all the West End parks have been for generations specially improved: and why does Church Street, Newington, escape, with Clissold Park to 'better' it? In the new Bill for buying Brockwell Park there is no clause compelling a small circle of proprietors to pay a special tax. Perhaps, however, with sufficient patience, we shall find

Sir

Sir Sydney Waterlow's munificent surrender of his land at Highgate Hill resulting in a 'betterment' taxation of his old, at present very thankful, neighbours there.

The project is in absolute antagonism to the principle on which the County Council has been called into existence; namely, that public works, so long delayed and urgent throughout London, should be done at the combined expense of a 'Community' as general and widely spread as is convenient; and that, without undue pressure on a limited constituency, these needful works may be immediately or promptly undertaken. Thus the London County Council is in principle, as well as name, a 'Comity,' for mutual and general help, and not for arbitrary, sectional taxation. The Strand district needs improvement, but so also needs, in various measure, every part of London. And is each part to be segregated in its turn, and plundered by the rest? A curious kind of Comity! Are we to have the barbarism, of the major and the stronger raiding on the minor and the weak, adopted as a system? This would neither harmonize with Christian doctrine nor accord with common sense. Rather let the entire population take the weight of one another's burdens, so that all the long-delayed and necessary works throughout the great metropolis may be advanced; and thus that all may have their share of special benefit in proper turn. If this new Comity is not to be effectual, but only a pretence, then let the fact be known and regulated. Let the pseudo-County Council be abolished, and small district parishes be formed, each with its own constituent taxing council, and control of local public works.

That any 'betterment' is required and possible, by reason of the long-delayed improvements in a town, is a discredit, almost criminal in local government, and should be treated as a misdemeanour. Public improvements should be made by prescient wisdom, in anticipation and advance of public need; so that no injury might accrue to any property, and no improvement therefore could be charged against it. But in London, owing to the ignorance, the inexperience, and the consequent ineptitude of the great population in the things that most substantially concern them, the metropolis is now, except where some extensive private enterprise prevents, a mass of hideous injury, permitted, and thus in effect committed, by consecutive authorities; who now pretend to tax the injured for the abatement of the evil that so long has been, by this municipal neglect, inflicted on them.

As to the limit of the claim for 'betterment' to a defined and arbitrary line; who is the man that in his absolute, unerring wisdom,

wisdom, traced this line, that all the world should take it for a real boundary; that those within it should be subject to un-English powers of exceptional taxation, worthy of the Stuarts, to a costly opposition in the Legislature, and to all the miseries and dangers of protracted law proceedings, while the other side of a mere knife edge, with its infinitely widespread area of population, should not only be exempt, but should actually be gainers by this act of arbitrary condemnation on their most immediate neighbours? To trace an even plausible, or seeming equitable limit, would be as impossible as to define the various colours in a rainbow. In the present complex state of property, and with the general public ignorance of law, the Legislature should do everything to prevent such sectional, unnecessary litigation. Compensation cases are notorious for abundant venal evidence on either side, and for particularly strenuous advocacy. Thus, though the awards are often high, these hardly compensate for the anxiety and mental trouble caused to peaceful, quiet men by such vexatious and perplexing contests. Public policy is utterly averse to such developments of law, in damage of the subject; and the Act prohibiting a property in news once published is a precedent in opposition to this scheme for raising endless litigations about 'betterments.'

Another curious point is made of the continuous and necessary fact, that in the neighbourhood of London there are areas of land unoccupied by buildings, which are rated at their agricultural value, though their price if sold would be immensely in excess of that of fields or garden ground. What next? Is every man of brains, who does not make an income, to be taxed according to his possibilities of profit, if he were in active work in a profession? Is our London clay to be all rated as if it were made up into houses? Are our turnips, food for sheep, to be all valued as prime mutton? For a philosopher to utter such peculiar nonsense is a bad thing for philosophy. Have such people never heard the expression *realized* property? Why, if land unoccupied should be thus rated, should not houses when unoccupied be rated also; and why should not every tradesman be taxed on the value of the goods that in his shop await a sale, and not on his expenditure, or on his profit income only? Let us go again to America and hear what one of the great men, who framed the American Constitution, says on this important subject. Gouverneur Morris writes on the proposal now revived by Mr. John Morley and his teachers, to 'tax capital apart from rent.'

'It is very true that the land tax is in the mildest view of it an act of injustice. No government can rightfully exact more than a fair

fair proportion of income. To go further and take the capital is no longer taxation, it is confiscation.

'Relying on long experience and mature reflection, I hesitate not to assert that plenty, power, numbers, wealth, and felicity, will ever be in proportion to the security of property. Unless by agrarian laws the fabric of society be demolished, some individuals will become rich. These, if precluded from enjoying their wealth at home, will go abroad or employ it in accumulating more; whereas, if our institutions be such as reasonably to encourage objects of taste and magnificence, not only our wealthy citizens, who are fond of expense, will be kept at home, but wealthy foreigners may be induced, by the general freedom and ease of our manners, to come and reside among us. Many also, diverted from accumulations of property dangerous to liberty, will employ those without whose labour works of taste and magnificence cannot be executed.'

And our working classes should deliberately and constantly consider this advantage of accumulated wealth for their employment. Mr. John Morley has been well instructed by his manufacturing constituents at Newcastle, and is sound on the wages question; but in London he has accepted, in pure ignorance we must suppose, the nonsense that our local demagogues and revolutionists have reported to him. To see this gentleman and scholar lowered on a public platform to the level of a Cogers Hall is pitiful.

To quote again from sound democracy, we have, in a most interesting address delivered in Edinburgh by Mr. Phelps, the late Minister of the United States to St. James's, a statesman and a lawyer, well accustomed to affairs, and not a chamber student gone astray, some cogent arguments on the essential right of property.

'In various parts of the world at the present time, in many forms, under many theories, and upon widely differing propositions, the right of property has been brought into question, has given rise to violent discussion, and has become sometimes the subject of serious disturbance.

'In some quarters it takes the form of active opposition to all private property and to all government. Such propositions are only appropriately met by the bullet and the rope.

'As civilization has advanced, and the ability of mankind has been more and more turned to the acquisition of wealth, inequalities in its possession and its display have become more numerous and more conspicuous; and the line between the rich and the poor has been more sharply drawn, that was plain enough before. That this disparity should be removed by legislation, that it should become the office of the law to secure in some way a more equal distribution, and to enrich poverty by diminishing wealth, that the labourer should somehow come to receive more than his hire, and that the
unfortunate,

unfortunate, the idle, and the prodigal, should share the prosperity they have not created, are specious propositions, eagerly listened to by those whom they promise to benefit. They afford very facile material to philosophers who are more gifted in speech than in clear understanding, and to demagogues who wish to excite the multitude rather than to instruct them.

‘One among many of the favourite methods by which reformers of this sort purpose to equalize property is to bring to bear upon those whom property has rendered obnoxious the power of excessive and unequal taxation, and, under the cover of this abuse, to take from the rich for the benefit of the poor.’

We are in danger now not merely from erroneous philosophers, but from the bad leading, the unscientific teaching, and the unprincipled expediency of those who know much better than they do or say, and who are therefore to be seriously reprobated. ‘When men are brought to abandon the paths of justice, it is not easy to arrest their progress at any particular point;’ and recent legislation in Ireland, interfering, at the expense of one party, in the business affairs between landlord and tenant, is such an infringement of the law of contract as would never be permitted in democratic America, and as may, unless it is speedily obliterated, though not reversed, by the extension of Lord Ashbourne’s Act, lead us into a period of revolution and commercial anarchy. If the position of the Irish tenant was a difficult one, inviting legislative aid, that aid should have been given at the cost of the nation, and not at the cost of a limited class. Land, it was said, was much too dear; but what commercial object is not over-dear to those who have no money, and who have neither opportunity, ability, nor inclination, to procure the necessary funds for contract payments? Land at the landlords’ rental is phenomenally cheap in Ireland. The reason why it is called dear is, that there is an epidemic indolence in Irish peasantry that paralyses them whenever work is optional. It is constantly repeated that the peasants have employed their time for centuries in reclaiming land and building cottages, &c. More is the pity; it is a disgrace that millions of the people have been for centuries engaged in such contemptible and futile work. All that has been done of this kind in the west of Ireland might easily have been accomplished by the children under age of one generation, had they been industrious. The Irish have for centuries been ‘hanging about,’ not working on the land. Had they worked like Lombards, Flemings, or Chinese, at agriculture and the arts, their country would by this time have become a fruitful and continuous garden, every part of it in some way utilized and made

made to bear the utmost profit that the soil and climate would produce; and the population of the country would have been much more than doubled in a century, instead of being, as of late, reduced one-half, while its accumulated wealth would have increased tenfold. That evictions have been numerous, and that buildings have been frequently destroyed, has been a blessing to the careless, helpless Irish, only somewhat in disguise. The rents were confiscated to appease a blatant agitation; and, as is the case when weak expediency takes the place of sturdy rectitude, the confiscation has not satisfied these idle claimants. Mr. Gladstone's Land Bills were a violation of the very principle of sound commercial statesmanship that he for forty years upheld; and so his policy has justly failed. And now, to save the order of society, the general cession of the dual ownership throughout a large proportion of the country must be rendered practically possible, and must be speedily accomplished.

This plan of giving a majority of the people a sole interest in a portion of the soil is the most general and cogent means for regulating the expanding current of political affairs, and for securing weight, and judgment, and experience in our municipalities. With a multitudinous electorate, there must also be a multitudinous proprietary, or land will never be safe from envious attacks. Post-office savings banks have made Consols secure under the widest suffrage. How little of the recent 'philosophic' nonsense would have come to words, if the constituencies had contained a majority of freeholders, who knew and could appreciate the circumstances and the rights of real property. For property in land, the cost of transfer should be so abated, and simplicity of transfer should be so increased, that every man might hope, without undue expenditure, to be a freeholder of England. And if every voter represented some free portion of the soil, the progress of the nation in political affairs and in material and social benefit, especially in towns, would be more speedy and much more secure. Instead of entering on a fraudulent crusade against the rights and equities of property, our new municipalities should seek to found themselves on an extensive and intelligent constituency of freehold resident proprietors; the residential representatives of local property should be our local governors. Such men would have a constant interest in every occurrence in the district, and would bring this interest to bear on all affairs affecting their own neighbourhood. The great evil of our present state is that the public are, except by way of gossip, almost wholly careless about everything beyond the interior of their temporary domicile

domicile in each locality; and are but little interested and informed on even great imperial affairs.

When an unreasonable claim is made by any prominent proportion of the public, it is well, besides direct and controverting argument, to get behind the matter in discussion, and discover what are the permitting and the actual causes of the claim. At present the great general ignorance of the law and incidents of land and houses, due to the law and incidents themselves, is the true origin of all the trouble between landlords and the public. These things, to the majority of Englishmen, are perplexing and repulsive. To them land is not a source of happiness, or benefit, or profit; it is in the nature of an impost, and they have continually to pay some landlord. How this all happens they have never sought to see; the whole business is to them mysterious, and, besides, is terribly expensive, so that they recoil from all connected with it. Thus the nation, by the mere complexities of law, is dualized and disunited; even those who hold the land can hardly ever understand the means by which they hold it. On the other hand the general public, hating, as is natural, what they do not comprehend, and what so frequently makes claims upon them, in their blindness and their torment, rush quite wildly at the landlords. Yet it is not the landlords but the land-laws that are public enemies; the landlords being the chief sufferers. These laws are not conservative, but in effect and influence revolutionary; they are a relic of a state of things long since departed, and are as cumbrous and embarrassing as plate-armour and two-handed swords would be for self-defence in modern war. The most conservative and liberal reform, that the great Union party could now undertake, would be the work of simplifying all commercial dealings with the land; thus bringing the proprietors of land and the great public into general accord; and by this combination vastly adding to their mutual benefit and common happiness.

The necessary foundation of such reform of our land laws and tenure is a series of large maps and plans. The whole territory of the British Isles should be surveyed and drawn to such a scale that a mere pig-stye might be shown in accurate dimensions, and the boundaries of every property, however small, should be distinctly given. Where necessary, each property might be upon a separate sheet, and every square mile, square acre, and square chain should be so numbered that the several plans may be immediately discoverable. All territorial boundaries should be revised; and so adjusted that, as may be convenient, each square mile should be entirely in one county, and

and each acre wholly in one parish. The plans should be in triplicate, one set in a central registry, another in each county office, and a third should be, for consultation and commercial use, confided to the local registrar; who, with the assistance of surveyors and lithographers, should prepare the public plans and private copies, with particulars, as may be necessary for the transfer, subdivision, or combination of the several properties, and for the current modifications and extensions of buildings in each district. The plans should be supplied and transfers made and registered at a special charge, sufficient just to cover the expenses actually incurred, with a commission for the general cost of the establishment. Each superseded plan should be retained and filed, and each new plan deposited at the national, the county, and the local offices. In contracts for sale the register and plan, with the necessary modifications, would be a sufficient description so far as the boundaries of the property in question are required, but in house property and buildings a further cartographic statement in detail might be of value. Mortgages would all be registered at the transfer office; and there should be a Supreme Court, with experienced assessors, for the adjustment of disputes on appeal from the awards of local registrars, and for what are now in terror known as compensation cases.

The chief benefit that can at present be conferred upon the landed interest, and a sure method of stability for County Councils, is such a cheap system of title-plans and registers, as we have thus described, in substitution for the cumbersome and costly deeds and documents that make dealings in land so tedious and expensive as to be almost penal. Land should of all things be the simplest to exchange; it is obvious, its quality and form are everywhere demonstrable, and it remains, with very limited exceptions, permanent. This quality of permanence should be the very means for almost perfect business-like facility for change of ownership and for stability and clearness of title. But the present legal system of deeds and descriptions is a relic of benighted times when maps and plans had ceased to be. The Romans, the great legists of the world, had their large plans in metal and in marble,* but in the Middle Ages all such records had been lost or superseded; and the clerk, with his caligraphy and parchments, was the substitute for the old workmen who engraved the Roman plans.

This system of legal and literary description must be abandoned, if the land of England is to reach its full com-

* See the Pianta Capitolina at Rome.

mercial value. At present the land is kept out of the general market by the initiatory uncertain but extravagant expense of law in every transaction. It is true that commerce of all kinds, in land as in other things, must be under the protection of the law; but legislation should at once define all landed and house properties in the only way by which these properties can be efficiently distinguished and appreciated by the people. When this has been done, then nine-tenths at least of all the law costs in respect of landed and house property will cease, while the general amount of business will increase a hundred-fold. The public will regard a transfer of such property with hardly more concern than any transfer of Consols or railway stock; the market price of land and houses will be accurately known, and daily advertised, so that compensations will be as easy and as inexpensive, as they are now difficult and costly to adjust; commerce in land, being open and attractive, will develop; land proprietors will greatly multiply, and land will correspondingly increase in value.

The continuance of legal documents, in substitution for authoritative plans, as title records, is a result and evidence of the general severance of the public from the legal management of real property. The public, and the landed proprietors especially, thus seldom understand their own affairs. Those who have most association with the land itself, who know its character, and quality, and boundaries, are shut out from authoritative conduct of land transfers; and these peculiar transactions are entrusted to a class of gentlemen who know practically nothing of the business, except what they get from antiquated documents, or by information at second hand. At every transfer there is a recital and description; and a parchment full of words is needed for the most insignificant transaction. It would seem indeed, that the document, or documents, were not the means but the true object of the undertaking; and that legal verbosity rather than practical demonstration were the means for securing property in land. Law as an abstract science is no doubt a miracle of wisdom; but the lawyers, in their sedentary state, have not only added phrase to phrase and clause to clause in legal documents, until the title to a piece of land becomes a physical and mental burden, but they have in their apparently defective perspicacity made the law of property a means and element of gross injustice. As an instance, English judge-made law has recently developed what is called the Law of Ancient Lights, resulting in an Act of Parliament, by which a builder or proprietor, erecting buildings, so that he obtains light for his windows mostly or entirely from his neighbour's ground, acquires

acquires in twenty years a right to this advantage; and his neighbour absolutely loses his inherent right to build on his own land. A small plot of ground may become so surrounded by tall factories, with their windows looking over it, that unless the owner builds a wall some sixty feet in height all round the plot, so as to obscure the encroaching windows, his land becomes in twenty years an 'easement' merely for his neighbour's property; and his right to build on it becomes almost or utterly extinguished. A protecting wall of due proportions might cost greatly more than the whole value of the included plot of land; but this is the only way by which the owner can retain the free use of his own estate.

This solecism is peculiarly English, and particularly Metropolitan. At the west end of the town, and wherever there have been demolitions of houses, the notice 'Ancient Lights' is seen; and such notice is too frequently the proclamation of a wrong inflicted by the undiscernment of a century of English judges. Roman law, with that of Scotland, recognizes no such rights on other people's land. In Scotland a dominant right of light 'cannot be acquired by mere prescription, or without the express consent of the proprietor of the servient tenement. Though one should for a century of years together have in the exercise of his property applied himself to one particular use of it: though, for instance, he should during that whole period have kept his lands in grass, or contented himself with a house thirty feet high, he cannot be thereby precluded from building on those lands, or raising any house already built to what height he pleases, however prejudicial it may prove to the light or prospect of the neighbouring tenement. His having before confined himself to one use is to be ascribed not to obligation or servitude, which is never to be presumed, but to choice' (Erskine's 'Institutes of the Law of Scotland.')

And under such a law how different is new Edinburgh from modern London; what a contrast is the amplitude and spaciousness of the one, to the crowding and congestion of the other.

The English nonsense goes so far that even 'rights of air' have been of late years formulated; and railway companies have been denied the rights of occupancy and possession for which they have paid so heavily. An adjacent proprietor has, it seems, by some recent decision of the courts, a right of light over a railway; so that if the company require to build upon their land, they may have to ask the authority of Parliament to buy again the new factitious rights of the adjacent and encroaching house proprietor; to pay indeed a second time for their so dearly bought possessions.

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The cause of these mistakes would seem to be sheer inexperience. Lawyers know something about law, but possibly but little about property apart from law; and when they have to go beyond *lex scripta*, and to create precedents, they do this probably with little practical experience or information. Legal cobwebs have so dangerously obscured the conditions of property that lawyers themselves become at times half blind when dealing with these troublesome affairs; and thus their law becomes injustice. Thus, the absurd and unjust Act 2 & 3 William IV., cap. 71, should be at once repealed, that individual proprietary rights may be again secured; cannot the County Council introduce the necessary Bill? The present state of the law tends to the suffocation of our towns; builders are always cribbing light which they ought to provide for on their own land; and thus again the public suffers for permitting private wrong.

Such inexperience is the great failing also of most newly constituted public bodies. Just a century ago in Paris there was a great Assembly, that, by its accumulated inexperience, entailed on France a hundred years of revolution, three invasions, and a crushing debt; might not our new London County Council, then, be cautious? Much that has recently been resolved on is beyond the experience and the comprehension of those members who so promptly voted in its favour, and the result can only be to lower the repute and status of the Council in the estimation of all well-informed and reasonable men. The Council is not an imperial power; it is subordinate, and cannot force its dicta on the public by a mere majority of its own voters; and if it resolves on wrong, and finds itself rebuked by parliamentary reversals, then its prestige will suffer. Would it not be better, before adopting fiscal novelties, to make economic science somewhat of a study? The majority of those who constitute the Council, and of those who have elected them, can have had little time for studies of this kind; nor are these London gentlemen exceptional in their deficiency. Yet Mr. Gladstone, in his present agony, has sought to bribe the unconscious County Councils with the 'power of taxation!' Probably the London Council have adopted many of their errors in the notion, that, as they have been propounded by some members of the Liberal party, therefore the proposals must themselves be liberal, and just. The fact is, that these schemes are mean and selfish to absurdity; and consequently so unjust that no Imperial Parliament would sanction them. A very safe and prudent rule for members of the Council, individually and collectively, would be to vote for nothing that they do not practically

practically understand. Quite recently the London County Council have refused to appoint an engineer, because, as it was said, though of remarkable ability, he was not known to be especially adept at drains and sewers. Might not such prudent caution be applied by members of the Council to themselves; that, by a self-denying ordinance, those only who are well instructed in political economy shall advise the Council on new schemes of fiscal incidence? The matters that are now within their comprehension are quite wide and numerous enough to engross their best attention for a year or two; and in that time they may have opportunity to study earnestly the science of political economy and fiscal charges. The works that are prefixed above would be an excellent curriculum. And for the present it would be advisable to regard with great suspicion any very clever scheme—'so simple too'—for raising funds in some new way, by which the general public will not feel the burden!

To recapitulate. Taxation, of whatever kind, on property is economically wrong; and annual taxation is for annual outlay, whether the result be annual, or transient, or quasi-permanent. The rights of property should be maintained; and this chiefly in the interest of the poor. 'The less a man has, if he has anything, the more important it is to him that it should be safe. No property can be safe when the general security that protects all is lost. It is a delusion to imagine that this security can be impaired to a certain extent and maintained for the residue; that it may be made the subject of a fluctuating protection on the lines of moral justice, at the will of the governing power.' In Ireland 'moral justice' has, it seems, been done, with an injustice so immoral that it has demoralized two-fifths of the Imperial constituency; and Mr. Gladstone's Irish chickens are returning here to roost. To maintain the right against our Liberal marauders, it is essential that, here as in Ireland, the representatives of real property, the owners of the land, should be by every method made numerically strong in the constituencies; that to this end the freedom of the land from the accumulated and unbearable encumbrance of the law should be secured; that those who deal with land should have its management, instead of legists who can but discourse about it; and that all titles should be simplified, and codified, and registered, in substitution for perplexing, cumbrous title-deeds. It is of little use to appeal to an immense majority of ignorant and greedy lacklands to protect the rights of property; proprietors must see to it that they have numbers to support the rights of rich and poor, each to his own possessions.

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On this foundation of a broad and numerous constituency, of permanent proprietary interests, our County Council may be durably constructed. Here, in London, those who form the great majority in country towns, the shopkeepers and tradesmen, who have local interests of some duration, are in a distinct minority; the 'floating element' of various ranks is the majority of the constituency, and to turn these nomads into local owners is a present chief concern and duty of the Legislature.

This being done, the London County Council may go heartily to work to make of London a fit, habitable territory for its multiplying millions. A commission should at once be issued, at whatever cost, to enquire and to report upon the possibility and means for getting rid entirely of coal smoke. Great thoroughfares, direct and broad, should be laid out and planted; and by means of plentiful small parks and gardens the great London populace should be put immediately into prompt communication with the scenery of nature; so that, with abundant light and air, we may expect and hope that the next generation of our poorer citizens will soon be raised in strength and stature from mere manikins to men, and by continued culture into gentlemen. The most urgent duty of the Council is to gain, as soon as possible, possession of every available and open space in central and suburban London; and particularly to preserve the general public right in the front open gardens on each side of the road from Marylebone to Old Street, which, by the Act of Parliament for making this New Road, were always to remain unbuilt upon. Any new building placed upon these gardens was to be treated by the authorities as a common nuisance, and removed; but local vestries and the recent ill-conditioned Board of Works conspired, and permitted this enormous lung of London to be gradually congested. Is the County Council now prepared to sanction and complete this manifest and marvellous iniquity?

We have a corporate body now in London, who mean business, who have a mind to their work; and, if their first mistakes are clearly pointed out, it is but a considerate warning, to prevent persistent or still wider error. The new London County Council will soon learn that rating and taxation are not to be guided by political or social impulse, but are properly controlled by science founded on experience. To repudiate and contravene this science is to commence the revolution; and from revolution to sheer despotism is but a step.

- ART. X.—1. *Speech of the Marquis of Salisbury at Nottingham, Nov. 28th, 1889.*
 2. *Speeches of Mr. Gladstone at Manchester, Dec. 2nd and 3rd, 1889.*
 3. *Programme of the National Liberal Federation.*
 4. *Speeches of Mr. Balfour at Edinburgh, Dec. 4th and 5th, 1889.*
 5. *Mr. Morley at Dundee, Dec. 9th, 1889.*
 6. *Mr. Parnell at Nottingham, Dec. 17th, 1889.*
 7. *Mr. Parnell at Liverpool, Dec. 19th, 1889.*

THE Government will very shortly enter upon the fourth Session of the present Parliament, and it would be in accordance with precedent, and with the general anticipation, if that Session should prove to be of great moment in the history of the party in power. It is known that questions of extreme difficulty and gravity will inevitably arise. The problem of Land Purchase in Ireland will be dealt with, and everyone who has examined the subject, no matter how superficially, must be well aware that the task of attempting to reconcile all the conflicting interests at stake might well baffle the highest powers of statesmanship. It is also certain that the Tithes question will again present itself for settlement, and prolonged discussions are inevitable on the Report of the Parnell Commission. The forces of the Opposition, though disorganized by internal jealousies and divisions, are more hopeful than they have been since the public judgment went so heavily against them at the General Election. The turning-point in the history of this Parliament has been reached, and henceforth it is on its way down hill towards its end. An Opposition in a considerable minority always longs for a dissolution, and we may easily give Mr. Gladstone's followers credit for sincerity in their professions of eagerness to bring about an appeal to the country at the earliest moment. They cannot well be worse off than they are now; the hazard of the ballot-box may, perhaps, improve their position. Their spirits have also been raised by a few successes at bye-elections, of which they are entitled to make the most, in conformity with the custom of all parties when exiled from office. Their onsets will consequently have more dash and vigour in them than they were able to impart last year to their somewhat ludicrous assaults. They will fight desperately from the opening of the Session till the close. So much may safely be predicted. It is probable that they may even succeed for a time in acting as if they were a united party, having implicit confidence in their leader. Not a solitary

opportunity will be lost of inflicting a blow upon the Ministry. To render the daily work of the Government as hard as possible, and to discredit all who are engaged in carrying it on, will be the aim by day and night of the discordant groups which now recognize nothing more than a formal allegiance to Mr. Gladstone. We believe that the Government and the party may contemplate this prospect with equanimity, for reasons which are based upon the solid ground of fact, and which are not evoked out of the excited imaginations of a political mob hungry for office.

Whenever the people are called upon to give their verdict on Lord Salisbury's Administration, they will not fail to take into consideration the actual results which have been accomplished, and the position in which the country has been placed. Such a survey of the field must lead every person in whose mind there is even an elementary sense of justice to admit, that the Government and the Conservative party have deserved well of the nation, and that there could not be a greater contrast than that which is presented by the first four years of Mr. Gladstone's Administration and the similar period of Lord Salisbury's. Instead of universal depression in trade, largely caused by a widespread sense of insecurity, and the uneasiness produced by incessant alarms and complications in foreign affairs, we have a very remarkable and substantial revival in almost all departments of commerce. Instead of numerous and frequent murderous outrages in Ireland, and a condition of the people verging upon civil war, we have that country in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity to an extent which has not been equalled for many years past. Instead of having upon our hands a harassing and costly war in Egypt, and dangerous misunderstandings and disputes accumulating in our relations with Russia, Egypt is tranquil, her finances are getting into a healthy state, and we are on the best of terms with Russia and with all the other Great Powers of the world. We have not the burning of Alexandria to deplore; no massacred garrisons to rise up against us with their fatal reproach of 'too late;' no blood of a deserted Gordon to answer for; no 100,000,000*l.* Budget and Vote of Credit to fear. These points of contrast will not be forgotten by the people; and the more they are examined, the stronger will be found the claims of the Ministry to a favourable judgment on all the chief counts in the indictment against it.

We do not pretend to say that the Irish Question has been settled. Nothing short of a miracle could have effected that. But the law has been maintained, order has been restored.

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These are ends which the Irish party regard with derision; 'law and order' cannot be mentioned without exciting laughter; but the great body of the nation attaches considerable importance to them. The people of Ireland have been brought to understand, that those who break the law will have to suffer for it, while those who observe it have nothing to fear. And it must be remembered that the Government has not had a smooth and level road before it. The Irish agitators have never been more active, nor have they ever received so much encouragement from one of the regularly constituted English parties. The Plan of Campaign was launched with great prospects of success. There was money enough at the command of the agitators to carry on a dozen 'Plans,' although in course of time it melted away in the manner and with the rapidity of which so many examples could be found in the history of Irish conspiracies and secret societies. Who does not remember the confident attitude of the Parnellites when the Ministry came into office? The Conservatives were to be turned out in six months. The Government was dared to produce a 'Coercion Bill,' and one of the minor leaders did not hesitate even to declare that, if he and his colleagues failed to force the Government into a position in which such a measure became absolutely indispensable, the cause of Home Rule would be thrown back for many years. 'We will first drive you into coercion,' it was said in effect, 'and then coercion will ruin you.' Parliament performed the duty which the Government cast upon it. The Crimes Act was passed. What is more, it was put into operation without fear or favour. Mr. Balfour had to go through the usual ordeal prepared for every Irish Secretary who is determined to enforce the laws. On the other hand, he was sustained by the overwhelming weight of public opinion, by the support of a united party, and by the great power of an Act which requires no renewal. We can all remember how weakened and hampered Mr. Forster was by the knowledge, that in a short space of time it would be necessary to go to Parliament for a renewal of the measure under which he had to keep the peace in Ireland, and by the fact, that a large and influential section of his own party were inflexibly opposed to that measure, and even to the presence of Mr. Forster in the Irish office. These were terrible difficulties to face, and fortunately there has been nothing resembling them since that time. The anxieties which Mr. Balfour has had to bear have not been aggravated by treachery among his own colleagues. The Conservative party have stood in unbroken phalanx behind him, and the public at

large have resolutely supported both. It was a very different state of affairs, when Mr. Morley was bitterly assailing Mr. Forster in what was then the chief organ of the Liberal party, when Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, showed every disposition to desert his Irish Secretary, and when the hour was rapidly approaching for going to Parliament to ask for the extension of powers which the Radical section, already intriguing afresh for the Irish vote, was determined not to grant.

What has been the result thus far of a comparatively brief period of Conservative rule in Ireland? Does it or does it not justify the confidence which a majority of the nation placed in the Government at the last election? If we look at historical facts alone, there can be no doubt about the answer. Ireland, as a whole, obeys the law, and the people are thriving, the deposits in the banks are rapidly increasing, and if rents are not being regularly paid, it is not, as many competent witnesses avouch, because the tenants are without means. No doubt there still is distress in some parts of the country, but the causes of it are apparently beyond the reach of any laws. It has existed at all times, and under all parties. Of course the agitators are dissatisfied, as they have good reason to be. Their occupation is well-nigh gone. They are endeavouring to establish a new League, the second in the series under Parnellite rule having become pretty thoroughly discredited. But the money comes in very slowly. The great source of supply, which was once thought to be inexhaustible, and which springs from the credulity of Irish Americans, seems at length to have dried up. The Irish farmers desire only to be left alone to make the best of the good seasons which are filling their pockets. Intimidation has been suppressed, or driven into obscure corners of the land. Some of the agitators have been imprisoned, but the number is nothing like so large as it was under the benignant rule of Mr. Gladstone. It was Sir William Harcourt, not Mr. Balfour, who proposed to abolish trial by jury in Ireland, and to give to three judges the power of life and death over any man brought before them, accused of treason or murder. The 'terrorism,' which the present Government has established in Ireland, is only to be dreaded by the assassin and the cattle hougher. The Irish prisons have not been filled with 'suspects' as they were in the days of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. To compel evil-doers to fear the law, and to restore peace to the country, were the special duties entrusted to the Government by the electors. They have been faithfully performed; and although there is much wild talk of the 'horrors of coercion,' every alleged case of hardship

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or ill-usage has broken down under investigation, as Mr. Balfour has repeatedly shown. They have been like the thrilling story told recently of a little boy of nine who was cast into prison for threatening the police. It turned out that the boy of nine was nineteen, and that he had been guilty of conduct which would anywhere have lodged him in prison. In another instance, a lady lecturer went about the country relating with tears a heart-rending narrative of two poor women who had been killed by Mr. Balfour's mercenaries, a special bayonet having been used for the murder. It appeared upon due enquiry, that the women in question had indeed been killed, but it was in Mr. Gladstone's time, and in consequence of a street-brawl. Since this discovery, the female lecturer, the bayonet, and the murdered women, have alike disappeared from view.

It may, then, fairly be said, that the Government has fulfilled the obligations which were specifically enjoined upon it, and that in other respects it has done its duty in such a way as that it has no reason whatever to meet Parliament again with any apprehension. The Conservative party at the polls promised the people, that foreign complications should be avoided, and that in those circumstances trade would revive. Surely everybody must admit that these promises have been kept. In spite of repeated strikes and great disturbances in the labour markets, caused in some instances by the reckless and almost suicidal action of Trades Unions, the working men have seldom been so well off as they are now. Wages are good, and the prices of all the necessities of life are low, and would be still lower than they are, if it were not for the operations of the middlemen. Bread, for instance, has never declined to the point at which it ought to have stood, if the consumer had derived his fair share of benefit from the great fall in wheat. The lion's share of the profit has gone into the pockets of the bakers. Still, after making allowance for the rapacity of certain tradesmen and dealers, everything used by a family is wonderfully cheap; and if employment is not so general as we should all like to see it, it is because the country is overpopulated, an evil which is aggravated by the stream of foreign paupers flowing into England from abroad. The enquiries of the House of Commons' Committee on Emigration and Immigration, and of the House of Lords' Committee on the Sweating System, can scarcely fail to suggest the desirability of placing some restrictions upon the introduction of foreign paupers, in accordance with the example set by other nations. If we needed evidence of the thriving state of most industries, we should find it in the
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revenue returns. We believe that in every instance the estimates taken by Mr. Goschen last Session as the basis of his Budget for the current year will show an increase. The small addition to the tax on beer—a tax paid by the brewers—will certainly yield double the amount anticipated. The proceeds of the drink duties generally will be much larger than was calculated by the officials. We do not regard this as a matter for unmixed congratulation, for this country will never be thoroughly prosperous, or in a truly sound and satisfactory state, until temperance is the rule among the working-classes, and until an industrious man would as soon think of throwing his week's earnings into the nearest river as of leaving them behind him in the public-house. Still, while the money from drink falls into the Treasury, it must be used, and the sum at Mr. Goschen's disposal from this source will exceed his anticipations. We should confidently anticipate what is called a popular Budget, but how far the surplus will be available for the remission of taxation we cannot undertake to predict. If a scheme of Free Education is brought forward, it cannot be carried out at a smaller expenditure than 2,000,000*l.* In that case, the amount still left in Mr. Goschen's possession will not enable him to perform any brilliant stroke for the relief of the income-tax payer or of anybody else. It is not to be denied that a good many persons are very sore at the reduction of their incomes through the conversion of the National Debt. The intrinsic justice of that measure does not reconcile those who have lost money by it to its operation. It might be desirable, therefore, to conciliate this very numerous class by lightening the burden of taxation, when a large surplus is actually available; but, if Mr. Goschen prefers to apply the money to other purposes, we have no doubt he will be able to justify his course to the House of Commons.

What is the most serious charge which the opponents of the Government bring against it, or is there any charge which is worth calling serious? We can find absolutely nothing, apart from Ireland; and how hollow are the accusations arising from its Irish policy we may judge from the fact that, when Mr. Gladstone, at Manchester, endeavoured to frame an overwhelming indictment against the entire Irish administration, he could find nothing better to support it than the exploded legend of Mitchelstown, and the imaginative history of Kinsella. The only wonderful thing is, that he did not repeat his favourite narrative of Colonel Dopping, for it rests on precisely the same sort of foundation as the other legends. Does Mr. Gladstone, or do any of his followers, really believe that

that the next election will be affected, even to the extent of a hundred votes, by the cry of 'remember Mitchelstown'? No greater tribute to Mr. Balfour's rule could be paid than this failure to find anything in it on which the shadow of reproach can be made to rest, even by the surpassing skill of Mr. Gladstone. In other respects, what has the Government done which renders it justly amenable to the censure of the people? Mr. Gladstone finds himself once more compelled to admit that he has substantially no criticism to make upon its foreign policy. He is too wise to be led astray altogether by the 'special correspondent' who goes through the Turkish provinces every now and then in search of a 'sensation.' In all the broad lines of Lord Salisbury's policy, Mr. Gladstone concurs. Nor is there any grave complaint made in reference to the general features of the domestic policy of the Administration. What is called, in the slang borrowed from American politics, a 'new departure,' is sometimes demanded, and what that is it will be our duty presently to enquire; but, if the Government had been guided by these demands, it would have incurred, and thoroughly deserved, the severest censure of the people. We presume that no one will venture to contend that it was any part of Lord Salisbury's duty to propose to Parliament an eight hours' law, or the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, or triennial Parliaments, or the payment of members, or the abolition of the House of Lords. These things form portions of the Radical 'platform,' though not all the Radicals can be induced at present to support them. The existing Conservative Government could not undertake to deal with any of them without the grossest breach of faith.

In addition to the general strength of the Ministry, we have this further advantage as a party, that no disagreement has manifested itself within our ranks on any fundamental principle. It is quite possible that conflicting opinions may yet show themselves on the Land Purchase Bill, for unanimity can scarcely be looked for concerning a measure so intricate and difficult as that must necessarily be. Thus far, at any rate, the 'unity of the union party' remains unbroken. There is a very strong desire in many quarters to see Lord Hartington a member of the Government, and we believe his accession to it would be hailed with general satisfaction throughout the Conservative body. There is no public man of the present day who is regarded with more confidence and respect than Lord Hartington. He has no selfish purposes to gratify, no intrigues to carry out; there are no personal animosities to disturb the coolness of his judgment. But it is perfectly well known, and
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it has been known ever since the present Ministry was formed, that it is a matter entirely within Lord Hartington's discretion whether he shall hold office or not. He might have been the Prime Minister had he chosen to accept the post. We have little doubt that eventually he will see the necessity of throwing in his lot frankly with the only party which can now be trusted to support Constitutional principles, for after all, in the long run, there can be no middle way. There is no organization which can be depended on in a pitched battle outside the two great organizations. One of these parties has now swallowed up the Irish vote, until it suits Mr. Parnell or some other Irish leader to carry it over to the opposite camp. In the event of a general election, the people will recognize Conservatives and Gladstonians, and will probably not look much further, so far as regards the machinery of the contest. No doubt, therefore, Lord Hartington would strengthen the cause of his old political friends, who now think with him, by taking an active part in the work of government. But if he has arrived at a different conclusion, it is not for the Conservative party to challenge his decision.

This being our position, what is the state of affairs with the Opposition? We might fairly be asked at the outset, which of the Oppositions we mean? For their number is legion. Respect for Mr. Gladstone would naturally lead us to class his forces first, although we should very much doubt whether they are the most numerous, apart from the Irish contingent. And even the Irish rebelled against his authority more than once last Session. Some of them refused to vote at all on certain occasions, and the more audacious voted against him. As regards the country, however, Mr. Gladstone holds, as he deserves to hold, the foremost place. The bulk of the Liberal electors are certainly not disposed at present to recognize any other chief. A very large proportion, represented in the House of Commons by something like a hundred votes, secretly look upon Mr. Gladstone's adoption of Parnellite Home Rule as one of the most serious blunders ever committed by a great statesman, but they are too deeply committed to it now to draw back. They must go on, with such assistance as they can get from Mr. Parnell in his occasional efforts to explain that Home Rule only means the development of Irish railroads and manufactures. But then comes the Socialist party, which is not so inconsiderable as some people think, and the still more numerous party dragged by Mr. Labouchere at his coat tails. People have been in the habit of taking Mr. Labouchere at the estimate which he formerly placed upon himself, that is, simply
a politician

a politician *pour rire*. But the gentleman himself appears to have come to the determination to be judged by a very different standard, and his exploits last Session suffice to prove that he may attain a large measure of success. In the present disorganized condition of the Liberal party, he may yet be accepted as a leader on his own account. He is more useful in the general work of Parliament than Mr. Morley, and he is at least as much respected as Sir William Harcourt. Mr. Labouchere would regard this latter comparison as anything but complimentary, for he has not carried his sword from one side to the other, nor, to do him justice, has he ever acted as one of the recognized mercenaries of politics. Such as he is he has always been. The discontent, which prevails among the Liberal party, could scarcely have been more strikingly shown than by the formal revolt under Mr. Labouchere last Session of some fifty or sixty of the Radicals. In spite of Mr. Gladstone's personal appeals, made with the utmost earnestness and directness, they refused to vote for him, and some of them voted against him, either on the Royal Grants proposals, or on other issues. It is quite clear that Mr. Gladstone cannot depend on the firm support of any considerable detachment of the party which he once led. That fact has been brought home to him in the rudest manner. Moreover, the labour questions, so difficult to deal with, must inevitably sow fresh dissensions in the Liberal ranks. Professor Stuart and others demand the eight hours' law. Mr. Labouchere is opposed to it. The feud is not merely a passive one. It breaks out with great bitterness even when a regard for the common safety would suggest caution. There is scarcely a man in public life to-day who has skill enough to reconcile these discordant elements, or to bring them into any sort of harmony. Some passages in Mr. Gladstone's speeches at Manchester seem to show that he looks forward to the return of Mr. Chamberlain to the true fold. But that would only embitter existing animosities, and widen every chasm which now yawns beneath the feet of the distracted leader. The main bond of cohesion among the Laboucherians is detestation—there is no milder word for it—of Mr. Chamberlain. They believe that he was the main cause of their defeat in 1886, and the great article of their faith is undying hostility to him. It is not for us to discuss the question whether or not Mr. Chamberlain is likely to fulfil the expectations of Mr. Gladstone. What we assert is that, if he ever does so, there will be a more formidable mutiny in the Liberal camp than has been seen there in our time. Mr. Gladstone himself is too experienced a campaigner to reject aid from whatever quarter
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it may be offered. He has no time or inclination to indulge in the costly luxury of personal revenges. There would, therefore, we may well believe, be no difficulty on his part in receiving back Mr. Chamberlain whenever repentance is fully 'ripe.' It is different with his followers, and even with his lieutenants. Sir William Harcourt knows that he could not hold his ground, such as it is, with Mr. Chamberlain restored to the confidence of the Liberal party. Mr. Morley would inevitably sink into the third or fourth place. The minor stars in the not very brilliant constellation would undergo total eclipse. We have no doubt, therefore, that the great body of the party would infinitely rather remain out of office two years longer than get back next month with Mr. Chamberlain's assistance.

But they have a programme, and upon that they are disposed to build all their hopes. We do not know that we have been able to make a full and complete catalogue of every item in it, but we have brought together a good many:—1. Abolition of the House of Lords. 2. Free Education, accompanied, as some demand, with a Free Breakfast. 3. The abolition of all votes which go with the possession of property, except in the proportion of one vote to each person. 4. The abolition of nearly all the taxes, any proportion of which is now paid by the working classes; namely, on tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruit, &c. 5. Triennial Parliaments. 6. Payment to members. 7. Taxation of ground rents. 8. Enfranchisement of Leaseholds. 9. Transfer of the control of the Police to County Councils. 10. Disestablishment of the Church in Wales and Scotland to begin with, to be followed by a similar measure for England. 11. Home Rule for Scotland and Wales. 12. An independent Parliament for Ireland with an independent Executive arising out of it. 13. The control of the Irish police and the machinery of the law to be placed in the hands of Mr. Parnell and his followers, sitting in the Irish Parliament. 14. An eight-hours' labour law. 15. Compulsory allotments. 16. Closing of public-houses without compensation.

It must be admitted that this is a tolerably comprehensive plan of operations. There is something in it to please everybody who holds the modern Radical faith. Of course, it goes very far beyond anything hitherto proposed by the most advanced Radicals, but that is part of the law of development. All parties, we freely admit, are sweeping onwards with a rush. It is very difficult now to find any of the old landmarks. Mr. Parnell boasted at Nottingham last month, that the Conservatives had passed a measure which he had proposed a little earlier, though, when he proposed it, no one would listen to him.

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The Irish Land Act of 1887 was indeed a triumph for the Irish party. But in this new Liberal programme there are all sorts of features which we do not suppose the Conservative party can reasonably be expected to admire. There is a little Socialism, a little Republicanism, and a good deal of demagogism. It has been devised to catch every portion of 'the masses;' the only thing which has been omitted, perhaps by an oversight, being 'free drinks' as well as a 'free breakfast.' The first step to this would be the abolition of all duties on beer and spirits, the amount thus lost to the revenue being made up by new taxes on personal property, including accumulated wealth as well as land. This expedient is well worth the consideration of the 'stalwarts.' Within a certain area it would add immensely to the popularity of their scheme, and popularity is all that they aim at. As for the permanent interests of the nation, surely they may be left to look after themselves.

The first objection that we have to take to this programme is, that it cannot possibly be put forward in good faith. The Radicals are pledged before and above all things to introduce a Home Rule Bill as soon as they return to power. Their Parnellite allies will take care that this primary obligation is not evaded or forgotten. Mr. Gladstone, we may reasonably suppose, will be anxious to get that business off his hands. No man can be sanguine enough to anticipate that less than one Session will be required for the completion of this work. If we attempted to indicate the probable course of events, we should say that the history of the second Home Rule Bill would follow the general course of the first. It is doubtful whether it would pass the House of Commons, but in any case it would be thrown out by the House of Lords. It would not differ essentially from the previous scheme, except on the point of retaining the Irish members at Westminster, which, to the great bulk of the people, would make the entire device more objectionable than it was before. The solitary advantage presented by the Bill of 1886 was, that it relieved the Parliament at Westminster from the Parnellite obstructionists. If the Irish are ever to have a Parliament of their own, let them by all means leave us in quiet possession of ours. As for their presence at Westminster being a security against Separation, it is a mere dream. There would be no security of that kind obtainable when once Ireland had an independent Parliament and Government of its own. The rest would follow as a matter of course. In other respects, Mr. Gladstone has given not the slightest sign of going to the Parnellites with less in his hand than he had there when he approached them in 1886, and,
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if he did so, it is quite certain that his offer would be rejected. He cannot now recede from his 'irreducible minimum.' Under those circumstances, his Bill would surely be defeated in one House or the other, and there would have to be another appeal to the people. On an issue of such transcendent importance, it would not be the duty of the House of Lords to abandon the field at the first stage of the contest. This is not a question of a Reform Bill, but one affecting the very existence of the Empire. If the time should ever come for the Constitutional party to make a final stand in defence of their country, it would be on a Bill involving the Repeal of the Union and the partition of Great Britain. One Session, therefore, would not settle the struggle, nor two, nor three, and the concocters of the new programme must be well aware of the fact. They may, however, plausibly allege that this really does not concern them. Their spectacles are made to sell, not to be used. And they may also allege that, if the next Home Rule Bill should be rejected by the Upper House, the opportunity would arise for sweeping that obnoxious chamber out of the way altogether. They would consequently be led by easy stages to the consummation of the first organic change on their exceedingly attractive list.

But it appears that some of their own number, and those not the least influential, have been driven sorrowfully to the conclusion that the 'contract' for abolishing the House of Lords is likely to be much more troublesome, onerous, and difficult, than they have hitherto imagined. It is not to be carried out by the repetition of one of those cant phrases which Mr. Morley seems to regard as adequate to the settlement of every political problem. He cherishes the hallucination that the hardest part of the work is over when he has put together a shibboleth like 'mend or end them.' This is a view pardonable enough in a 'gentleman of the closet,' but it would never do for a man of action. Cant phrases are worth about as much as choruses to a song. They go off fairly well on platforms, though even there Mr. Morley is thrown terribly into the shade by Sir W. Harcourt. It is not now worth while to discuss the question whether it is well for the country to have a House of Lords or not. There it is in existence, and it is not within the power of the present Radical party to 'end' it; though if playing with the child's rattle, which Mr. Morley has provided for them, will afford them any pleasure, no one would wish to take it away. But how does Mr. Morley himself propose to deal with the House of Lords, apart from phrases? He was rash enough to enter into details for the first time, in a speech at Dundee on the 9th of

of December. We gather from him that the great catastrophe upon which his heart is fixed is not likely to lead to the flow of blood. No one will be seriously hurt. His natural amiability will lead him to make his revolution with the finest rose-water. No doubt the people of Dundee expected much more than they got from the apostle of 'Thorough,' especially when after solemnly leading up to the subject of the House of Lords he said: 'The suggestion that seems to me most worthy of your favourable consideration is this'—and assuredly his audience must have stared when they heard the next sentences. There was nothing about putting bars and chains on the doors of the Upper House, nothing about its extinction, now or at any other time. His suggestion was, that any peer who desired to give up his seat in the Upper House should be eligible for election to the Lower. And this is all that 'mend them or end them' comes to. We are to have what has been accurately described as a Bill for the relief of Lord Rosebery. That noble lord desires to enjoy all the social advantages of his rank,—advantages which he is well qualified to appreciate,—while at the same time he may be left free to exercise the greatest privilege of a commoner. It needs no prophet to foresee that whenever matters appear likely to take a serious turn, Lord Rosebery will desert the phrasemakers and theorists. Attacks upon property in any form are scarcely likely to obtain much support from the representative, we will not say of ancient lineage, but of the modern plutocracy. It is scarcely from ingredients such as these that dangerous revolutionists are made. But it is truly lamentable to think that Mr. Morley should so soon have succumbed to those very influences which he had sternly vowed to cast into the bottomless pit. He no longer desires to curtail the privileges of the Peerage; he simply wishes to extend them, and in the very direction which would be most injurious to popular rights. Surely the true Radical is mourning over him in secret as 'another good man gone wrong.' Lord Rosebery, on the other hand, must have found his suspicion confirmed, that there is nobody so little to be dreaded as the demagogue who imagines great deeds on paper, but who shrinks back from the very first step towards carrying any of them into execution.

It may be urged that there is no necessity to take Mr. Morley too seriously, in spite of the prominence which he has contrived to obtain, and we admit the force of that suggestion. The only measure with which he has yet been identified is that for the separation of Ireland from England, and, if that is sufficient to establish a reputation for statesmanship, Mr. Labouchere need

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not despair of a niche in Westminster Abbey. But there is something more at stake than the fortunes of any individual. The preposterous shrivelling up of Mr. Morley's ultimatum of a year ago in reference to the House of Lords is very characteristic of the entire Radical method of operations. It is not intended to be worked out in a practical manner. It is like a booth in an old-fashioned country fair—everything is shown outside, and when the play begins there is nothing more to be seen. What became of all the Radical professions about peace, retrenchment, and reform? Wars or threatened wars in all parts of the world, scandalous extravagance in the public departments, an expenditure of 100,000,000*l.* in a single year, wild profusion in all directions. What became even of all the loud talk about justice to Ireland? The confiscation of a good deal of property, the ruin of many landlords, the severest Coercion Act of the century, and finally a measure for rendering Ireland practically independent of England, and for placing the loyal classes in that country under the power of their bitterest enemies. This is the usual sequel of Radical 'platforms.' The working men have found it out, and they begin to regard with great suspicion the glittering baits prepared for them by more or less experienced anglers for their votes. It is but a Barmecide feast to which they are invited. They have sat down to so many that at last they have become a little shy of going to any more.

On one point the entire Radical party appears to be united. It will have nothing to do with any scheme of Land Purchase for Ireland. In 1886, the leaders were prepared to commit themselves to a gigantic measure, involving an expenditure of at least 150,000,000*l.*, for the purpose of buying up all the land in Ireland at twenty years' purchase. Lord Salisbury at Nottingham, and Mr. Balfour at Glasgow, have made known the intention of the Government to take up this question, on the general principle stated by the Irish Secretary of 'making the Irish tenant the owner of the land which he tills.' This is quite sufficient to induce the Liberal party to take the other side. Land Purchase in any form is now to be denounced. Mr. Parnell endeavours to provide his allies with an apology for their new turn of opinion by maintaining, that the landlords in 1886 rejected the scheme which was brought forward 'for their benefit,' and that consequently they are no longer entitled to consideration. But the landlords had nothing whatever to do with the fate of Mr. Gladstone's measures. Mr. Parnell's argument is completely answered by the fact that the Land Purchase Bill was never even submitted to a vote in the House of Commons. It died in the hour of its birth. The landlords could
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not, and did not, express any opinion whatever about it. It was received with marked disfavour from the Parnellite benches. Murmurs of a very unmistakable kind were heard, and Mr. Parnell warned the author of the Bill that it would not be accepted in the state in which it had been introduced. The landlords are now reproached for the course which Mr. Parnell himself thought proper to pursue. It will, undoubtedly, add greatly to the difficulties of any settlement of the Land Question that the Gladstonians and the Parnellites combine in opposing it. And, indeed, there is no class which is likely to be thoroughly satisfied with any proposals that may be made. The landlords are manifestly looking for more than any Government can possibly give them. The tenants have had their hopes so much raised by continual concessions, that they now fully expect to get the land on easier terms than they can obtain under the Ashbourne Act. Many of the priests are energetically declaiming against any further purchases of land until the Nationalists are supreme. And the responsible Irish leaders give us plain warning beforehand, that any settlement that may be devised will never be acknowledged by them. Considering the position they would occupy in Ireland if Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme, or anything like it, were to be adopted, these warnings are not to be lightly set aside as unworthy of notice. We may choose to shut our ears and our eyes to them; but if we do so, we must take the risk of great and serious misfortunes in the future.

With regard to the landlords, they have, through the medium of letters to the newspapers, and of speeches and resolutions at the meetings held in Dublin last month, made known the conditions which they expect to see carried out. They do not want a compulsory system, and they have been distinctly assured by Lord Salisbury that they are not to be asked to accept anything of the kind. They wish for the extension of the Ashbourne Act. One resolution passed at the Dublin meeting, on the 19th of December, asked for advances 'to small landlords to purchase up tenants' interest by arbitrary arrangements.' Mr. R. Bagwell, in a letter to the 'Times,' demands 'that the landlord should be paid in good money, and not put off with a depreciated security, or left to be plundered by elective local boards.' We do not profess to know the details of the Land Purchase Bill which the Cabinet have before it; but if it corresponds with the outlines which have been suggested in highly well-informed quarters, Local Boards will be interposed between the tenants and the State, and consequently Mr. Bagwell's objection will be hard to meet. Mr. Chamberlain's proposal, and every other that we have heard of, places the borrowing powers, and the security

security for the repayment of the money, in Local Boards. We need not discuss this plan now; it will be time enough for that when the Bill is before the country. But it is worthy of remark, even at this early stage of the controversy, that the landlords are likely to be extremely dissatisfied with anything short of ready money and direct dealings with the State. Our present opinion is that they will not get either the one or the other. Mr. Bagwell contends that 'no Irish stock bearing reasonable interest, which has not an Imperial guarantee behind it, can possibly stand anywhere near par, and no elective board can be trusted to collect instalments from occupying owners, or to pay those who are expropriated.' Whether he is right or wrong—and certainly the history of Poor Law unions in Ireland, and of the Limerick Corporation, impart a certain degree of probability to his forecast—it is beyond a doubt that his views are shared by most of the landlord class. Sir F. W. Heygate has also pointed out that, under the Ashbourne Act, a large proportion of the richest landlords have sold out and gone away with the money. 'Nearly all the London Companies,' he says, 'have sold their estates in County Derry, with the result that the rents that used largely to be spent in the county have disappeared, and will be much missed.' These are side lights on the land problem, to which we cannot shut our eyes when the whole question is brought forward for one more 'final' settlement.

Nor would it be altogether prudent to despise the warnings of Mr. Parnell and his associates. What is it that they tell us? That no land scheme we can offer them will abate their demands for a Parliament of their own, or induce them to submit, except under compulsion, to the decrees of an English, or, as Mr. Gladstone calls it, 'a foreign' Government. They further give us pretty clearly to understand that they will do their utmost to bring about the failure of any contract into which the tenants may be induced to enter for the purchase of land under the existing state of affairs. No doubt, there are some people who will say, 'We need not mind what the Parnellites tell us on this subject. Let us take no notice of them.' That is an easy and a pleasant way of disposing of the matter; but it would be no proof of wisdom on the part of a statesman to be guided by such counsels. Before embarking upon an enterprise of this description, it is surely as well to survey the whole of the field, and to consider everything that can happen for good or for evil. In advancing large sums of money, it is especially desirable to be guided by these rules.

At the first meeting of the new Tenants' League on the 28th of October, 1889, Mr. Sexton made this declaration:—

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‘There is more than the agrarian question in Irish politics. If the tenants were to-morrow made the owners of their holdings, the question of national freedom would still be undiminished.’ Archbishop Walsh has stated plainly that the clergy will not countenance any schemes which are designed to lessen the attachment of the Irish people to the leaders, who, as he holds, have done so much for them. Far greater importance, for many obvious reasons, is to be attached to the utterances of Mr. Parnell. He let fall some very significant remarks on the question at Liverpool, on the 19th of December. He maintained that it was intended to make the tenants pay more for the land than it was worth; and as there is no longer any fixed standard of value, and as the land-courts proceed upon no known system, it is difficult for anybody to decide what any land is worth, or whether the price demanded by the landlord for it is reasonable or otherwise. The presumption in all cases appears to be against the landlord. Proceeding, therefore, upon this general theory, Mr. Parnell argued thus:—‘If more money is given for Irish land by Irish tenants than it is worth, you’—*i.e.*, the English people—‘will be the sufferers, or you will run great risk of being the sufferers, and the losers.’ There is no doubt as to the meaning of this, but Mr. Parnell was resolved that there should not be the slightest excuse hereafter for any one to allege that he has been guilty of bad faith in the matter. Therefore he went a little further with his warning:—‘We decline to say to you that we will, or that our people will, pledge themselves to repay you instalments of money which are due owing to excessive prices being accepted by landlords of the type of Mr. Smith Barry.’ He referred also to ‘bogus sales,’ which could only mean sales effected under the operation of the Ashbourne Act, and declared, ‘We will be no parties to such schemes and programmes.’ ‘We cannot consent,’ he also said, ‘to sales effected under coercion.’ These words derive additional significance from the fact that they were uttered immediately after a long consultation with Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden Castle. They were not merely chance expressions of the moment, having no reference to future events. Mr. Parnell never indulges himself in expressions of that kind. We will do him the justice of admitting, that his threats are generally made in earnest, and that his sayings are found afterwards to have a deeper significance than they seemed to carry at the moment. He has now warned us, in effect, that his party—which represents, let it never be forgotten, a permanent force of eighty-five votes in the House of Commons—will not feel bound to respect the

contracts which are being made with, or on the part of, landlords under the existing state of affairs. In other words, all such bargains may be repudiated when the proper time arrives. The State may lend its money, or pledge its credit, but the conditions of the contract will only be observed while the State itself is able to enforce them.

Should the Nationalists obtain control of power, repudiation would almost certainly be the new *mot d'ordre*. And even without that contingency, a rising of the tenants against the payment of interest on the borrowed money would not be difficult to organize. There would be no remedy unless the State carried out evictions on a wholesale scale. It might also resume possession of the land on which advances were made, but what would it do with it afterwards? In these days, a repetition of the Cromwellian experiment would be attended with certain difficulties, not very readily to be overcome. The State undertaking to throw men, women, and children out upon the roadside, perhaps in midwinter, or compelled to farm its own lands, or to put them up to auction, or obliged to send its troops to protect new purchasers, would incur dangers which no sane man would desire to force upon it. It would show a strange ignorance of Irish character and Irish history to pretend that these things are impossible. They are not only not impossible, but they are distinctly foreshadowed in Mr. Parnell's warnings; and, if we go on with our own plans and ideas in spite of everything, we shall be told hereafter, that we have only ourselves to blame, and that Ireland through its leader gave us full and fair notice of what was to happen.

Opposition to any plan proposed by the Government for the purpose of putting an end to the 'dual ownership,' which has so long been denounced, is the only centre of attack on which the Gladstonians and advanced Radicals have yet agreed. For their general success they depend upon all the discontented sections of the community, and upon the growing force of Socialistic theories, slightly disguised. Whenever a general election may take place, they confidently anticipate capturing a large proportion of the seats which they lost in 1886, and we have no right to assume that this anticipation will be entirely fallacious, for many seats were won by Conservatives within the metropolitan area at the last election through Liberal abstentions, and those abstentions may not occur again. It must also be admitted, that such questions as the taxation of ground rents, the enfranchisement of freeholds, the right to obtain compensation for improvements, are influencing, and will still further influence,

influence, the minds of some thousands of the London tradesmen and artisans. But in the country generally, these questions excite little or no interest, and therefore the programme has to be considerably expanded. The abolition of the duties on tea, coffee, cocoa, and dried fruits, is supposed to offer a great boon to the working classes. Even if the duties were done away with, is it quite certain that an equivalent reduction in price would be made by the dealers who supply the public? The coal dues in London were abolished last year. Was there any reduction in the price of coal? Nothing of the kind. The coal dealers simply put the amount of the dues into their own pockets, and smiled at the credulity of the public in supposing that it would go anywhere else. The tea and other duties just referred to bring into the Exchequer over five and a half millions a year. How is this amount to be made up? By levying a special tax upon one portion of the community. At present, the five and a half millions are raised in a perfectly equitable manner. The poor may pay their share, but it is a comparatively small share, and they have to pay no other imperial taxation now, except in the shape of Excise duties, which are purely voluntary. Whether a duty on the foreign manufactured goods, which flood English markets, would not be fairer all round than a duty on tea, is a question which might be worthy of consideration, but for the present, at any rate, all parties seem to have resolved not to consider it. It is marked with the stigma of 'protection,' although that will not prevent the Democracy from taking it up when once they hold everything in their own hands. At present, however, the 'breakfast' duties fall with equal incidence upon all classes, and the agitation which is raised against them does not proceed from the working men. It is originated entirely by the demagogues and professional politicians. As a rule, the working men are not great consumers of tea, and their share of taxation from this source is almost infinitesimal. The 'Labour Statistics,' recently laid before Parliament by Mr. Burnett, show that the average amount spent on tea, among the families which gave him information, averages from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a week. As for coffee and cocoa, the whole amount brought into the Treasury by the duty is only 274,862*l.* How much of this do the working classes contribute, and how much better off would they be if the whole of the duty were remitted? The truth is, that the agitation on this subject is the most hollow and artificial we ever remember to have seen, and it only shows how little real cause for complaint there is in these days that a duty,

which it is quite impossible the labouring classes should feel, is magnified into a terrible grievance.

Another of the cries, which is being laboriously manufactured for the working classes, and which has not the faintest ring of sincerity in it, is that for paid members of Parliament. We venture to say that in no case has it proceeded spontaneously from any considerable body of working men. It is possible that a section of the miners, who are ably represented in the House of Commons, and who subscribe towards the payment of their members, may be of opinion that it would be advisable to throw that charge upon some other shoulders, but the working classes generally are not clamouring for the privilege of paying members of Parliament. They know very well that the whole movement is designed for the benefit of certain orators of the streets, who naturally think it would be pleasanter to be sent to Parliament, with a comfortable salary of six or eight pounds a week, than to work at a trade for two pounds. We see no evidence whatever of a wide-spread or an earnest desire on the part of the artisans or labourers for paid members. We doubt whether there has been even one public meeting got up—easy as it is to organize such an affair at any moment—in favour of substituting paid for unpaid members. It is not surprising that this should be so, for what is the whole scheme but a demand for more taxation? Somebody must find the money for the salaries to the 670 members. We presume that we should all be required to contribute a certain proportion of it, unless it is proposed to throw the entire burden on ‘the landlords.’ But even that resource must fail in time. The plan which has received the tacit approval of Mr. Chamberlain is to make the constituencies pay for the support of their members. We do not know that members of Parliament would raise any serious objections to this idea. But what about the constituencies? Have they been consulted as to their willingness to pay all the expenses of elections, and then a salary to the proud and happy member? Has any constituency in the country had the question plainly put to it in this form? If so, we have not heard of it.

The medium, through which it pleased Mr. Chamberlain to declare himself when he dealt with this subject, in 1885, truly remarked, that ‘there is little ground for the belief that the new electorate will of its own motion take the initiative in demanding the changes now enumerated.’ On that part of the case there cannot be the slightest question. The constituencies have shown a most painful indifference to the whole scheme, and they have not even come forward with
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voluntary contributions towards the maintenance of their members pending the action of the Legislature. But, remarked Mr. Chamberlain's mouthpiece, 'the English masses are nearly impervious to political ideas.' They are slow, stupid, and heavy. 'It is for the people's leaders to indicate to them the precise methods and instruments by which their wishes may be realized.' They do not know what they want, and therefore their own trusted leaders are to tell them, and to show them how to get it. This is precisely the spirit in which the paid-member business is being worked. The people are told to shout for it, but they do not shout. Then we are assured that they desire nothing so much as to pay someone for doing something which scores of persons are eager to do for nothing, only that they have deputed their leaders to speak for them. In spite of all these operations, not a single constituency in the land can be induced to pass a resolution to the effect, that it desired to pay out of its own rates all the expenses of the returning officer, and to give its member a salary. Observing this lamentable imperviousness to ideas, the 'leaders' have apparently abandoned the position taken up by Mr. Chamberlain, and now talk of the State finding the necessary funds. By that means the cost of electing Mr. Conybeare, Dr. Tanner, or Professor Stuart, might be defrayed by the income-tax payer, for we may rest assured that the daily-wage class would not be asked to contribute any part of it. That is the chief object of making it a State charge. If it were levied upon the local rates, every man in a home of his own would have to pay part of it, and even the lodger could be reached indirectly. That is, of course, the legitimate way of carrying out this change, if the constituencies really desire to have it. Let every place pay for its own member. Let there be strict local option in such a matter, so that we none of us may be compelled to contribute to the support of a member in another constituency, whose very name may be hateful to us.

What we contend is, that the issue is being put before the people, in the few cases where it is put at all, under false pretences. They are not asked for their opinion in a straightforward way. They are not told the true issue. They are practically invited to consent to the payment of members of Parliament out of the proceeds of a tax levied upon a limited class. It would not be surprising if the answer were made, 'We do not care whether you pay members of Parliament or not, so long as you do not ask us for the money.' Yet we are not aware that the bulk of the working classes have given in even that far to the deception. They stand aloof from everything in connexion with it. The
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subject is introduced every now and then into what is called an 'omnibus' resolution. Smothered up in that way, it is not very likely to excite opposition, or even to attract notice. In Manchester, at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation, advocates of paid members did not dare to throw off all disguises. Their resolution affirmed that 'the principle of payment of members of Parliament by the State should be recognized.' But evidently there were objectors present, although the arrangements were too good to allow of much being heard from them. That all was not thoroughly harmonious we may gather from the following passage in the report:—'The President said he had been asked to explain with regard to the question whether the payment was meant to be obligatory or permissive. The delegates must put their own interpretation on the clause.' That is entirely in accordance with the system on which the Gladstonian party is now conducted. Put any interpretation you please on any of the principles submitted to you. Take your choice among the various meanings which your ingenuity may discover. When Mr. Morley went to Newcastle some little time ago, one of his constituents came to him with a question which struck us at the time as having an element of the pathetic in it. 'Will you tell us,' the man said in substance, 'what it is we mean by Home Rule?' Mr. Morley replied that he had not introduced the words to the notice of the meeting—there they were in their own resolution. True, replied the anxious disciple, but we do not know what they denote. Pilate with his question, 'What is truth?' was not more at a loss. But Mr. Morley could not, or would not, enlighten his follower. 'If,' he said, 'you do not know what you mean, why do you use the words?' That disposed of the questioner, but it leaves the whole party in a singular position before the world. Not even the leaders will venture to define Home Rule. And even on minor points of their election programme, when they are asked for explanations, they can only reply, 'We leave the worthy delegates to place their own interpretation on the clause.' Artemus Ward once wrote to a politician of whom he wanted something, 'I know your opinions are the same as mine, for I never met the man whose wasn't.' The Gladstonian leaders are equally accommodating.

Even in regard to Free Education, they are compelled to be very cautious, for there are many working men who pay for the education of their own children, and take a pride in doing so, and who object to contribute to the education of the children of others, who are quite able to do their duty if they were willing. The working man who is of independent spirit,

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as the large majority of working men are, knows perfectly well that, if his neighbour would only keep out of the public-house, and take his wages home on Saturday instead of spending a great part in drink, he would be well able to pay the small sum required for school fees, the average amount being about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a week, though in many schools the sum required is only $1d.$ Is $1d.$ a week more than the average working man can afford to pay for the education of his child? Surely that modest coin might easily be saved from the usual expenditure on drink and tobacco. The class which is wholly unable to pay the small school fees is comparatively small, and it is possible that some assistance may be wisely extended to it. But in anything that may be done in this direction, great care must be taken that the voluntary schools are not injured. In many important localities there are no Board Schools. The people have not been struck with unqualified admiration at what they have seen of the operation of School Boards in London, and in localities still nearer to them. They suspect that there is very often extravagance in these bodies, not seldom incompetence, and sometimes jobbery. The work of education in such localities is carried on entirely by Voluntary Schools, many of which are in all respects excellent, while all will afford most favourable comparison with Board Schools elsewhere. Moreover, it must be remembered that the voluntary schools are now called upon to pay local rates, including School Board rates, from which these voluntary schools derive no benefit. They are, even as matters stand, called upon to bear an undue share of local burdens. It is obvious that, if the State is to make education free, the voluntary schools must be closed, unless the Government makes them an allowance equal to the average proceeds of their present fees. And even then, the voluntary schools would much rather be left alone. The great Wesleyan body, for instance, the Baptists, and other Nonconformists, do not want the State meddling with their affairs in any way or shape. This will soon be found out by any party which undertakes to establish Free Education. Gratitude is by no means the reward which waits for the statesman who takes that thorny question in hand.

How this scheme, or any other part of the programme, is to be worked out, is one of those practical details which the Radicals appear to think far beneath their notice. Their duty, as they regard it, is to be lavish with their promises to all who represent the largest number of votes in the country. The more indefinite these promises are, the better for the purpose of the moment. There is nothing more useful for the
groundwork

groundwork of any agitation than the land, because the eyes of all classes may be turned towards that without immediate risk of disappointment. It has for years been the object of deadly attack, and we do not conceal from ourselves that the land legislation for Ireland has incidentally weakened the legitimate defences of landowners in England. A principle which is legalized for one part of the country cannot permanently be confined to that limited area. The plea that it was called for and justified by special conditions, which do not exist elsewhere, will only be admitted for a comparatively short space of time. Good reasons will be found in due season for the application to England of the principles which the Legislature has sanctioned in Ireland. Therefore the Radical party does well, in point of tactics, to aim at the expansion of the policy which successive administrations have sanctioned. Both sides have set up precedents which must inevitably be made the groundwork of laws tending still further to destroy the rights of holders of one particular form of property. We do not know that landowners can now do very much to help themselves; all the outworks of the citadel have been sapped. The attack continually grows hotter, the defence continually weaker. Landowners in England have voluntarily made greater reductions and remissions of rent during the last few years than have been recorded in Ireland under the operation of the Land Act, but nothing that they can do lessens the bitterness of the war upon them. They are doomed to destruction by one party in the State, and the other party looks on, perhaps with a sympathetic feeling, but with a sort of hopeless conviction that it is too late to do any good. At every Radical meeting, the staple theme, the only one that never palls, is the wickedness of keeping the land in a 'few' hands. It is that which causes all the labour troubles, and all the threatening social difficulties of modern England. Over and over again it has been proved that land is yearly passing into a larger number of hands; that the old landlords, if they ever did any harm, are yielding place to the new school, their properties are broken up and sold, their families are passing away. Facts and arguments are alike useless. Mr. Gladstone has thrown the weight of his influence against the 'madness' or 'robbery' of the land-nationalization project, but unfortunately he has given his followers too much reason to boast that his declarations are not final. They do not feel bound by any consideration to swerve from their course because he has temporarily condemned it. The artisans in towns are told that there would be no excessive supply of labour, no more overcrowding,
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if the land were made 'accessible' to all, and what that means is like the 'payment of members' clause at Manchester. 'The delegates may put their own interpretation upon it.'

The cotton operatives and others are not told that, if they had two or three acres each, they would become rich, for the classes in question are intelligent, and would laugh at the persons who flashed such illusions in their eyes. But it is said to them, 'Your work will be rendered regular and secure; your wages will be increased. It is the agricultural labourers who spoil your employment, and lower the scale of wages. They are driven off the land by the rapacity of landlords.' The agricultural labourer is promised possession of the soil he tills, and higher wages also, though how the two objects are to be acquired simultaneously, no one has taken the trouble to explain. Mr. Winterbotham, M.P., at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation, did not object to the 'demand for the re-acquisition of the land by the State,' but he contended that immediate efforts should be made to free the agricultural labourer from 'serfdom.' 'Any land reform,' he further said, 'which did not raise the wages of the agricultural labourers, and improve their position all round, would be a sham so far as they were concerned.' Perhaps Mr. Winterbotham meant that it was the duty of the Legislature to pass a law fixing the minimum of wages. That would be another development of the Free Trade theory. At the same meeting, the Rev. W. Tuckwell gave what we suppose he believes to be a true and faithful description of the general condition of the agricultural labourer. 'When he had spent sixty years in heaping up money for the landlord, and in educating children to heap up more money for the landlord when he was gone, all that a grateful landlord and a grateful country had to offer him, when he wanted tenderness, and relaxation, and indulgence, was to relegate him to the grim discipline and the whitewashed walls of the cursed workhouse, with no prospect through its narrow windows except a pauper's grave.' Some persons may, perhaps, hold that a clergyman is not in the strict line of his duty when he endeavours, by misrepresentation and exaggeration, to stir up rancour and hostility between class and class. But these are old-fashioned ideas, and it would be a waste of time to dwell upon them. What Mr. Tuckwell might fairly have been expected to tell us is, what proof has he got that the landlord has been heaping up money during the last fifteen or twenty years? Is it true that the owner of land is continually growing richer, and the cultivator growing poorer in the same proportion? Is it the duty
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of a 'grateful country' to support in affluence every agricultural labourer who grows old? What, in fact, is the specific duty of the country towards an impoverished agricultural labourer as distinguished from an artisan in the same condition? We must all wish that the agricultural labourer could earn higher wages, but how is that result to be brought about? Mr. Tuckwell takes good care not to enter into that question. We doubt whether the result he seems to desire will be accomplished by depending upon foreign countries for the supply of wheat, and throwing our own land out of cultivation.

Even if small allotments became universal, and the occupiers betook themselves to the cultivation of fruit and vegetables, how long would they secure a profitable market? Other countries may send their surplus supplies here; no foreign country would take ours except on conditions which would render exportation at a profit quite impossible. In the day of small allotments we shall ourselves have to eat all we grow. Nobody abroad will want to buy any garden stuff from us. Growers of fruit and vegetables have not been finding their trade very lucrative of late years. When, at Christmas time, the finest grapes can be bought retail at 3s. a pound, and a hot-house pine for 9s. or 10s., it does not appear that fruit-growing is a short and certain road to wealth. A small allotment may be very useful in conjunction with regular employment, but it will not afford a subsistence for a family. When the landlords are driven out, and all men are on equal terms, each man cultivating his own land, where is the subsidiary employment to come from? For all such things as the land will produce, we shall always be shut up within the compass of our own islands. If we had fruit, vegetables, eggs, butter, or any other produce to spare, France does not want them; and even if a market could be opened up there in the ordinary course of trade, nothing is taken in without a duty, and, thus handicapped, competition in perishable articles becomes impossible. A small allotment without weekly wages means starvation. What we should like some of the 'National Federalists' to reveal to us is the source to which they look for the regular and steady provision of wages when all their plans are carried out.

We do not for a moment question the expediency of adopting measures for facilitating the transfer of land. The Government has already brought in one measure for that purpose, and it was defeated by the ill-judged action of the House of Lords. We entertain no doubt that another attempt will be made to pass such a measure, and it is to be hoped that the Lords will not imperil the interests which they are anxious to protect by repeating

repeating their inconsiderate opposition. The lawyers generally have a direct interest in preventing the simplification of the machinery of land transfer, but the House of Lords as a body has none. There is a real grievance lying underneath this question; and the sooner it is removed, the better for the owners of land as well as for the public. There could be no greater misfortune than to have the just defence of the rights of property conducted on false and indefensible issues. Lawyers are very powerful in both Houses of Parliament, but it is impossible to suppose that they will be allowed to have their own way on this important matter.

The demand for the transfer of the police to the control of the County Councils is totally different in character. The main object is to place the Metropolitan Police force in the hands of an elective and democratic body. There would then, it is anticipated, be no opposition to the use of Trafalgar Square, or of any other public place, for meetings of the turbulent character which were common two or three years ago. The police, knowing that the support of the Government would no longer be at their back, would not be strong enough, nor would they be willing, to interfere with what some people call 'demonstrations of the people.' Liable to be called to account at any moment by the greatest firebrands in the County Council, and to be reprimanded or dismissed by the very persons who may have led the mob, the heads of the police would, after a time, naturally think more of standing well with their masters than of doing their duty towards the public. Considering that London is the seat of Government, and the meeting-place of the Legislature, the danger of handing over the police to such a body as the County Council must be manifest to the most heedless of politicians. The present Council has not hitherto managed to inspire the public with much respect or confidence in its methods. Evidently it is not likely to be an economical body, and it has given us no reason to suppose that it will be an efficient one. Some of the most mischievous demagogues of London are members of it. We do not dispute their right to be members, but we do dispute the propriety of giving them power, or any vestige of power, over the force upon which the whole body of the public depend for the protection of life and property. If the London County Council gained that power, a deadly blow would be struck at the authority and discipline of the police; and in times of great popular excitement or agitation there would be no security whatever for the peace of the metropolis. The police would practically have to receive their orders from the head-quarters of the Radical caucus.

caucus. Ministerial responsibility would be gone, and Parliamentary interference could not take place without very considerable delay, even if Parliament happened to be sitting at the time. Gentlemen like Mr. Cunninghame Graham, whose sincerity we do not question, but whose ideas on political and social questions would be utterly destructive to the community, would be able to dispose of the police according to their own desires. If any proposal of this kind could be submitted to a vote, the whole body of the law-abiding inhabitants of London would rise up against it. We cannot for a moment imagine that this long step on the road to ruin will ever be taken under a Conservative Government.

As for the eight-hours' law, who is it that is calling for it? Is it the working men? We fail to perceive the slightest evidence of it. As a general rule, the working men do not look with any favour on the interference of the Legislature with adult male labour. They see perfectly well that, with the conditions under which trade is now carried on, they could not hope to compete with their innumerable foreign rivals, if they were prohibited by law from working more than a certain number of hours a day. We need not enter into a prolonged discussion of the question, for it is certainly not likely to be brought before the House of Commons in a practical or serious form during the approaching Session. But we think that the advocates of an eight-hours' law ought to lose no time in getting together such proof as they can muster that the majority of the working classes are in favour of having their time of labour each day fixed for them by Act of Parliament. Suppose an employer of labour went to his hands and said, 'Here is a contract which I can take if you all agree to work an hour or two hours longer a day than usual. If you do not, I must refuse it.' That very frequently happens now, and rarely, if ever, is it necessary to turn away a contract because the men virtually decline to accept it. But with an eight-hour law in the way, neither men nor masters would have any option. A benevolent Legislature would have said, 'You shall not work more than eight hours, even for your own good, and for the defence of your industries.' The English market itself, as well as the Colonial and foreign markets which we supply, would fall more and more into the hands of outside competitors. The British workman would, indeed, be limiting the output of home-manufactured goods; but he could not limit the influx of rival goods, produced in countries where men work any number of hours they choose. If municipalities think proper to adopt the eight hours' law, and if the ratepayers have no objection, there is nothing to prevent their indulgence in a piece of folly. But the
commerce

commerce of Great Britain could not be carried on under any such restrictions. There must be some freedom of action left on the part of employers and of employed. The action of Trades' Unions can prevent any great injustice being done in large departments of industry. Where there are no such agencies at work, it would be most unwise for the Legislature to undertake to provide them. We readily admit that it is desirable to discuss the subject, and not to rule it out of the field in an impatient or autocratic spirit. But it cannot be discussed on the assumption that the Conservative party are willing to enact an eight-hours' law.

The whole programme of the Radical party is, then, we must repeat, insincere and delusive; and if it could be carried out, it would result in wide-spread disasters to the country. It aims at disorganizing and unsettling all things. It is as certain as ever it was that the only part of the policy for which there is any guarantee of sincerity would result in the Repeal of the Union, the loss of Ireland, the creation of a hostile nation at our very doors, and the break-up of the Empire. These results are not the less certain because some people resolutely close their eyes to them. They have been recognized as inevitable by every statesman we have had since the Union, from Pitt down to Gladstone; for Mr. Gladstone was on the same side till the other day. These are facts which ought never to be allowed to slip out of sight. It may be true that the arguments on the subject have been exhausted; but everybody has not heard them. Each year there are thousands of young men coming newly into the suffrage who are not familiar with them, and the great body of the working men need continually to have their memories refreshed. The London papers, in deprecating the further discussion of the Home Rule question, or in discouraging public men who take part in it, exhibit that contempt for opinion outside the metropolitan area, which is not uncommon with Londoners, but they fall into a grievous error. Lord Hartington has a far clearer understanding of the state of public feeling, and of the requirements of the time, when he confines himself almost entirely to destructive criticism of the fallacies of Mr. Gladstone and the Home Rule party. It is quite probable that the issue is gradually fading away in the public mind. We should regard that as anything but an advantage to the country. If our attention is merely to be diverted from a great danger, while the danger itself exists, and even increases, there is not much cause for rejoicing. The people are being lulled into a sense of security which the circumstances

circumstances by no means warrant. They are being taught that there never was any real peril in Mr. Gladstone's scheme, and that it was only opposed because it was not understood. Even the semblance of peril will be scrupulously removed if Mr. Gladstone is installed in office. The suggestion will not unnaturally occur to many minds, 'Perhaps, after all, we were mistaken in Mr. Gladstone's proposals, and he may have hit upon the means of settling this weary Irish question. At any rate, there can be no harm in giving him another chance.' If, while these ideas are spreading, the Conservative party is to be reduced to silence or inaction, the results of the next election are likely to justify the hopes of the Separatists. Beyond a doubt, therefore, Lord Salisbury was right in warning his party, at Nottingham, that the Irish question must not be allowed to sink out of sight. Labour and Social questions must receive due attention, far more attention, indeed, than they have received in the past. But the first duty of the present Government remains what it was originally—to save the Union, and to guard the integrity of the Empire. None but the blindest of partisans can deny that hitherto it has performed this duty with signal success, and we feel undiminished confidence in its determination to go on doing so till the end.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. Victor Hugo: *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris, 1880.

2. George Sand: *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris, 1878.

3. Théophile Gautier: *Œuvres Complètes*. Paris, 1886.

‘THE Drama,’ it has been said, ‘is a condensed Novel; the Novel an expanded Drama.’ If this definition holds good, as we shall assume for the purpose of our present enterprise—which is to enquire, within such limits as our space will allow, into the essential qualities of French novel-writing since the Restoration—it becomes evident at once that the nineteenth century is more in love with the open hand than the clenched fist. Which saying, indeed, is a parable with many meanings in our sympathetic age. But to keep to the application on which we are now intent, dramatic literature, as we may all convince ourselves, has been steadily declining, from Victor Hugo to Victorien Sardou, as in power so in the quality of the genius employed in its creation or manufacture. The stage, even in Paris, threatens more and more to degenerate into a great spectacular exhibition, or pantomime for grown-up children—a Barnum’s Show minus the performing elephants. Scene-painting has usurped the place of passionate, high-reasoned dialogue. *Quidquid agunt homines* is no longer its business. Not what men do, but what actors wear (and the actresses do not), has become the principal concern of managers, critics, and audience. It is the hour of so-called Realism. The senses are to be fascinated, while leaving the heart untouched save by gross and violent caricatures of the tragedies of the police-court and the Old Bailey. And the artist’s intellect which, in Aristotle’s pregnant phrase, seeks to be ‘purified by pity and terror’ in subordination to the eternal laws of beauty and the sublime, is now in course of banishment from the modern stage, as though it were an appendage of the *ancien régime*, and thereby *suspect*.

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In its aims and ideals never perhaps was that stage more degraded than at the moment in which we write.

Doubtless, a not unlike catastrophe may be hanging over the Novel. For Materialism is the conquering Anarch of our time. But, in any event, its record will differ greatly from that of the acted drama—in this respect above all, that it is the one form of literature wherein the century has proved itself daringly original. As every one has evolution on the brain, we may venture to deal with the 'evolution of the Novel' as a chapter in modern history, not less instructive to the philosophic mind (and a deal more authentic) than Professor Haeckel's deduction of man through twenty-two stages from the mythical Bathybius. Romantic literature has, in fact, undergone the most striking development to which any form of art could be submitted—like, as a fanciful observer might suggest, to that whereby woman, the plaything of Oriental luxury without significance for the serious concerns of existence, has been raised to the dignity of a European wife and mother. What was, some hundred years ago, mere story-telling, not distinct in kind from 'The Arabian Nights,' or the 'enormous lies' of a professional jester, paid to make his hearers laugh, has become a microscopic—one had almost said a scientific—investigation into the modes of the actual breathing life which goes on around us, and an effort to reproduce them faithfully, with adequate force and passion in the recital. The Drama, we repeat, has sunk from the soul to scene-painting. Othello and Shylock suggest to London audiences forms of Venetian architecture and canals with moonlight upon them, rather than the demonic pangs of jealousy, the breaking of a noble heart, or the mandevouring indignation of the persecuted medieval Jew. But with the Novel precisely the reverse has happened; and even those grotesque interpreters of a fundamental canon of art, who call themselves 'Impressionists,' are aware that scene-painting—nay, photography—should reveal the spirit which looks out through eyes of flesh. And of this immense movement, or transformation, the most remarkable outcome, taken in the whole, is the modern French Novel.

The father and *eponym* of that dramatic literature in prose we take to be, unquestionably, Jean Jacques Rousseau. Not that the Genevan apprentice, with his malady of day-dreaming, was or could be utterly original. 'Clarissa Harlowe,' the plump, sentimental, heart-rending Clarissa, whose story cannot be read now without tears which one is a little ashamed to be caught shedding, is the true nursing-mother of 'La Nouvelle Héloïse,' and a far more tragic figure. Richardson, like the
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forger of 'Ossian,' has much to answer for in continental literature. His pathos, true or false; his immeasurable sentimentalism, rolling along like the Mississippi in flood-time; and his 'bourgeois virtues,' made an impression upon the French—and even the German intellect—from the consequences of which they have not yet freed themselves. But to the French, Richardson was interpreted by Rousseau, whose *opus magnum* in this line is not his romance but his 'Confessions.' They had long been waiting for such a note to be struck. Their prose had already, within certain narrow limits, attained perfection. Their historians, though not endowed with deep insight, were incomparable *raconteurs*, with an eye for detail and that love of the personal (not to say of the scandalous) which marks the born novelist. To expand a drama, which in Thucydides would have been dismissed in one immortal page, had been their very function. Froissart, the garrulous and delightful; Saint Simon, the austere Jansenist; and Voltaire himself, supreme artist of the merely finite, exhibit in their several fashions the same tendency. It had been the way with the French to portray the general (such 'general' as they could comprehend) by means of the particular, to throw history into scenes, to make it *pose*, as they are fond of saying, to heighten its relief by epithet and epigram; and, on the whole, discarding the learned pallium under which they could not shrug their shoulders with moderate comfort or strike an attitude, to discourse in a *robe de chambre* more or less wittily from Rabelais' easy chair. The medium in which their prose moved had been that of conversation, addressed to a society which was intent altogether on being amused, and was gathered into elegant, well-lighted salons where some great lady held her court, and Alceste, or any other far-off likeness of Hamlet, would be essentially out of his element. But the Tacitean strokes in Saint Simon, nay the disgusting cynical pleasantries of 'Candide,' foreboded a change in the tone of literature. It came with Rousseau, to whom, and by no means to Chateaubriand, as the light-minded Théophile Gautier has asserted, must be ascribed the invention of 'melancholy and modern passion.' Or, more accurately speaking, he did not invent them at all, nor could; but only imported them into France.

Meanwhile, these are qualities, let who will have the credit of them, most alien from Voltaire. Him we might call, by an *oxymoron* which has plenty of truth in it, an 'Epicurean pessimist'—one, that is to say, who was convinced that 'ginger is hot in the mouth,' if only the devil, or some other power equally malignant, were not always snatching it away, leaving one's

jaws to grind *in vacuo* till they bring on the toothache. The prevalent tone of 'M. Arouet, Junior,' is mockery, not melancholy; he has infinite grace and wit, but eschews, or was incapable of feeling, deep passion, for all such implies that there is a good beyond the taste of ginger, be it attainable or unattainable. For Rousseau he felt and has expressed unmitigated scorn. But the mad prophet of Geneva had looked into abysses which Voltaire did but laughingly skirt. Rousseau had enthusiasm, a poetic devotion to solitude, lyrical moods of which the expression in his writings may be compared to sudden flashes of light, or flakes of clear water in 'the green mantle of the standing pool.' With his nauseous sentiment and his still more damnable virtue (*sit venia verbo*), were combined gifts of inspiration, and a sort of bastard divine frenzy which appealed—as Joubert, the strict and sensitive Joubert, has not failed in reminding us—even to those Christians who turned with dislike or dread from Voltaire's irony. One word will indicate the drift of our remarks. And it is due, as we learn from his conversations with Eckermann, to Goethe himself. It is the word 'Romanticism.' To the 'poisonous reptile' Rousseau, if we do not care with Carlyle to account of him as an 'ill-cut serpent of Eternity,' the French are indebted for the thing which has since made the round of the world under that designation.

Yes, Romanticism was the beginning which, interrupted by the great Revolution—during which literature went to make cartridges, or was banished, without distinction of sex, in Madame de Staël—has since bloomed out into a forest of the strangest growths, and with the newspaper (which it has invaded in the shape of the *feuilleton*) seems not unlikely to absorb all modern literature, including in that once respectable category advertisements of soap and mustard, now garnishing the yellow backs of our novels, and the circulars of 'bogus' companies slipped in between their pages. But how comes it, the intelligent reader may here throw in, that Romanticism is, if not dead, yet at its last gasp in French as in English fiction? Have we not overlooked the deep gulf which is fixed (by Zola and Company) between ourselves and Rousseau? Not at all, we make bold to reply. Romanticism and Realism are phases of the same movement, though at first sight they resemble each other as little as the man of forty resembles the stripling of sixteen. The methods have varied—to speak figuratively, landscape and miniature painting have yielded to the rage for photography; but that is the main difference, and it does not touch the heart of the matter. 'Sentiment' has developed into psychology; and psychology, under

under the guidance of Balzac in large measure, has turned to absolute physiology, or the interpretation of character by means of the nerves and tissues—a most significant change, though whether towards heaven or the abyss we do not yet enquire. But from first to last the endeavour has been to delineate life as it appears to the national French imagination. These thousands of novels, which have rained down every year thick as leaves in Vallombrosa, disclose so striking an identity of principles that it is hardly too much to affirm that one individual, granting the moods of youth and middle age through which he must have passed, might have written them all. And herein lies the significance which they possess for the philosopher as for the historian. What the French of this century have contributed in the shape of literature to the World's Fair, is not a noble epic, or tragedies of melodious rhythm which will linger in the ear of humanity for all time—not chapters of an heroic inspired Bible, but lively speaking pictures of their own existence; of what they have been, or would passionately desire to be. Their Romance is their autobiography. In it we listen to the national muse rehearsing their feats of war and love, or dreaming aloud and, in her very sleep and foolish moonstruck babble, 'holding the mirror up to nature,'—Gallic nature, which we shall do well to bear in mind, is human 'with a difference.'

But enough of prologue. Let us strike in at the beginning after Napoleon. The first name is likewise the greatest. When Victor Hugo died, one of the Paris journals opened its *oraison funèbre* on that mixed and mountebank character with a Gargantua phrase. 'Ils ont été quatre,' it began; meaning thereby that three others, of whom Shakspeare might be one, shared with the author of 'Notre Dame de Paris' the honour of sitting crowned, 'like gods together,' on the topmost heights of genius. Alas! one must mournfully remark of the too-daring critic, how should he know? Was it at all likely that he had read the 'precipice-talking' Æschylus, even in a French translation? or had he more than an operatic insight into the 'Romeo and Juliet,'—of 'Lear' there could be no question,—which is among the lesser things achieved by that 'drunken barbarian,' William Shakspeare? The world's literature will recognize Hugo, but hardly amongst the supreme four. What we must acknowledge in the young hero of the 'Battle of Hernani' is a wide-glancing, Titanic imagination, full of lurid lights from the abyss, rather than enriched by contemplation of the many-sided activities of human existence which in Homer and Shakspeare seem to be reproduced, and their beauty heightened,

heightened, as in clear azure. His love of children, reverence for old age, fellow-feeling with the outcast and the wretched; his quaint simplicity of manner on occasion, not without a touch of the old and rustic French courtesy; his daring felicities of style; his picturesque language, coloured like the rainbow, metaphorical, abrupt, and violent; his triumphant manipulation of the intractable cast-iron Alexandrine, most wearisome of metres in which the gods ever spoke, — have been dwelt upon a hundred times. But it cannot be said that he was the master of a new philosophy, or introduced elements which had not been previously at work there, into French literature. He did but throw into startling and magnificent forms the principles which Jean Jacques had developed by means of that insistent corrosive rhetoric, eating its way as straight towards its object as a whole swarm of locusts, whereby he beat down rivals and opponents. As a connecting link, however, between Hugo and Rousseau, we must admit Chateaubriand. 'He it was,' observes Gautier in the passage to which we have alluded, 'who, in the "*Génie du Christianisme*," restored the Gothic cathedral, opened a way into Nature in his "*Natchez*," and in "*René*" invented melancholy and modern passion.' We need scarcely repeat that the sentimental Vicomte de Chateaubriand invented none of these things; that 'the Gothic cathedral' is not absent from Goethe's '*Faust*,' fragments of which antedate the French Revolution by a score of years; and that 'nature and melancholy' are somewhat older than '*René*.' But true it is that Rousseau, had he taken kindly to Catholicism when he was once inside it, might have given us a '*Génie du Christianisme*' idealized in squires and dames, hermits, missionaries, wind-blown forests and all, instead of '*Emile*' and the '*Vicaire Savoyard*.' And '*René*,' with its unspeakable subject-matter of incestuous love, is the very 'stuff o' the fantasy' that the Genevese dreamer would have delighted to meddle with. The intense diabolic sadness is common to both. Fruitless tears, and life overshadowed as with the wings of Satan, who can never heartily laugh, but only sob and grin, and find a heart of evil in all things, that is *René*, as it is the hero of the loathsome '*Confessions*,' who, when he had had enough of existence, flung it away to the dunghill. Undoubtedly in such portents the 'literature of despair,' with its rose-tinted draperies and naphtha lights, might well take its beginning.

'What an astonishing time it was!' cries the before-quoted Théophile. 'Walter Scott was then in the bloom of success; and we were undergoing our initiation into the secrets of Goethe's "*Faust*," which,

which, according to Madame de Stael, has everything in it, and perhaps a little more. We were in process of discovering Shakspeare under the more or less patched-up version of Letourneur. And Byron's poems, "The Corsair," "Lara," "The Giaour," "Manfred," "Beppo," "Don Juan," travelled to us one after another from the East, which had not yet become commonplace. How young, novel, strangely-coloured it all was; how intoxicating, how penetrating was its savour! It made our heads turn; we seemed to be entering upon worlds unknown.*

From Chateaubriand to Victor Hugo is but a step. Suddenly, in 'Notre Dame de Paris,' the Gothic cathedral rises huge and solemn as a dream of the night above the *habitués* of the Boulevards and the fashionable coteries of the Chaussée d'Antin, astonished that for two long centuries such a miracle of frozen music should have stood disregarded in their midst. As a resuscitation of mediæval Paris, the otherwise incorrect and fantastic pictures of that morbid romance have been seldom equalled. Now, too, was 'Nature's infinite book of secrecy' struck open in many a place, and a vast panorama of land and sea unrolled before the French spectator with a most weird yet faithful apprehension of the moods they inspire, in those volumes upon volumes of prose and verse, which culminate in 'Les Travailleurs de la Mer.' And as for 'melancholy and modern passion,' where do they not abound, even to overflowing, in the young impetuous Hugo? 'Hernani,' 'Lucrezia Borgia,' and the other 'condensed Novels,' in which that member of the 'unrivalled Four' displays so superb a contempt for history, owe their fascination in no small degree to the dithyrambic effusions of an instinct which no law, be it of Earth or Heaven, was permitted to check. The passion in 'Notre Dame de Paris' is overwhelming. Nor is it meant to move us less (though in fact it does so) in 'Les Misérables,' or in 'Quatre-Vingt-Treize.' For, like the men of 'storm and stress' in whose path he followed, Hugo broke from the outset with tradition. The old Drama had forbidden an appeal to unmixed passion. There must be no murdering on the stage, no lacerating of the heart by mere torture. The terrible was not to be hideous but sublime, the grotesque to be kept in subordination to wit and fancy, as in the Shakspearian laughter-moving comedies of Aristophanes. But Hugo flung this *cosmic* idea of art to the winds. He deliberately aimed at a gigantic and constantly repulsive excess, as the only way to escape from conventionalities. Life and energy, to his thinking, had chaos

* Gautier, 'Hist. du Romantisme,' p. 5.

for their domain; caprice was the only law which he found within them. Outside of them, indeed, was stern necessity; but not even necessity, as here presented, was cosmic or reasonable. Hugo's creations always tend to the monstrous, the unnatural; they are essentially caricatures of experience, not interpretations of it. His scenic effects—take the murder of Jehan Frolo by Quasimodo as a frightful instance—have in them a sort of physical violence. The reader is almost sorry to have submitted his fancy to them, as he would feel degraded if he were to witness an execution from choice. But to the French Romanticists in their high and palmy days it appeared that disorder, carried to the utmost, was the one means of attaining to that enlargement of passion or faculty which, as Schopenhauer has admirably proved, does enter into or even constitute the purpose of art. To crown the absurdity, nothing more was needed than that Shakspeare should be idolized as the god of this chaotic world.

But such art, if it deserves the name, is as little to be found in nineteen-twentieths of the work of our English poet as in the Greeks themselves. It may be studied, we grant, in 'Titus Andronicus.' It fills as with a deadly vapour the tragic stage whereon 'Vittoria Corombona' and the 'Duchess of Malfy' were produced to the horror, we must believe, rather than the gratification, of a human audience. But how should we have rated Shakspeare had he produced only dramas of blood and cruelty resembling these, acted as in a shambles reeking with gore? Webster and Ford are no favourites whom the English-speaking races have worn in their heart of hearts. It was impossible that they should be. This Hindoo manner of reaching the infinite by exaggeration belongs to the infancy of literature as of painting and sculpture. It is but 'piling on the agony,' a process which ends, as it ought to do, in making us laugh. And its exhibition in a language like French, the note of which is superficial good-sense, nay, an over-fastidious observance of limits (whereby it has been rendered the most unfit of any modern dialect for poetry), cannot but result in something sublimely grotesque, if not purely extravagant and farcical. The extravagant, frankly proclaimed as such, does not offend. We read Dumas' 'Monte Cristo,' 'Trois Mousquetaires,' and other tawdry, mock-heroic imitations of Sir Walter Scott, with toleration, perhaps with amusement. But our amusement in Hugo is not always that which the author intended. Milton has shown us the poet 'soaring in the high reason of his fancy, with his garland and singing robes about him,' transcending the commonplace by rising to the Eternal. He would have gravely warned

Icarus

Icarus not to trust in his wings of wax if he desired to soar towards the sun. Hugo's pinions are too often of this second-hand make, not warranted against increase of temperature, and he comes down, dashed to the ground amid laughter from those who have beheld the true eagle-flights of genius. A French Æschylus, not an Athenian; but yet with some terrible strokes of greatness in him.

His method of proceeding is invariable. To disengage, or set in a romantic light, the passions of mankind, he separates them from the moral and reasoning element, apart from which, as philosophers have considered, they become brutish, not human; and therefore no fit subjects for poetry. We may cite in illustration the varieties of love and hate—every one huge, disproportionate, Cyclopean—which combine in Quasimodo, the mis-shapen deaf mute, who is the hero of 'Notre Dame de Paris.' They are like nothing so much as the feelings of a wolf brought up in captivity, amenable to kindness, but never to reason. Was not this Rousseau's 'man in a state of nature,'—deprived, we must add, of half his senses,—in whom the mainspring of activity is pure impulse? 'By this good light, M. Hugo,' would Trinculo say to his creator, 'this is a very shallow monster—a most poor credulous monster.' For impulse is not the characteristic of man, but the raw material out of which, with endless pain and effort, he is to fashion, at last, himself,—a reasonable nature in harmony with the moral law. But when this 'shallow monster,' whom we could pity for the wrecked humanity which is in him, proceeds to clasp in his arms the dead body of Esmeralda, and dies embracing it amid the foulness of the charnel-house, we have had enough. Reason feels the shock as though it were asked to believe in the existence of the vampire and the wehr-wolf. '*Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.*' Horace was not the least discerning of critics because he insisted on sound common-sense as the foundation of poetry. These abortions, born of Chaos and old Night, are by no means the lovely wonders which the artist promises to bring forth out of his treasures. They are but chimeras of the fancy, unreal and impotent, and as such the mind rejects them; nay, the gorge rises at them.

In not unlike manner has Victor Hugo dealt with the divinest of human feelings, a mother's love, which, in the wild woman of the 'Trou aux Rats,' we see transformed into a passion but little differing, so far as quality is concerned, from the attachment a tigress might show towards her cubs. It is painted, doubtless, in terrific colours, by one who understood the tiger heart—as though William Blake had wrought those curiously
great

great verses of his which we all know into a story. The incoherent cries and pleadings of the dishevelled maniac (for she is no more), when her new-found daughter is torn from her and hanged before her eyes, have an unfathomable depth of horror in them. On such occasions it is that Hugo justifies the Laureate's high description, and becomes the 'Lord of human tears.' But unmixed pathos is not the end even of tragedy. As well might we linger for our gratification by the agonized beds in a hospital ward, as call up tears which bring with them neither light nor strength to man's spirit. More within the bounds of possibility, is Fantine in 'Les Misérables.' Our heart does indeed go out towards the poor bewildered creature, whom her bourgeois lover forsakes, and the police drive hither and thither, and no honest woman will so much as look at, until hunger and love for her little Cosette, the child of shame, compel her to sell the very hair of her head, the teeth out of her mouth, and then what is left of her, soul and body, in the market of women. A sad, true story! That piercing rays of the sublime illuminate these figures, otherwise pitiful enough, no one will deny who has studied them. Yet it is a sublime which quickly passes into the theatrical, and in the very tempest and whirlwind of its power rings false, like a cracked instrument in some mighty orchestra. What, for instance, are we to think of the love which, swooping down upon the sailor-lad of Guernsey in 'Les Travailleurs de la Mer,' thrusts him out upon the solitude of waters among the Douvres rocks? It teaches him all manner of shifts and stratagems to raise the foundered vessel, and bids him brave the terrors of the sky and the deep, of the equinoctial gales and the lurking devil-fish with which he does battle. So far the mind of Gilliatt is of a piece with other men's, and we understand its working. His defiant presence in the loneliness of Nature, like a young Prometheus, appeals strongly to us. But this same love it is which when it can win neither smile nor glance from Déruchette, for whose sake these things were dared, condemns its victim to go back without a word to the place of his exploits, and there to drown himself by inches, in accurate mathematical correspondence to the distance of the boat which is bearing away the unconscious young lady on her wedding-day. Surely this is not to rival Shakspeare's preternatural or subternatural creations, the Ariels and the Calibans, whose feelings are but analogous to the human? It is merely setting before us a fictitious bundle of abstract notions, neither fused together nor made intelligible. And we find it impossible to believe in Gilliatt.

Somewhat nearer to humanity is Claud Frollo, the Archdeacon of

of Paris, in whose lugubrious story, built on the dissonance between temper and calling in a medieval ecclesiastic, such as he is represented to be, we come no doubt upon the granite rock of truth. But here, again, instinct acquires an abnormal mastery. We feel from the commencement that we are following the vagaries of a disordered brain rather than such aberrations as, continually checked or repented of, might have made a deep tragedy. In all these strange, displeasing histories, Hugo relies on the power to which his Archdeacon gives the name of Anangke. But he nowhere explains its nature. It is blind and pitiless; not reason or justice, but rather a malevolent agency that works by putting the seed of madness into the hearts of men. In other words, it is the same blind impulse to which he attributes whatever is good in our human composition. That he unmakes Claud Frollo, has made Quasimodo.

To farther elucidate this point, let us turn to the characters in 'Les Misérables,' which have probably won more hearts among his readers than any others Hugo has drawn. A severe criticism will not altogether spare even Monseigneur Myriel, the good Bishop, or his friend, and ours as we admit very readily, Jean Valjean, the heroic innocent convict, whose resources, like his patience and self-abnegation, seem to have no bounds. These men are respectively types of compassion, and of suffering which, by long continuance, has become sympathetic. But when the Bishop falls on his knees before the old regicide, *le vieux scélérat G.*, and asks his blessing, we inevitably turn aside and smile. We think Monseigneur Myriel should, if we may say so, have known better; and we would fain pass on to a less disturbing instance of his evangelical meekness. Neither does he at another time escape that one touch of the theatrical which seems necessary to French virtue, and is fatal to English gravity. Who can believe that he rebuked Jean Valjean, the soon to be converted galley-slave, for not having taken—that is to say, stolen—in addition to various other articles, his benefactor's silver candlesticks? 'So much virtue,' we are tempted to exclaim, 'in a naughty world, is superfluous: it even savours of the imbecile.' Nor let it be urged that M. Myriel was but translating into current speech certain axioms of the Christian religion. On the like showing, we might, or perhaps ought, to take the parables literally. It should then be the business of a true clergyman to reduce the New Testament to a code of fanaticism as devoid of light as of measure, and to forget that it is addressed to reasonable creatures. But this unnatural method of isolating the virtues and the vices, and by abstraction formulating them in a single principle, 'obey impulse,'

pulse,' which Hugo constantly employs, has the most far-reaching consequences. Consider it in regard to vindictive justice, here arraigned or condemned in the person of Valjean. Is every convict innocent? If so, *cadit quæstio*. But let us suppose him to be guilty, what then, we ask the poet, is to be done with such a man? 'Forgive him, as you are a Christian,' he answers with streaming eyes. As though our personal feeling, or that of all men put together, could alter the fact that this man has wilfully broken a law of the universe. Forgive him, yes; but how if the nature of things will not forgive him? That punishment is the other half of crime, as Æschylus taught long ago, is no device of priest or lawgiver. If a man has sinned, it is good that he should receive the penalty of his sin. And when mercy interposes, there must be due precaution taken that justice, which is the foundation of the world, shall have its due. But throughout Hugo's dramas and stories, the principle suggested is a maudlin benevolence, utterly oblivious of the fact that wrong has been done by the wrong-doer, fixed only in its resolution to believe that pain is painful; from which it concludes that it should be abolished in the interest of the adulterer, the thief, and the assassin.

Read, for instance, 'Le dernier Jour d'un Condamné,' and observe how the crime for which the unhappy man suffers execution is *burked* from the beginning. We are not to know what it was. We are to turn our eyes away from it, and simply to feel the horrid cold of the scissors which clip away the hair on the wretch's neck as he is prepared for the guillotine. Why, of course, we answer, if the first half has not been crime, the second certainly is, on the part of those who carry it out. But is there, in the nature of things, no law of retribution? Or is it not true that history in every stage is the record and witness of it? To bring out that awful and verily Divine law by means of a picture of life, might well be the dramatic poet's task. But no, Hugo returns, it would offend 'sentiment,' which shudders at the sight of pain when inflicted by the deliberate judgment of reason, though it can glory in the murderous impulses of a Quasimodo and the suicide of a Gilliatt. To instinct everything cruel or lascivious may be pardoned; to the highest faculty of man, his well-informed conscience, nothing—when it means that the guilty are to suffer. For crime, as the astonishing French juror finds, there are always 'extenuating circumstances.' But it should seem that not even Hugo's large charity can lessen the sin of a magistrate who, in the name of supreme justice, compels the lawless man to feel what he has made others undergo. In this fashion, free-will
vanishes

vanishes from the stage altogether. The criminal is a victim; his act, at the worst, insanity. What he deserves at our hands is pity and love,—hardly may we speak of forgiveness in connection with his slips from rectitude. The blame must not be laid at his door, for he did not make himself. Society made him; and, in strict accordance with Rousseau's doctrine that man is born good and is good of his very essence, we are to charge his misdemeanours on his education, surroundings, temptations,—on all things but the individual himself.

Hence follows a systematic indictment of the aforesaid culpable society.

'This is the excellent foppery of the world,' says Edmund in 'King Lear,' 'that when we are sick in fortune (often the surfeit of our own behaviour) we make guilty of our disasters, the sun, the moon, and the stars: as if we were villains on necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and traitors by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on.'

Substitute for 'divine' the word 'social' in this passage, and we behold immediately the *dramatis personæ* which have their exits and entrances on the scenes of modern French romance. Here is the apology for their unwholesome lives delivered with frantic earnestness by men who are admitted to be the master-poets of their time, and by women as versatile and eloquent as George Sand, or as bitterly pessimist as Madame Ackermann. A 'social thrusting on' is the force, they assure us, which has shaped and is therefore to be charged with the destinies of these unregenerate 'knaves, thieves, and traitors.' And if we grant Rousseau's doctrine, the conclusion stands firm as adamant. Are men, taken one by one, victims? Then man taken in the mass, or society at large, is the culprit on whose back the lash should be laid unsparingly.

'Les Misérables' is one long indictment against the French social system on this tremendous issue. The law-made galley-slave protests by the mouth of Jean Valjean (in many respects a touching and even noble figure) that he was innocence itself till society found him guilty and branded him as an outcast evermore. Fantine, the poor lost soul, too pitiable to merit the name of courtesan—Gavroche, the child of the Paris gutter, and Eponine, his ragged sister, rise with their lamentable stories into the witness-box, and there ask, by the rhetoric of their mere presence, whether society did not make them what they are? Nay, the subterranean horde of the Claquesous and the Mont-Parnasse, and the Thénardier *alias* Jondrette, who
practise

practise robbery and murder for their living, do but pullulate from a decaying world the rottenness of which has entered into their bones. In all which there lies a deep undeniable core of truth. The sins of legislators have never been small; and helpless creatures like Fantine and Gavroche do and will plead against them, as with the wailing voices of flutes, in the day of Divine Judgment. But the *sæva indignatio* which burnt in the young wild heart of a Jean Jacques must not hurry us into the delusive notion that man is made by his institutions. Far deeper lies the certainty, now as ever, that those institutions are made by man; that in him is the root of bitterness, and something more than the police regulation of street-morality, nay, or of honest hard-working labour itself, is indispensable if we would bring a new world out of the old. We must assert again and again that the environment does not simply create the character; that man has free-will which not all the powers of evil leagued against him can utterly overwhelm; and that self-reliance, meaning in its very nature self-control, is the ultimate factor of our deliverance.

Not thus did the French Romanticists understand their mission. The 'literature of despair' becoming in due course the 'literature of revolt,' raised a great outcry against law and authority whether in heaven or earth. Sentiment, tenderly pathetic or madly defiant, appealed from the Ten Commandments generally to 'nature' and 'freedom.' The law of marriage, the law of property in every shape, abused or legitimate, were assailed with as slight a sense of responsibility as though they had been stage conventionalities like the supposed laws of dramatic place and time. And as the native theme of romance is love, and in France love is said to come after marriage (only it is not uncommonly directed to the wrong person), we cannot be surprised that the institution, upon which are founded the family and the State, was criticised with unsparing severity and reckless satire. Chamfort himself could not have flung vitriol with a deadlier aim on the contract from the benefits of which he was excluded, than do the men and women preachers of this astounding Evangel, whose epistles to the Church of Antichrist were published in the 'Revue des deux Mondes,' or vended at three francs fifty by Michel Lévy Frères, in the Rue Vivienne, numéro 2 bis. And always the first of the Beatitudes seemed to run, 'Blessed are the unclean of heart, for they alone shall love.'

This great host of Doubters which came up with banners flying and drums beating to the siege of Mansoul, as honest John Bunyan would speak, may be divided into companies of
which

which the more numerous were the 'frivolous Doubters,' and the more heroic and well-appointed the 'earnest' or 'melancholy Doubters.' Of the frivolous, headed by the Paul de Kocks, the Eugène Sues, and the Alexandre Dumas pères, what boots it, in this place, to say more than that romantic fiction as dealt in by them was a tissue of adventures, for the most part as little edifying to Christian eyes and ears as the *police des mœurs*—notably a lax institution at Paris even in the days of the Citizen King—would allow to be printed and set out for sale in the shop windows? They were novels of the Lower Empire, base in conception and designed chiefly to furnish ladies of fashion and their *modistes* (essentially the same species, only varied by the nature of their surroundings) with a literature in which two-thirds should be 'episodes in a career of sentiment,' and the rest—to borrow Sir Walter Scott's account of the not dissimilar kind in his early years, 'secret and mysterious' associations of 'Rosycrucians and Illuminati, with all their properties of black cowls, caverns, daggers, electrical machines, trap-doors, and dark lanterns.' 'Le Juif Errant' and 'Les Mystères de Paris' simply minister to a corrupt imagination, nor have they more importance in the history of the Novel as a product of art, than Kotzebue's fustian tragedies have in that of the Drama. Let us call them 'phosphorescent slime,' a decaying element upon which millions of seemingly human creatures lived and throve to their hearts' content for whole generations. But this kind of foulness had in it no death-dealing intellect; it was a stupefying opiate, not the virulent dose which makes its victim run amuck at all the world. It could not well pretend to be religion or a new superfine morality. It was '*Rabelais à la mode de Werther*,' with his sparks of heavenly fire quenched, and mere indecency and sensationalism made the order of the day. For the squadron of 'melancholy Doubters' there was needed another kind of chief than Alexandre Dumas, the purveyor of fiction which he did not write, but which nevertheless he contrived to sell, greatly to his own advantage, when it was stamped with his name. But truly of this whole school, in Dante's phrase, *è bello tacere*.

We hasten to speak of that chief, or chieftainess, whom in the hour of their forward march, the melancholy Doubters sent before them, perched on a cannon, like Mademoiselle Théroigne at the assault of Versailles. George Sand divides with Madame de Staël the honours of French female literature; and if, in point of moral reputation, one is a little embarrassed to choose between them, as regards genius it may be affirmed that the Sibyl of Nohant

Nobant was a far more consummate artist than her Swiss predecessor and rival. But we shall not attempt a parallel between George Sand and Corinne. More interesting it would be, did our space not forbid, to compare or contrast the author of 'Lélia' with our own 'melancholy Doubter,' the tender-hearted, large-brained George Eliot, who perhaps approached as nearly to the Rousseau type of feminine genius as English custom has hitherto permitted. The points of difference, however, are striking and characteristic. Marian Evans, whose decorous immorality excluded her from the company of most virtuous women, would have shrunk, we doubt not, with a surely not unjustifiable touch of Puritanism, from the sight of Madame Dudevant in boy's clothes, among the rabble rout of Parisian *ateliers* and other centres of 'life and culture' in the gay country of Bohemia. When Miss Evans broke the commandments, she did so with a grave face, and almost under a sense of duty. But George Sand had not a particle of Methodism in her composition. From her mother, the child of the Paris pavement, and her not very remote ancestor, Augustus the Strong, King of Poland, she had inherited a vagabond and sensuous nature. The master of her mind, as we do not require to be told, was Jean Jacques, and with him for her spiritual director she went through the experiences of a neglected married woman, and of a *femme incomprise*, until at last she 'took the key of the fields,' as the French have it, and abandoned her husband to his mistress and his orgies. The superior persons, who zealously propagate the formula of 'Art for Art's sake,' tell us that the moral qualities of the artist do not affect his productions whether of hand or brain. Surely, there was never a more convincing proof of the contrary, than the way in which French Romance reflects in itself, and exalts to a species of factitious religion, doctrines manifestly drawn from the lives of its authors. Thackeray, who would now be termed a 'Philistine of genius,'—which perhaps he was,—has made merry in his 'Paris Sketch Book' over the apostles of this latest dispensation, who, having broken the sacred ties of home to follow after their own lusts, proceed thereupon to invent a Gospel which shall not merely pardon but deify these 'little enormities.' He would like to call witnesses to character before accepting their evidence. And why not? Certain it is that the question of French civilization as a whole, and not simply of the art which is here seen to be its outcome, rises before our minds when we open 'Indiana,' 'Valentine,' 'Lélia,' or any other of the early romances with which George Sand made even the well-trained ears of Parisian society to tingle.

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For there is a morality of art, subject to its proper laws, which, while in no sense they run counter to the morality of private life, do yet follow a path of their own, as all will comprehend to whom the phrase 'poetical justice' is not devoid of meaning. But since the laws of morality belong to the same stock and spring out of one root, a thoroughly corrupt soul can no more observe the ethics of literature than it can the ethics of daily conduct. Even Goethe, supreme artist though he was, displays that weakness of intuition repeatedly in 'Wilhelm Meister' as in the 'Venetian Epigrams,' and after a still more lamentable fashion in his dull and stifling romance of the 'Elective Affinities.' He would have exercised, we do not hesitate to say, an incomparably deeper influence on mankind if, like Milton and Schiller, he had kept himself free from moral blemish. As much, in its degree, may be said of Victor Hugo, whose biography recals more than one episode on which no admirer of his would care to dwell. The man's scandalous servility under every *régime*, except that of Napoleon III. who drove him out of France, was only surpassed by the self-adulation which, if in others of his countrymen it appears like a disease, in him assumed the proportions and for years led him to indulge in the language of mania. And both the time-serving and the vanity have left their trace in his writings.

Hugo and Goethe, however, have nothing in common. But a likeness has been suggested, not absurdly, between the latter and George Sand. In both we find a high artistic perfection, a versatility and abundance, and a marvellously soft yet clear colouring, which combines something of Raffaele with the Caracci gracefulness. Again, they were both distinguished for a singular *bonhomie*, free from pretence or affectation; while, when we compare their first works with their later, we cannot but see in them a certain purifying of the flame from smoke. But, above all, they resembled one another in their complete detachment from persons once passionately loved. Always their chief aim appears to have been the development of their own character at whatever cost. Goethe tells his sentimental experiences with unruffled composure. 'Werther' may be a lyrical outburst, and the story of Frederika of Sesenheim a very charming pastoral, but never once does the narrator let slip his self-control. He stands outside his own creations, though they have sprung from his heart. With no less suppression of the personal element does George Sand describe her relations with Alfred de Musset in 'Elle et Lui.' It is an admirable canvas, full of fire and passion, artistically considered; but she has ground her poet into paint, and lays on the colour without

giving a second thought to the life-blood which has supplied its crimson. Again, she takes up her parable, and writes of herself and Chopin in 'Lucrezia Floriani,'—the manuscript of which, she naïvely assures us, was read chapter by chapter to the gentleman who undoubtedly furnished the original of Prince Karol. To what lengths Madame Sand's audacity of self-portraiture could reach, those will know whom duty or inclination has led to the study of that remarkable, if not very exhilarating, story. Like 'Valentine,' it belongs to a world—we cannot say an unfallen one—in which shame is not. And yet the book is no production of a cynic, if we are to understand by cynicism what it was at the beginning, virtue turned inside out. For the virtue which in Christian countries is accounted the glory of womanhood, appears to have had no more place in George Sand's catalogue of moral observances than in that of Madame de Warens. Her Lucrezia Floriani, whose four children have had three different fathers,—but that is a detail,—pleads with actually a not ignoble eloquence, for the rôle she has taken up on the stage of life. It is not precisely that of a courtesan purchasable with money,—she is careful to reassure us on that head,—but of an *hetæra* who gives herself according to the impulse of the moment. Thérèse, in 'Elle et Lui,' has not fallen quite so far into the ditch. But her purity is just as much a counterfeit of the real unknown thing which George Sand perhaps believed she was exalting. It is pure ignorance, and that is all.

The fixed starting-point in this very strange and comical realm is the violability of the marriage-contract. It becomes what Sophie Arnould called it, 'The sacrament of adultery.' From 'Indiana,' with its lovely rhythmical prose and its reminiscences of 'Paul et Virginie,' to 'La Marquise' and 'Constance Verrier,' we listen to the same unvarying tale. Everywhere the 'sensibilities of the heart' rule as a first principle; duty does not count; or it becomes, as in 'Jacques,' the French duty of the husband committing suicide that his wife and her lover may be happy. Nor are we to suppose these things burlesque. They have been written in sober sadness, for our instruction. Their drift is not irony; they are simply due to the false ideal which the keenest-witted nation in Europe has set up and diligently worshipped, as Titania doted on the ass's head of bully Bottom. 'Show us the path of Bernica, or the lake of Sténio, or the glaciers of Jacques,' is the exclamation which George Sand puts into the mouth of her own children when they enquire of her for wisdom. In other words, 'Teach us an heroic, high-sentimental doctrine of suicide, as the only stoicism

stoicism which we are capable of enduring, or understanding.' Love is always to be in excess, always a blind motion, always criminal, always disastrous. There is but one virtue, self-sacrifice. 'A noble Christian sentiment,' we are on the point of answering, when we are confounded by the explanation that it is self-sacrifice coming as the last act of despair. Thérèse—which is, being interpreted, George Sand—offers this consolation to her lover. They cannot live in one another's company, —for sentiment is after all mere egoism, and nothing is so dreary as the conflict of selfishness between two of the species. 'Therefore,' counsels Thérèse, 'let us die together.' The last sacrament of this religion is a pan of charcoal. Indiana, too, travels with her cavalier servente to the Isle of France that they may perish more romantically, though at greater cost,—to say nothing of sea-sickness,—than if they had stayed at home. The atmosphere of 'Lélia' is impregnated with suicide like a miasma. But George Sand, like Goethe, outlived that doctrine. Jacques might fling himself over the glacier; his creator never did. When she had examined life from this point of view, she calmly moved on to a second; and, as we all know, she survived to a good old age. It is significant, however, that Rousseau, as we have observed, did, in all probability, make away with himself. Nor can we doubt that the philosophy which issues in so horrible a conclusion, has sunk deep into the minds of cultivated Parisians. On this subject, statistics and current literature do not leave us uncertain.

These are some of the leading principles which shape and control the 'literature of despair'; nor is it difficult to perceive how an 'age of decadence' should have been its sequel. But the word 'Romanticism' leads to farther considerations as to the method which our melancholy teachers have pursued, in commending their poisoned chalice as a substitute for the old religion to mankind at large. It was an axiom with them—and we may regret that others, better qualified to be the guides of Christendom, have been slow in learning it—that to persuade the brain we must charm the imagination. Now Romanticism, we may say,—to make what profit we can of terms which the greatest of our critics, Coleridge, has vainly endeavoured to naturalize among us,—has affinities with the 'Reason' of the Kantian schools. It is the method of the imagination enlightened by ideals. Or again, to throw out expressions which, in default of better, may perhaps be intelligible to the initiated, let us affirm that it transcends the finite categories of the 'understanding,' that it eschews the conventional whether of art or society, and holds to the instinctive and unconscious.

By all means, if one quite took in this lofty language! However, even the untraveller John Bull can seize the distinction, though he probably has never tried his hand at defining it, between Scott's 'Bride of Lammermoor,' for instance, and Fielding's 'Tom Jones.' Clearly it is a distinction which goes beyond costume and manner of speech; nay, beyond choice of incident. 'Tom Jones' has been thought the supreme production in its own kind; but is its kind supreme? Have we not come to recognize that the Shakspearian interpretation of reality lies closer to facts, revealing immensities in the little and eternities in the things of every day which no Fielding, perfect as he may be in surface-painting, has so much as dreamt of? Now here is the substance, and the justification, of genuine Romanticism. Shakspeare's treatment is always romantic. His characters live and move in Nature, spreading around and away from them in boundless prospects. The little human society, shut up within its four walls, and mainly occupied in feeding its hungry senses coarsely or daintily—which is the 'world' of our century as of the preceding—he takes in his giant grasp and flings out upon the night and the stars. How much grander, even, we may fancy his dealing with it would have been, though essentially unchanged, had he known that the sun itself is but a planet travelling with its system through space towards who can tell what constellation? It is the knitting of Nature with man, the descent of man into his own spirit—this opening of two worlds, the inner and the outer, equally vast, strange, and terrible, into one another which Romanticism at its best signifies. To tear aside the veil of conventionalism, painted over with commonplace superstitions, with religions in which no one has more than a lip belief, with institutions out of which the life is gone, with customs justified by no rational significance—to sweep all this away, and lay bare the sanctuary and the Divine presence—was the aim, had they but rightly apprehended their mission, of the bold insurgents who appealed from high-heeled shoes, and the *récit de Thérèse* to the tragi-comedy of existence at large.

But we need hardly observe that in so doing, these adventurous paladins, headed by Théophile Gautier in his too famous waistcoat, were only translating into French a doctrine which had been presented with philosophical breadth by Herder, and Goethe, and Schiller, as with infinite quaintness yet rich and persuasive eloquence by Jean Paul. The fatality which seems to dog all French translation could not be lacking at this conjuncture. Heine has related, in his mocking vein, the answer which was given him by various Parisian newspapers when

when he offered them an original view. 'Cela n'entre pas dans l'idée de notre journal,' they politely informed him. It was, and still is, an impossible undertaking to put German thoughts into a Gallic brain; and all known methods of reducing the cubic expansion of the former for that purpose end in leaving the most valuable parts behind. The reasoned imagination of a Shakspeare, and, in its measure, of a Goethe, became, as we have seen, in Victor Hugo mere sensuous fancy. It was as though the human spirit had incarnated itself in some lower creation, and all its faculties had sunk to the level of the thing into which it had entered. But fancy is the ape of imagination, not its fellow. On this scale, however, the whole of modern French literature has been constructed. The intellect, confined within the limits of mere 'understanding,' must needs debase the ideal of duty to an imperious Fate without compassion or regard for man, change love into voluptuousness, the beautiful into the pleasant, aspiration into animal desire, and religion with its solemn outlooks into fantasy.

This utter transformation was aided in no slight degree by a peculiarity of the French language, remarked on somewhere in George Sand's 'Impressions et Souvenirs,' and distinctly perceptible to one who compares it with English. We mean that, while the grammar is precise and definite, the vocabulary is by no means so. French words, as a rule, are much more abstract than either English or German. They have less colour and circumstantial force, are not nearly so picturesque, and leave on the mind a sketchy, unfinished impression. It is a great mistake to suppose that the senses give all men the like information. 'The eye sees that which it brings with it to see.' The quality of mind it is which informs the senses, directing them to what they would otherwise have overlooked; and here perhaps we should seek for the primary distinction between the epochs of literature. Men have always the same number of senses. Then why did not the eighteenth century read in Nature what is plain and palpable to us of the nineteenth? In like manner we may ask, why are the French, as a people, content to know so much less of the world out-of-doors than Englishmen know? Why have we twenty words for the different kinds of trees in a copse which we use habitually, and they but two or three? So it is, however; and while our most pregnant speech combines the terms of high imagination with the commonest weeds of the field, with the vessels and furniture of the homestead, as exemplified in George Eliot, Carlyle, and Dickens, — to take examples from the last generation, — in France the language of society has usurped enormous dominion, the

the country dialects have been regarded as mere *patois*; and rhetoric, not poetry, has come to be looked upon as the chief gift of a classic author. But rhetoric is always, in large measure, conventional.

Romanticism did, indeed, make desperate efforts to get things called by their everyday names; a spade was henceforth to be a spade, not 'an implement of agriculture;' and even Peter Bell, with his yellow primrose, would have been welcomed as an ally against the elegant parsimony of Racine, who had but some fifteen (or is it sixteen?) hundred and twenty words in his satchel. The French of Hugo, Sand, or Gautier, is a richly coloured, harmonious, and varied dialect, compared with the rippling current, at once so clear and so shallow, of Voltaire. In Balzac we have a Corinthian brass, fused of all elements from the technique of science to the slang of the gutter. But neither Realist nor Romanticist can give to the language what perhaps it never had, a sense of the infinite in the real, or, to speak less obscurely, that poetic insight to which common things are like so many mirrors of a spiritual world, reflecting it in symbol and shadow. On this side, where English excels by nature, it has been our great good fortune to have always recognized as at once the standard of literature as of religious belief, that Hebrew Bible which makes of things seen, whether high or low, vehicles and media of the eternal. Whatever dull rhetoric may have sounded in the ears of the nation since the days of Tillotson, there was never wanting a witness to rebuke it by showing how much grander was the speech handed down from Tyndale, no less than from Shakspeare, from Milton the Puritan as from Milton the poet. In France, however, when the classics of Louis XIV. ceased to be in honour, there was no higher literature to which men could turn. Their standard was still the judgment of 'The Forty;' they could not touch the commonplace without soiling their hands. Vague rhetoric,—invocations of Nature, Doubt, Freedom, Love (all these must be spelled with capital letters or they become of none effect), had to supply the place left vacant by the Christian religion, which they had not so much rejected as forgotten during the Terror and the wars of Napoleon. Even to-day, there is no little conjuring with these Pharaoh's serpents in the high places of French legislation. But it may be questioned whether any one believes in them. A culture of fine feelings at any time is little short of an organized hypocrisy. We may rely upon it that M. Yves Guyot smiles at his brother augurs when he handles in the tribune these poor fangless reptiles. Of such declamatory sound and fury, signifying nothing, or
worse,

worse, these 'melancholy Doubters' possessed an inexhaustible store. 'Les Misérables' abounds in it as 'Clarissa Harlowe' does in tender sentiment, by the yard,—by the furlong. Much of George Sand's earlier writing, especially 'Lélia,' 'Spiridion,' and the series of religious rhapsodies to which they belong, almost overpowers one with voluble discourse concerning Love, Doubt, Freedom, and Fraternity. It is the very false gallop of the sublime, and will remind the irreverent, to whom Pierre Leroux is no more an apostle than any other Pierre, not so much of Pegasus in harness, as of a well-trained circus pony, going round the ring or vaulting through hoops at the crack of his master's whip. The ultra-masonic initiation which takes up so many weary chapters of 'La Comtesse de Rudolstadt' probably exhibits these rushlight illuminations, and this sham theatrical thunder,—the rolling of sheet-iron distinctly perceptible throughout,—at its perfection. All is calculated for an audience in pit and boxes, to be startled or seduced into applause.

But in George Sand's volatile yet passionate nature there was always one sound element, with which Romanticism might and did achieve great things. She has propounded a sensual scepticism in the mantle of 'Lélia'; reproduced in 'Consuelo,' 'Leone Leoni,' 'La Dernière Aldini,' and many other volumes, her vivid Titianesque impressions of Venice and its daily life; pictured castles in Bohemia (not the Paris one) tenanted by mad descendants of the mad Taborites; sketched Sicilian bandits in 'Il Piccinino,' and Byronic pirates in 'L'Uscoque.' Her fidelity to nature in the description of the Campagna Romana and the Alban Hills is astonishing, though the story in which it occurs, 'La Daniella,' has no great charm. She has even transported us to Scandinavia in her entertaining romance, 'L'homme de Neige,'—a remarkable voyage for such a stay-at-home temperament as the French, and more successful, to our mind, than Balzac's 'Séraphita.' The Alpine scenery, again, of 'Valvedre' and 'Un Dernier Amour' carries with it a keen air, and is bright with the mountain freshness. But unquestionably her noblest work was done in painting the quiet landscape, so full of delicious touches, of her native Berri. When we think of George Sand, it is La Vallée Noire, rather than palaces on the Grand Canal, with which we associate her. The warm tropical scenery of 'Indiana,' and still more the lovely descriptions wrought into the otherwise shameful tragedies of 'Valentine' and 'Jacques,' announced that, when the fires of her passion should be a little spent, the author would turn for consolation, perhaps even for cleansing from the stains

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of youth, to nature, and to the simple, true-hearted peasantry among whom she had been brought up.

The time came at length. 'André,' her first essay in this kind, was succeeded by 'La Mare au Diable,' which some have thought the most perfect idyll she has written. 'François le Champi' was coming out, when the Revolution of February 1848 put an abrupt stop to all except political enterprises, in her conduct of which Madame Sand showed more energy and decision than her male colleagues, but could achieve nothing durable. Then the social reformers were swept away in a storm of fiery hail during the 'days of June,' and all likelihood vanished of founding a Utopia in the gardens of the Tuileries. George Sand retreated to her diminutive château of Nohant, there to reproduce in her charming style the quaintly humorous stories, rustic legends, and exquisite *naïveté* of manners which she had come to understand as she sat listening from early days to the women beating hemp round the hearth on winter evenings, or rode about with gamekeepers and shepherd folk, not disdaining the friendship, either, of any good honest fellow who might be *un peu braconnier* when he happened to have a gun in his hand at the time a hare was running by.

In these unpretending tales, 'La Petite Fadette,' 'Jeanne,' 'Les Maîtres Sonneurs'—it needs not to set down the names of books with which the reading world is so familiar—that task which Romanticism aimed at fulfilling, is certainly accomplished, and with infinite pathos and charm. Who has not enjoyed and been touched with the simple affectionateness, and clear good sense, which has just a point of *malice* in it to keep all sound and wholesome, of 'La Petite Fadette'? Or who does not feel heartily glad, as if the world had discovered more goodness at the heart of it than one quite believed in, when Madeleine Blanchet consents, to her own great surprise, to marry the straight-limbed, curly-headed *Champi*, for whom she has suffered many a sour rebuke, and does it in the most innocent, loving way imaginable? Another pair whom Millet would paint for us with the unconscious beauty of expression they have in the book, are Germain and La Petite Marie, whose love story is the subject of 'La Mare au Diable.' Like unto them is the brave and gentle Huriel, player on the *cornemuse*, woodman, and friend of all the country-side, in 'Les Maîtres Sonneurs.' This is a volume of purely rustic French, most racy and delightful, suggesting to us how much has been lost to the Classic or Parisian literature by its determined suppression of local colour, provincialisms, and the thousand and one not ungraceful peculiarities of diction as of breeding which lingered half a century ago,

ago, and are not yet wholly extinct, in the depths of France. The village life has still those idyllic aspects, those mornings in the great woods where the winds are fresh and cold, those Sunday afternoons with their music and dancing on the green, those rural fêtes at which Goldsmith might have blown melody into his wandering flute. But few have known the ways of the French peasant as George Sand knew them. To have gone down, so to speak, into the heart of his existence, to have eaten of his bread and drunk of his cup of *sour piquette*, when it was not unmixed water, was a condition of her astonishing exactitude in drawing him as he lives and moves. But she needed, likewise, to stand away from it, to view it as a whole, before she could render its meaning transparent. Experience was plainly not enough, for who among the millions of rustic France could have given a true account, as she has done, of their curious customs; their neighbourly kindnesses and jealousies, loves and quarrels; their dumb feeling with the beasts of the field and the stones of the brook; their superstitions, fears, traditional religion; their cloudy horizon of knowledge on which things foreign and distant gleam as faintly as stars in a fog? The genius which could render these things faithfully was unique; it has had no successor.

Even to her it is a sombre world in which Jacques Bonhomme passes his days. How lovely Nature had made it she is never tired of telling us, in her 'Promenades autour d'un Village,' in 'André,'—a story of streams and meadows, where the dull country town is like a blot in the beautiful writing,—in that lively and original *scenario* 'Le Diable aux Champs.' But, 'Nature is vanishing,' she exclaims towards the close of her long life, as she looks out over that agricultural France of which we are sometimes told that its prosperity is the soundest thing left in Europe:—

'Under the hand of the peasant,' she continues, 'the large timber is disappearing, the *landes* are losing their freshness, and we must travel far from the towns to enjoy silence, to breathe the fragrance of the wild plants, or to catch the secret of the murmuring brook rippling at its ease. All is now clearance, levelling, straightening, enclosures, regularity, fences;' and she concludes, 'The rich man alone still has the right to keep a little corner of nature for his personal enjoyment. Whenever an agrarian law comes into force, there will not be a tree left standing in France.'*

The peasant proprietor cannot afford to cultivate the art of landscape. But more. If it has been held as the essential

* 'Impressions et Souvenirs,' p. 326.

distinction between civilized man and the savage, that the latter cuts down the tree in order to enjoy its fruits, then evidently the race which has now settled upon the land of France is savage in the whole extent of the word; for it sacrifices the future to the present, and is exhausting the fertility of the soil as well as making an end of pastoral beauty. 'The Forest of Ardennes,' cries George Sand, again, 'where is it now? There is no room for it in the struggle of markets and the fierce onslaught of these barbarians, to whom its immemorial trees are worth only what they will fetch as dead timber. Rosalind and Orlando, and the melancholy Jaques, must trudge along the high road seeking vainly for a relic of the primeval forest in countries which are all enclosed, and where to trespass in search of the picturesque has become an offence at law, like stealing pheasants and snaring leverets.' How changed, indeed, would be the atmosphere of her most touching stories, if the woods and waters ceased to fill them with a murmur of life! But the streams will soon be drains to feed canals; and the woods have been already felled over immense tracts where dull beet-root, and sarrasin to make black bread, and root-crops for Pharaoh's lean kine, offer a dismal prospect to the traveller, as though the universe had become one base kitchen-garden. Such is the reign of equality and utility which has succeeded, not to better governments, but to what was surely a less inhuman ideal.

And it is a world of suffering, too. George Sand has not painted—her disposition would not allow her to dwell upon—the appalling sordidness, the perfectly bestial avarice, which fill the pages of 'Eugénie Grandet,' and others of Balzac's studies in money-getting. She took no pleasure in dissecting a miser's soul. But how, for example, the women who are minded to be generous suffer in her rustic stories! Poor Madeleine Blanchet cannot give away a morsel to the wretched Zabelle and her *Champi*, but the old mother-in-law remarks it and grumbles that 'there is too much bread eaten at the mill.' Too much bread eaten! No country yokel, earning his ten shillings a week in Dorsetshire, has yet arrived at the state of mind which these words express. He does not measure his drink—more is the pity. But neither has he come to weigh his bread by ounces. He starves occasionally; and perhaps starvation has its advantages, when compared with a wolfish scare lest bread should be wanting to us because we have bestowed a crust on a beggar. But wherever 'the rage of individual possession' has been suffered to have its way, as in modern France, without let or hindrance, there will be an end to the
freedom

freedom of heart which, in spite of poverty and in the face of privations, refuses cheerily to look upon lands and money as the *summum bonum*. Not by bread alone does man live. Yet in the France of to-day the whole tendency is to believe that, if he lifts his eyes from the furrow in which he is walking, it will be reckoned against him, and he will find the earth a stepmother. And he fells the forests, pollutes the rivers, burns up the wild vegetation which clad the wilderness with beauty, and would coin the sunset into dollars if his brutal alchemy could draw it down to him.

Of these things George Sand was well aware. They made her heart bleed. But with the passion for equality which is so little known among Englishmen, that they can hardly enter into its meaning when they hear of it as a factor in the revolutions of France, she wrote and spoke,—of course vehemently,—in favour of a vague Socialism where every peasant should have his rood of land, yet be free from the grinding tyranny of the money-lender. A consummation not yet reached, nor likely to be, while the peasant himself is devoured with 'earth-hunger,' and has lost even the dim notion his forefathers had that society is an organism and not a scramble or a Donnybrook Fair, of which the guiding maxim, if you have a stick in your hand, is 'wherever you see a head, hit it.' The small proprietors beat one another down with sticks, and the usurer hunts them with a *chassepôt*. Women slave in the fields, and even Germain, the well-to-do *laboureur* in 'La Mare au Diable,' who has lost his young wife, is reminded that, if he waits till he is thirty, he will be too old to marry again. The dream of 'a kindly, free, poetic, laborious, and simple existence for the tiller of the soil,' not only has not hitherto been realized, but every day recedes into the farther distance, while an aristocracy founded on money-bags and a government of 'second-rate horse-doctors,' if we may believe the late M. Gambetta's account of his honourable associates in the Chamber of Deputies, combine to rob their thirty-seven millions of 'equal subjects' at once of all standing-ground in this world and of the hope of any in the next.

It is worth observing that the author of the *Fadettes* and the *Germanins*, though she wrote much of foreign scenes and peoples, has not shown the least enthusiasm for Paris. She prefers her innocent *bergeries*. Acquainted though she was by hard experience, with those *mansardes* from which genius has so often looked on the panorama of the Seine, and less satisfied than Madame de Staël (who had her own carriage) with the gutter of the Rue du Bac, she has declined, nevertheless, a
contest

contest with Balzac,—the Dante of this grim Inferno. Even when her stories led her to Paris, she has either left the background in shadow or lighted it, prettily enough, with the lamps in the Champs Elysées. Her books contain no vision of the great city. 'L'histoire de ma Vie,' which may be conveniently treated as a romance, does indeed show us the inside of the Convent of the Dames Anglaises where she passed some years, and was converted, in a mystical unsatisfactory way, to the Christian religion. It is admirable writing, clear, fresh, entertaining, and in perfect measure. But Paris lies a thousand miles away from it. So afterwards, when she tells, so far as they can be related without scandal, the literary and other adventures in which she was engaged, there were but too many occasions when she might have filled her canvas with original figures, more truthful than Balzac's impossible orgies in 'La Peau de Chagrin,' but quite as Dantean. However, she prefers to discuss Fourier and Michel of Bourges, to portray her delightful old Voltairean grandmother, to tell us with astounding frankness the story of her mother's loves and quarrels, and to write the chapters in which her own mental development is recorded, showing how narrowly she escaped becoming a Madame Bovary in person. Her peculiar temperament, meditative and enthusiastic, made her less at home in general society than any French writer except Rousseau. She found no inspiration in the streets which Balzac's hard yet magical pen, and poor starved Méryon's graving tool, have reproduced in all their unwholesome reality, their glaring lights and high-kindled, sulphureous shadows, peopled with the multitude of debauched men and women who to-day must pawn their rags for bread, and to-morrow cannot find costumes dainty enough or jewels brilliant enough wherewith to deck themselves in the magasins of the Louvre and the Rue de Rivoli. There was something of the Italian rather than the Frenchwoman in her disposition. She resembled Corinne, not Madame Marneffe. Or, perhaps we should say that her essentially idyllic nature had little in common with the corrupt artificial type to which all things beyond the Bois de Boulogne seem foreign and uninteresting.

We have now, therefore, reached the city on the Seine from which with Victor Hugo we set out; and Balzac and his descendants, legitimate or illegitimate, must carry on the story of French novel-writing. Let us cast a glance over the way we have travelled. Fiction, we hold, in the stage to which it has advanced among our Gallic neighbours, has become a department of the national autobiography. We may liken it to the
battle-pieces

battle-pieces which cover so many acres of canvas at Versailles. But it is a picture more than equal in extent, and far superior in merit, to that flaming, smoke-begirt exhibition of all the glories of France. The grouping, if largely fantastic, is in many instances faithful; the colouring, though smutched and daubed, reveals—it may be in a single corner like Balzac's 'Chef d'œuvre inconnu'—the hand of the master. Much is caricature, idle dreaming, impossible conjunctures. And a more philosophical century will be entitled to write in the margin 'Ægri Somnia,'—'such things did a fever-stricken, God-forsaken time murmur in its sleep.' But amid these dreams may be discovered on a careful inspection reminiscences of truth and reality. They reveal the political convictions, the moral axioms, nay some of the elements of religion,—or what shall we call it?—which have gone far to make the France of our time a hissing and an astonishment to the rest of civilized mankind.

This great movement, however, which began with Romanticism is ending in Realism. From Rousseau through Chateaubriand, Hugo, and George Sand, it has descended, by the way of Balzac and Flaubert, to the Zolas who degrade literature to the 'photography of the moment.' In the long space from 1815 to 1890 the question so fiercely debated between Classicists and Romanticists has shifted ground; and as the defenders of Corneille and Racine were compelled to meet the attacks of Hugo and his motley following in the 'Battle of Hernani,' so now the latter have been assailed in turn, and have fallen back into a position not unlike that which they denounced in 1822 as *perruquinisme*, or the school of tie-wigs and hair-powder. For they had revolted in the name of life and a close study of nature from the self-styled classic drama (which typified the entire literature) of the age of Louis Quatorze. In nothing did they glory so much as in breaking down the barriers set up by the Academy and the 'Art Poétique' of Boileau between the speech of the people and that in which the Méropes and the Phèdres declaimed their ancient woes. The periwig, says Hugo in some famous verses of 'Les Contemplations,' became a lion's mane; words which had been condemned to the galleys suddenly sprang before the footlights and began to contend for tragic palms with the aristocracy of language, now, like all things else, condemned to pay homage to the standard of '93. Literature was to be made democratic that it might share in the universal freedom. There was to be a general gaol delivery of vocables hitherto not suffered by ears polite. And so, as we have seen, it came to pass. But the

the whirligig of time brings its revenges; and if the changes of fashion are known in another world, Corneille and Racine may at this moment be enjoying the defeat which not Hugo alone, but the whole movement of which he was the head and front, is undergoing at the hands of a truculent host of 'physiological novelists,' 'scientific Realists,' and other as strange apparitions, who, raising aloft that identical banner of nature and freedom, have inaugurated the decadence or the demoralization of French art generally and of romance in particular. Action and reaction have proved equal and opposite. Yet we assert, and we believe there is little difficulty in showing, that in every phase of its development, the influence of Rousseau on French current literature has been paramount.

For Rousseau appeals throughout his writings to passion kindled, not by the ideals of reason, but by sensuous instincts bent on their own gratification. He substitutes for reason sentiment, as instead of duty he preaches the pursuit of happiness as the aim of life. His favourite, nay his supreme 'state of consciousness' is a kind of voluptuous day-dreaming, into which the severe powers of the spirit do not enter. Passion, reverie, introspection, with a huge development of the Ego,—these are the elements or instruments wherewith he builds up his scheme of the *Vita Beata*. Not strenuous exertion, not the subduing of instinct to law, but the free surrender to every passing fancy is what makes the staple of his life and doctrine. Nor could it be otherwise if sentiment is to be the governing principle in human nature; for of this it may be said with absolute truth, that no man has touched its wave twice. It is a perpetual flux determined by ten thousand accidents, and no two alike, a succession of moments where one feeling is chased by another like clouds by a changing wind. Accordingly, when we turn to the writers of French Romance, we find them without exception occupied in delineating passion and its consequences, but never arriving at a law of life, not even, in spite of Hugo and his sublime caricature, at that conception of fatality or Nemesis from which the Greek poets drew such high religious lessons. Whether it be the 'literature of despair,' which fills the first half of this century, or the 'literature of decadence,' which seems likely to outlast the second, we nowhere see in it a revelation of the purposes apart from which life can have no meaning. And of this utter failure to contribute to the world's enduring classics there is but one explanation: that instead of searching into the facts of life with the aid of moral principles,—to say nothing of the Christian beliefs,—these men and women have lost themselves
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amid the delusions of sentiment, imagining that by freedom must be understood a deliverance of instinct from the yoke of the law, and a filling oneself with the fruits of one's own devices.

That such has been the general tendency of Romanticism, not the Shakspearian, in touch with infinitude, but that which derives its scope and inspiration from 'La Nouvelle Héloïse,' we think no one will call in question who has read its productions for any more serious purpose than that of occupying an idle hour. But if so, it is a truth eminently worth stating; for on novels and newspapers the multitude even of cultivated people depend, rather than on the formal teaching of divines or philosophers, for their views of life. Hugo, George Sand, Balzac, have spoken to millions in the two hemispheres; and at the end of half a century their influence does not seem to be on the wane. Are they classics, or only pseudo-classics? Nay, are they not classics at all, but only what Carlyle would have called 'the Devil's horn-books'? It is an enquiry pregnant with results for the future. We have spoken our convictions as regards the first and more genial phase of the movement, in which foreign ideals, the contemporary influence of Goethe and Sir Walter Scott, and the idolatry, somewhat founded on misapprehension, of Shakspeare, exerted a dominant sway. It remains to consider the second, when Shakspeare has been forgotten, and Goethe flung on one side, and French fiction is mainly concerned with self-portraiture in the photographer's studio, under the limits assigned by Realism. Our verdict has been already foreshadowed; but the subject is a large one, and we must defer treating it until another occasion.

- ART. II.—1. *Buddhism, in its connexion with Brāhmanism and Hindūism, and in its contrast with Christianity.* By Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E. London, 1889.
2. *Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order.* By Dr. Hermann Oldenberg. Translated from the German by William Hoey, M.A., D. Lit. London, 1882.

THE enthusiasm for Buddhism, which has been aroused of late years among us, has probably passed its highest point. A few years ago the magazines were full of it; and every young lady, who made any pretensions to the higher culture, was prepared to admire 'such a beautiful religion and so like Christianity.' But the height of this is already past, and it is safe to predict a further decline of the popular interest in the subject, not only because fashions change, but for the juster reason, that part of the claims of Buddhism on the popular interest are found to have rested on imperfect knowledge. Henceforth the study will be not less important or less really fruitful, but less attractive to the many. For of the most striking features of the picture of Buddha and his religion, such as its earliest European students presented it—of those features which so vividly impressed the imagination and won the heart of readers—some at least have lost effectiveness, since they have been realised more accurately, and shown in truer proportion to surrounding facts.

The daring reformer, who stood up alone against a dominant caste to proclaim the brotherhood and equality of man; the isolated thinker, who struck out a whole system of philosophy and morals, independent of or opposed to all that had preceded it; his heroic career of self-sacrifice and life laid down for his friends;—that vast literature, pervaded by love and purity, rich in proverb and parable, moving in such high regions of philosophy;—that world-wide community, in whose romantic monasteries, under rock-temple and leaf-hut, through all those silent centuries men rapt above the world had lived the calm life of meditation;—all these are seen now, by any one who cares to know the truth, in forms more commonplace, less original, less complete. In fact, of the phrases which we have just brought together about 'the Buddha, the Law and the Order,' some are quite false and scarcely one is quite true. When we first discover a group of mountains from a distance, one point may seem a faultless pyramid, another mass a well-built castle, a third may imitate the features of a human face, or the form of a lion; but we come nearer, and none of these is there.

there. The geologist and the naturalist—yes, and the painter too—find abundant work and treasure, but there is less to amuse the mere sightseer. So it is with our knowledge of Buddhism.

Perhaps this might be said of every study in the world in turn, but it is particularly true of this study in its present phase. The publication of Sir Monier Monier-Williams's work marks this phase, and its title, 'Buddhism, in its connexion with Brāhmanism and Hindūism, and in its contrast with Christianity,' indicates one principal element of the advance, which we have noted, in the point of view from which the subject is to be regarded. We have here a work in which Buddhism is treated popularly, and yet in its proper relation to the wider system of which it is a result or a part.

The Professor enumerates in his Preface five points which, he says, 'I think, may invest my researches with a distinctive character of their own.' The fourth of these, in our judgment, is by far the most important. 'I have brought,' says Sir Monier very justly, 'to the study of Buddhism and its sacred language Pali, a life-long preparatory study of Brahmanism and its sacred language Sanscrit.' He is not the first who has done so; but among those who have, no one is better qualified. No one has worked more patiently and usefully, though some have worked more brilliantly. In regard to Buddhism itself our author does not rank as an original authority. He is a judge peculiarly qualified to estimate, from an important point of view, the evidence which the direct students of Buddhism have submitted. The originality of his present work lies chiefly in this: that when he confirms what other Sanscritists have said before him, as well as when he adds what they had not remarked, his judgment is that of an independent and competent authority.

The earlier students of Buddhism were not, as a rule, well acquainted either with Sanscrit or with Brahmanism. This applies to almost all those by whom the Southern Buddhism was investigated in the countries in which it prevails. This applies to Turnour, the pioneer of Pali study, to Gogerly and Spence Hardy and Bigandet, and even to Childers and to Rhys Davids at the date of his 'Buddhism.' It is true in a degree, and, as regards acquaintance with Brahmanism, of the earlier students of the Northern Buddhism; of Hodgson and even of Burnouf, though they read the Buddhist literature in Sanscrit. For the knowledge of Vedic and Brahmanic literature, which is now possessed by scholars, was not within their reach.

Hence those who popularised in Europe the results of these

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men's labours, notably the brilliant Barthélémy St. Hilaire, were led to treat Buddhism too much by itself. It was for them and for their readers a unique phenomenon. Its points of contrast with other Indian systems were more easily seen than its affinities with them. The degree of its dependence on previous thought and custom was under-rated, and its debt to the genius and foresight of its founder was over-estimated. Of late years the case has been very different. The work has passed for the most part into the hands of men who, like Sir M. Monier-Williams, if not often to so high a degree, are qualified for their task by a knowledge of the other Eastern languages, literatures, and schools of thought. Whereas Turnour and Gogerly studied Pali as an independent language and Buddhism as a unique religion, Pali is now read as a dialect of Sanscrit and Buddhism as a phase of Brahmanism. This in its turn may be overdone; and it may be questioned whether Sanscritists have not sometimes led us to read a Buddhist text, rather in the light of the meaning which its words had previously borne, or of the sources from which it was derived, than in the light of the interpretation actually put upon it by Buddhists.

Of the promises made by our author in his preface, this that we have mentioned is the one which is best fulfilled. His weakest part is that which he claims to base upon his 'personal investigations in the sacred land of Buddhism, as well as in Ceylon and on the borders of Tibet.' What he tells us of the present state of Buddhism in these countries, only adds another to the many proofs, how unsafe it is for even a well-informed traveller to trust the results of enquiries, made in a hurried visit of people who often imperfectly understand him, and still more often spare themselves the trouble of giving any answer but that which they see he expects. The Professor's notices of Buddhist customs in Ceylon, for instance, form a conspicuous exception to the accuracy which is evident in other parts of his work. A native scholar remarked of the Professor's visit: 'He floated over our island like a cloud.' The comparison, in Oriental lips, is a complimentary one. It implies that he diffused wherever he went a gracious influence; though it hints at the same time that he did not carry away much with him.

Our author claims further, and justly,—and in it consists much of the value of his work,—'to present in one volume a comprehensive survey of the entire range of Buddhism, from its earliest origin in India, to its latest modern development in other Asiatic countries.' This promise he has so well fulfilled that

that the reader who has mastered his volume may be satisfied that he knows all that any one but a specialist need know upon the subject. Yet in bringing together North and South, past and present, legendary and historical, we venture to think he has sometimes failed to distinguish clearly enough the local from the fundamental, the legendary from the historical. He either sets too little value on chronology, or has too little confidence in the sources of it in this case. In fact he sets aside far too peremptorily the chronological data supplied by the Pali histories. A modern tale from Tibet comes suddenly into the midst of a discussion of the Pali authorities, which in fact it rather contradicts than illustrates.* The details of the various hells come in among the old fundamental doctrines.† In other places, things which are as characteristic of the present Buddhism as of the oldest, like the 'Atasil,' are spoken of only in the past tense. So in regard to the distinction between North and South. For instance, the polytheistic corruption of the cultus of Buddha, which is traced, is even more completely unknown to Ceylon than our author represents.‡ There has never been in Ceylon any personification of the Law or of the Community as objects of worship; nor is Maitri ever worshipped there or looked to as an existing power, as would be gathered from the words, 'Maitreya retains the distinction of being the only Bodhi-sattva worshipped by all Buddhist countries, whether in the South or in the North.'§ The Buddha himself has never in Ceylon been worshipped as a god. Yet for those who wish to form a just estimate of Buddhism these historical and local distinctions are of essential importance. In a systematic treatise, the presentation of Buddhism in its later developments ought to be preceded by as distinct a statement as possible of the earliest ascertainable form of the tradition about Gautama and his teaching; and this again requires, as its introduction, a purely historical statement of the extent to which actual evidence guarantees that tradition.

In the historical treatment of the subject, the dated edicts of Asoka (Piyadasi) form of course the point of departure. The mention in these of contemporary Greek kings fixes their date beyond a doubt—the earliest dating from about 251 B.C. And the earlier of them unquestionably set forth moral principles which correspond with Buddhism or some form of it, while the later specify the 'community,' and speak of the author of the Law under his title of 'the Buddha,' and refer to religious

* Page 131. † Page 121. ‡ Page 134, seq. § Page 182.
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treatises which can be with some probability identified with parts of the Tipitaka.

From the date of this king, and from Buddhism as we find it in his edicts, the student must work backwards and onwards. Happily the Pali chronicles preserved in Ceylon (*Dipavansa* and *Mahavansa*) identify this king; give an account of his conversion and stupendous exertions on behalf of Buddhism; and confirm his date—and their own accuracy—by bringing him within the range of Greek history, as being the grandson of *Candra-gupta* or *Sandracottus*. The student thus finds himself on firm ground, and with a guide whom he has good reason to trust. The same chronicles tell us that in the time of this *Asoka* (244–242 B.C.) a great Buddhist Council was held, at which the canon of the sacred books was finally revised. Although it is a mistake to say that such a Council is mentioned in any Edict, or that the Edicts refer to the Tipitaka as such, yet when they are looked at as a series, the Edicts are found to indicate, as having taken place within the range of time which they cover, some important formulation of the system. The early ones are only indistinctly Buddhist; a later group profess and evince a much greater earnestness, on the king's part: while at the latest date a sudden advance is observable; the Buddha is spoken of; the community of the king's country (*Magadha*) is addressed; and the utterances of the Buddha are commended by name.

It is pretty certain therefore that the Buddhism of *Asoka's* day, in its theory at least and literary aspect, was such as the present Pali Tipitaka represents. How far it may even then have differed in practice from this standard, it is impossible to say; but that there did exist a difference between the literature as it stood in the canon, and the religion as it was popularly held, may be gathered from the language—though this is often obscure—of the Edicts themselves.

The same Pali chronicles, which are proved trustworthy back to this date, are equally explicit and confident in their record of two or three centuries preceding; and how far backwards we may safely go along with them is the question on which our earlier history of Buddhism depends. They tell us of two former Councils, and of the exact circumstances of each; and these earlier Councils are described in similar terms in the Tipitaka itself. Even if the earlier of these, said to have been held immediately after the Buddha's death, be held to have been recorded in the chronicles only on the authority of the Tipitaka, this cannot have been the case with the second Council, that of *Vesali*. The history is too continuous and reasonable

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to allow us to doubt that this took place about 380 B.C., and that the main part of the Tipitaka was thus already in existence. The fact that this Council is recorded in the Vinaya Pitaka is of course enough to prove that it was not till after the Council that the whole canon was completed.

For events before the date of Vesali, we have probably nothing to go upon but the statements and the indirect evidence of the Pitakas themselves; but as far back as that, the soundness of the conclusions just stated is confirmed, by slight but unimpeachable testimony from other quarters.

In the reign of that Sandracottus who has been mentioned as grandfather of Asoka—about half-way, that is, between the Council of Vesali (381 B.C.) and that of Patna (243 B.C.)—the Greek Megasthenes resided at the Indian court; and extracts from his description of the India of those days are preserved to us by Strabo. Buddhism is not mentioned there by name (and indeed there is no fixed name for it even in the Pitakas), but customs are described and terms are used (not to go into details) which favour the conclusion that Buddhist principles and the Buddhist community were widely spread.

Again, in the carvings which adorn the most ancient of the Buddhist relic shrines or dagabas, and date either from the time of Asoka, or a period not much later, there are found illustrations of events or legends represented exactly as they are described, not only in the so-called canonical books, but in the 'Jataka Commentary,' and in the life of Buddha which forms its introduction. That introduction is certainly of later date than the canonical books, and is an amplification of the notices scattered in different places of them. Before these sculptures were made, the contents of those comparatively recent books, and even their phraseology, must have been popularly known.

The same conclusion follows from the indisputable fact, that some parts of the Pitakas are older than others, and that some books, like the Dhammapada, consist wholly or in part of extracts from other books. And in some which must be reckoned among the older parts, there are indications of their present form having been preceded by a still older metrical version. We may safely assert therefore that the historical proof of the existence of Buddhism reaches far back into the fourth century B.C. The 'Buddha-system,' as it was called, was by that time a compact system of teaching and custom, with accepted traditions about its founder and the circumstances of its origin.

The substance of that tradition has been often repeated.

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The first really scholarly statement of it, and of the facts of Buddhism generally, in English, was that by Professor Rhys Davids in his 'Manual of Buddhism,'—a work which has hardly been superseded even now, although the years since its publication have seen large additions to the published sources of information. Its accuracy was somewhat impaired, as regards the colour put upon facts, by a tendency—of which the writer was perhaps hardly conscious—to carry on a running comparison, helped out by borrowing titles and assimilating phrases, between Buddhism and Christianity. But later writers, including Sir M. Monier-Williams, have found little to alter in Professor Davids' description and estimate. What they have done—and here Professor Oldenberg's admirable work has been most explicit—is to show how far the story of Gautama is from being, and from having been thought by its earliest narrators to be, a wholly singular story; how much of what is called his teaching is what he had in common with his age; how naturally even the points in his system which were singular grew out of those which he received. The Gautama of the early records did not take up arms against all the customs and opinions of his time. He was not conspicuous as a religious outlaw. The times in which he is said to have flourished were times when there was ample tolerance for sects and schools of every shade of thought. So far from finding a compact and tyrannical caste, arrayed against all novel suggestions, an intellectual reformer in those days must have found himself at home in a world of reformers. Such the Buddhist books everywhere reveal. A teacher, roaming from town to town with a vast train of hearers, might meet a rival teacher with as large a train who adhered to a rival doctrine or way of liberation from evil; or might find, when he came to the pleasant grove in which he meant to establish himself, that the head of another sect was installed in it already. There is no overpowering Brahmin caste; the Buddhist Teacher claims, without giving undue offence, to be the true Brahman. Kings welcome new sects and dismiss their old preceptors lightly and without disturbance. Exceptions may be cited to this picture, but it is true in its general effect.

Teachers and followers alike left the world and household life, and tried to root out passion; lived as hermits, like the famous legendary 'Rishis' of times still more ancient, or gathered as 'communities' in monastic life. Gautama was only one amongst many, who came out from home and kindred (Abhinikkhamanam, incorrectly rendered 'renunciation') and sought 'Nirvana,' and devised rules for moral restraint, and
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methods of meditation. Some of these fled from the chains of desire, to seek complete emancipation by extreme austerity. Gautama was singular only in avoiding singularity; his was the 'Middle Way.'

It seems to us that Sir M. Monier-Williams dwells too exclusively on the 'monastic brotherhood,' involving the celibate life and the admission of members from all castes, as if it were the primary feature and principal object of Gautama's teaching. We think rather that *knowledge*, knowledge of the true transitoriness of things, and the purgation of passion and thought by means of this knowledge, was his primary aim (as it was in some form or other that of many of his rival teachers), and that the open Community was a result of his communicating that supposed knowledge to others; a result due less to any forethought of his, than to the operation of the habits of his day. He is not represented in the Vinaya as beginning by announcing a Community: he announced a *discovery*, and the *community* formed itself. He did not set himself to enquire what mode of life would be best for men, but what was the *cause* of their misery.

Indeed a Buddhist could not but say that Gautama's scheme was far more wide reaching than the Community. He was 'Teacher of the three worlds,' and preached his doctrine out of love to all living beings. While only human beings and among them males, free from certain disqualifications, could have place in the Community, the Way, which rested on the knowledge of universal impermanence, was for all, women as well as men, brutes, demigods, and gods as well as mankind.

Certainly the claim made in the Buddhist books is, not that Gautama's singular boon to the worlds consisted in the insistence on monastic or celibate life, or even in his opening this to all ranks and castes alike, but in his discovery, by his untaught insight unaided by inference, of the nature and causes of misery and the escape from it. It is on the form which his thought on these points took that his claim was founded. The others would have been nothing new.

'We repeat,' says Sir M. Monier-Williams, 'that in his main design Gautama was after all no innovator; no introducer of novel ideas. Monachism had always been a favourite adjunct of the Brahmanical system, and respect for monastic life had taken deep root among the people. . . . In fact, it was through these very states of life that Gautama himself, as a Kshatriya, was theoretically bound to have passed.'

Our author, and other high authorities with him, think that Gautama's main originality lay in the *openness* of his brotherhood. The Professor writes: 'What ought (rather) to be claimed for him is that he was the first to establish a universal brotherhood (Sangha) of cœnobite members, open to persons of all ranks.' If in this he was original—but had not other teachers been, was not he himself, of Kshatriya caste, not Brahmin? in the other sects and trains of disciples was there less of openness?—he certainly is not represented as having urged it as a principal point. This admission of men from all ranks is not stated as a leading principle, as far as we know, in any of the short compendiums of his teaching; there is no "*udāna*" or outburst of inspiration, giving expression to it. We believe rather that it was a result not consciously aimed at. By discouraging sacrifice, he removed the need of Brahmins; by discouraging the belief in the sanctity of fire, he loosened the bonds of every caste; by proclaiming a short formula as the way to truth, he made it obviously possible for the unlearned to come in. And so all came in; and the Community became comprehensive. Of its first members nearly all were of high rank; rank and caste were constantly taken notice of within it; and practically in later times, its privileges have been very largely restricted by caste limitations.

Neither the method of Community life,—for the Community was never co-extensive with the work of Gautama; nor the denial of caste distinctions—for this was an accident rather than an aim—but *the precise form of his metaphysical theory*, is what Gautama's early followers believed to have been his peculiar gift to the three worlds. None of the several propositions were apparently new to Brahmanism, but the relation supposed to be established between them was either so clearly or so newly stated, as to give to the 'Four Truths' the appearance of a discovery. In the light of these 'Four Truths' the statement of 'the impermanence of all (compounded) things' appeared as the revelation of a secret.

Every sermon leads up to the communication of this secret; every conversion consists in the apprehension of it; all who have a glimpse of it have entered the path; those who get full sight of it are saints and emancipated at once. 'All things are impermanent; Sorrow is inherent in existence.' Strange as it seems, it is no less certain that this position—a false and base one, as it is—is treated in Buddhism as the motive of all effort towards self-purification and self-control, and of the tenderest outpourings of kindness, goodwill, gentleness, and forgiveness towards all other beings.

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It is represented as the sufficient motive for the community life with all its rules. When it is once grasped, all other moral principles are evident. Some habits of thought, which it is impossible now to trace, made the early Buddhists fancy that all their teacher's influence and their own devotion rested on this. We are content to wonder at their habits of thought, and to believe that all the force and charm which have made Buddhism a power in the world lay in things quite irrelevant to this or inconsistent with it.

'Aniccá vata sankhárá!' ('all things are unabiding!') this is the endless burden which runs through the whole composition. But the music is better than its supposed theme. Its power lies in the variations and in the charm of the *player's touch*. We believe it to have been something in the personal gifts of Gautama; his charm, his tact, his tenderness,—the union of the sage with the friend,—not anything in his discovery or in his institutions, which gave him so vast and abiding an influence. But to judge of this we need to have before us the picture of Gautama in its oldest and most authentic form, and therefore we must invite the reader to turn back with us to some of the historical questions; and to glance with us at the documents,—the Tipitaka,—on whose claims to antiquity we have already touched. We glanced at their external history: let us look for internal evidence.

Of the threefold collection of sacred books,—the Vinaya Pitaka, Sutta Pitaka, and Abhidhamma Pitaka,—the third is still but little known, and so far as we have seen it hardly repays perusal. It is excessively dull, and fuller of repetitions even than the other parts. It is probably latest in date, and contains rather expansions of the teaching of other books, on moral conduct, and to a great extent on the methods and benefits of meditation, than, what early scholars were led to suppose it, a treatise on metaphysics. The Sutta Pitaka contains most of the expositions of doctrine and moral exhortations, many of them extracted from the places where they occur in the Vinaya Pitaka, and accompanied in some cases by a great deal of the historical or legendary matter in which they are there embedded. It is from these Suttas, which are very numerous, and vary in length from a page to a volume, and in character from a hymn, like the Mahamangala S., to a chapter of biography, like the Maha Parinibbana Sutta, that the original Buddhist doctrine is chiefly to be gathered. This Pitaka is therefore most emphatically a collection. It was doubtless brought together after the Vinaya had been compiled, and when, besides the Vinaya, large numbers of sermons not therein contained had been composed
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and recorded. Some of the Suttas are such as could only have been written when Buddhist doctrines had been long formulated: they are summaries or eulogies of its principles. Others are hardly Buddhist in tone, and may have been drawn into the collection from non-Buddhist sources. Such is the pretty poem on the duty of putting out food for the 'manes' of the dead — 'Tiro kuddesu tiṭṭhanti.' Take, for instance, the lines:—

'Such of their kinsmen as are merciful bestow on them at due seasons food and drink, pure, sweet, and suitable. Let this be done for your departed friends, let them be satisfied.

'Then, gathering together here, the assembled spirits of our kinsmen will rejoice greatly in a plentiful repast.'

The ordinary Buddhist use of 'Peto' (Preta), here rendered (by Childers) 'spirit,' is as the name of a creature in a very low, penal condition; a goblin, who lives on filthy food. And it is manifest that the thought of ancestors in this condition would not be pleasant. They would not be spoken of as in the opening lines of this Sutta:—

'They stand outside our dwellings, at our windows, at the corners of our streets; they stand at our doors, revisiting their old homes.'

The poem is, we believe, among those now recited in 'Pirit,' on occasion of funerals,* but it can hardly be of Buddhist origin. It is drawn into the very practical service of Buddhism by its last lines, which intimate that the gifts intended for the 'Preta' may be lodged with the 'priest.'

Other members of the Sutta Pitaka are themselves confessedly collections of extracts, such as is conspicuously the 'Dhammapada,' a collection of maxims and 'golden sentences' of various origin, Buddhist and other,—some drawn from Suttas, some from the Vinaya, some from Sanscrit sources. The Jataka again is in a stage still more advanced than a collection,—it is the index of a collection of stories, with the verses (gāthā), which either form the moral of each story or embody part of it in a metrical form. Before this member of the Pitaka could have been constructed, the vast collection of fables and other folklore which it represents must have been got together, and moulded to the service of Buddhism. It is evident that this Sutta Pitaka—this collection of sermons, hymns, compilations, extracts, and indices—must have been the growth of time. It represents a long accumulation.

* See Sir M. Monier-Williams, pp. 317, 361.

The Vinaya is earlier. In it the fragments of biography, and some of the sermons with the narrative of the occasion on which they were delivered, are found in their earliest shape. The form of the book, as indeed of almost all Buddhist canonical books, is biographical; but the mass of its contents consists of what its name implies, rules for the discipline and training of the community. While most of these rules are only for form's sake introduced as having been decreed on some particular occasion, in a considerable number of cases, the occasion is narrated at length, and has every appearance of being a genuine story. Many most interesting sketches of character, many incidents of Indian life in those days, many exhibitions of Gautama's character, occur here; and constitute, for the historian at least, the most valuable part of the Buddhist canon. The first section, the Mahavagga, opens with Buddha's attainment of Buddhahood, under the Bodhi tree, and describes his meditations thereafter; his first adherents, and the steps—most natural and lifelike—by which system and systematic admission became necessary; the conversion of certain ascetics by a display of wonders; his first meeting with the king, and the conversion of the two great disciples, Sariputta and Moggallana.

In this narrative (which forms part of the first book of Mahavagga) are embodied, as having been taught to one group of learners or another, the Four Truths and the eightfold way, the falsehood of the belief in a permanent 'self,' the uselessness of penances, including two complete Suttas (the Adittapariyaya and the Dhamma-cakka-ppavattana Sutta), and some of the main outlines of the rules of the community are laid down. Gautama is brought into contact, in the course of this first book, with a great variety of persons, to each of whom he adapts his discourse with some propriety.

All this bears on its face the character of an early stage in the records of Gautama's doings and sayings. Yet within this Vinaya, if not in this first book of it, high authorities think they can trace an earlier nucleus, around which later matter has accumulated. And this is not all. In the Vinaya as we have it are quoted a considerable number of metrical passages, both doctrinal and narrative. Even if these do not prove an earlier metrical version of the whole, they at least prove that a metrical account of important parts was already current.

If then the threefold collection existed in any sense at the data of Vesali, as Oldenberg and others believe, or even if it was complete—which it would be unreasonable to doubt—by the time of Asoka, the period, during which the literature was being

being composed or assimilated, and collected, must run back into the fifth century B.C., if not to a date very little later than that now generally assigned to the death of Gautama, c. 480 B.C. If this be so, it seems to follow that in the earliest part of the Tipitaka at any rate, we have a true account of what Gautama and his immediate followers instituted and believed.

The chief difficulty in the way of such a conclusion lies in this, that even the latest of the edicts of Asoka do not specify any of the formulas of doctrine, or mention by their present names any of the present books with which we are acquainted. It is a serious difficulty. It is not likely that formulas would have become in course of time less definite; and in fact we find their stereotyped forms as rigid as ever many centuries later; nor is it easy to see why the king kept clear of them. But in the present state of our knowledge we cannot allow this difficulty to outweigh the consideration on the other side. Possibly Asoka was not, even at the last, so intelligent a Buddhist as the Pali chroniclers delight to represent him. The edicts are obscure and in part imperfect. And scholars do identify under different names some at least of the treatises which Asoka recommends for his subjects' study.

Let us look then in the Vinaya Pitaka for the Buddhism of 400 B.C.

We are not going to weary our readers by a sketch of the life of Gautama or his doctrines. But in the course of what we have to remark about them we hope to bring into prominence the most important points. And we must premise that the reader who would study Buddha in the Vinaya must not bring his 'Light of Asia' with him. The Sir Edwin Arnold of the fourth or fifth century B.C. had far slighter materials at his command: he was nearer the facts.

In the first book of the Mahavagga, as we have said, one of the most important parts of Gautama's career is described,—his first realization of the great principles which he was to teach, his first sermons, the accession of his first adherents, and the original constitution of his community. Of this part of the book Professors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg say: 'It contains the oldest version accessible to us now and, most probably, for ever, of what the Buddhist fraternity deemed to be the history of their master's life in its most important period.' Now what strikes us in reading it? In the first place, the extreme naturalness of the mention of individuals, such as Gautama's two early teachers, the five with whom he had lived in his days of austerity, and others, as persons well known; and the confirmation

firmation thus given to that part of the account of Gautama's earlier days, which is contained in the introduction to the Jataka Commentary (the generally received 'Life of Gautama').

Secondly, we notice an entire absence of anything at all like the Christian history, or of reference to anything like the temptation. *Māra* comes twice upon the scene, but as opponent or enemy only, not as tempter.

Thirdly, and to this we would draw special attention, parts of the book are distinguished from other parts by the presence in them of those metrical quotations to which allusion has been made, and the remark is obvious that the antiquity of the contents of those parts, which are supported by the metrical quotations, is the best guaranteed. We do not assert that those parts in which the quotations exist were written earlier than the rest of the book. The whole may have been composed in its present form, at the same time. But the statements for which there are metrical quotations, had, it is evident, been made before. The case may have been the same with the rest of the statements in the book, but we have not the same guarantee for this. The portions thus supported are, the chapters which contain the concise statements of doctrine, the assertions of Buddhahood, and certain very simple historical notices, the movements of Gautama from town to town, and his interviews with the earliest disciples. Those from which the metrical indications of an earlier version are absent, are notably, that in which a great display of miracles is recorded (ch. 15-21) and that in which detailed rules for the monastic life are contained (ch. 25-79). The metrical quotations are in the first fourteen chapters and in chapters 22-24. The significance of this latter instance will be felt at once when it is pointed out that chapters 22-24 record the introduction of Gautama to Bimbisara king of Magadha, and the conversion of Kassapa, Sariputta and Moggallāna; facts which are indisputably historical.

In order to ascertain whether any reliance can be placed on these indications from the presence or absence of the metrical passages, we turn now to the Life of Gautama in the Jataka Commentary; that is, to the parts (II. and III.) of that work, which concern the life of Gautama in the present age. That work also contains a number of metrical quotations. Those in the first part, which concerns former Buddhas and this Buddha in former births, may be dismissed for the present. In the parts which deal with what purports to be the historical life of Gautama, how are the metrical quotations disposed?

In regard to all that preceded his birth, the wonders which accompanied it, and the visit of the ascetic (whom some have compared

compared to Simeon), no metrical version is adduced. The first stanza cited is that which gives the names of the eight Brahmins who were summoned, according to regular custom, to inspect the child and pronounce upon his marks (of luck, &c.). The next is the exclamation of a young girl who saw Gautama pass: 'Blessed are the parents and the wife of such a man!' In the whole of the rest of the 'Life,' up to the attainment of Buddhahood, there are only two more quotations. Of these one merely enumerates the requisites of a monk (bowl, robes, &c.). The other, it must be confessed, would make against the conclusion which we have been suggesting,—that there was a metrical record which contained only the simple elements of the story,—for it narrates an incident in the highly elaborated account of Gautama's so-called 'Renunciation,' viz. the casting of his hair, when he had cut it off, into the sky, where it was received by Indra and enshrined. But this stanza may be put on one side, for it is in a metre different from that of all the rest with which we have been dealing.

On the attainment of Buddhahood, the Life tells us that the gods sent up a song of joy. It is, however, not a narrative or necessarily part of one, or in any way similar to the stanzas which we have noticed as guarantees of narrative. All the other stanzas in the Life are either quoted expressly from the Pitaka, or are the same stanzas as we have found in the first book of Mahavagga.

These considerations would seem to lead to the conclusion, that there was a metrical record prior to the first book of the Mahavagga,—and, *a fortiori*, prior to the work, whatever it was, from which the author of the Jataka Commentary drew his materials,—which contained only the very simplest elements of the story.*

In the first portion of the Jataka Life, which refers to previous ages and former Buddhas, and the accomplishment of the various Perfections by him who was to be Gautama, there is abundance of metrical matter, but it is of an entirely different character. It is a continuous narrative, in verses of the type

* We are not prepared finally to assert this conclusion, but throw it out for the consideration of scholars. The kind of verse which we should point to, as having formed part of this lost primary record, is of the form—

'Dhammo have rakkhati dhammacārim.'

This form is common in the Jataka book, where the verses (gāthā) are generally admitted to be of great antiquity. For instance—

'Ye kukkura rāja kulāsmi vaddhā,'

or,

'Migan tipallattham anekamāyam.'

used

used constantly by the last compilers of the Pitaka books, and is in this case probably of a very much later date. To this there is one exception, the exception which proves the rule. It is the stanza of which we have already quoted the first line, 'Dhammo have,' &c. (224 Fansboll Jat., vol. i. p. 31), which Rhys Davids translates, 'Religion verily protects him who walks according thereto,' &c. And this is quoted as a saying of the Buddha.

We are far from maintaining that all the ordinary *slohas* are recent, or that there is nothing historical in the parts of the Vinaya which are not mixed with verses. But we do think that the ordinary *sloka* form was used by the final compilers of the books (as indeed the *uddānaṃ* shows), and the stanza we have instanced, by the earliest teachers.

A Life, constructed out of such stanzas and the chapters in which they are found, would not indeed exclude the miraculous and the incredible; but it would contain little or nothing of those elements, except as strictly incidental to events which are in the highest degree natural and probable. It would consist mainly of the first, second, and fourth recitation-portions of the Mahavagga. The last section of the Jataka Life adds nothing to this. It is confessedly founded on an account written in the same style and metre as the first section. Such a life would be of course fragmentary. We have the help of this primary record for a small portion of the subject only, but by contrasting its character with that of the later record we may learn how to estimate the latter.

But the portion of the subject over which we can travel, in company with what survives of the primary metrical record, contains all that is most important, and indeed all that is essential. It presents to us Gautama inspired by the conviction that by the force of meditation, and unaided by the schools of his day, he has become a Buddha, possessed of that knowledge which all the world is seeking. Though he might apply this to his own benefit alone, he determines to communicate it to the world. The 'chain of causation,' by which from ignorance by way of desire arise existence, birth, death, and misery; the necessary inherence of misery in existence, with 'the Four Noble Truths,' and the eightfold path which leads to the extinction of suffering by the extinction of desire; the unreality of self, and the impermanence of all things,—all these fundamental principles of Buddhism are here contained.

The teacher is presented to us as falling naturally into conversation with individuals and groups of men, or delivering more formal addresses. He goes to Benares and to Rajagaha, to

to the traditional scenes of his teaching in the deer-park Isipatana, and the garden of Veluvana. His first adherents attach themselves to him uninvited; others are welcomed with the simple word 'come'; and in due course the methods of regular admission are instituted. The distinction of monk and householder, and the outlines of the monastic life, are drawn.

In the course of this work, Gautama is prompted by Brahma, and defied by Mara, and innumerable deities rejoice; but without obscuring or disturbing the natural and credible course of things.

In these three recitation-portions then, we have 'in a nutshell' the authentic kernel of Buddhism. The rest of the 'sacred books' and Commentaries are the expansion of its teaching: the Jataka Life, the Lalita Vistara, and the 'Light of Asia' are the fanciful development, in successive degrees, of its biography; the rules of the Vinaya, the divergent systems of North and South, the missionary conquests, and the loss of India, are the historical issue of its events.

Throughout we may observe—and it is the key to all—the working of those strangely contrasted elements, of metaphysics and of feeling, which Gautama combined.

Let us return to consider his teaching in its general outlines.

The Buddha appears before us at one moment as the proponent of the Four Truths, with all their barrenness, their helplessness; and we are prepared to endorse all that has been said of his system, as pessimist and nihilist; but in another moment he is the genial friend, the considerate and patient teacher, tenderly compassionate to every living thing. Friendliness and kindness, purity, home duties—his lips are full of these. The Gautama of the Sigalovada, of the Metta Sutta, of parts of the Mahaparinibbana—what has he in common with the metaphysician of the Bodhi tree? Between these two, and linking them, is the system of meditation; the boasted calm and apathy of the sage, in whom the last remnant of conscious intercourse with the external world is eradicated.

We are not over-anxious about being able to exhibit these different elements in a connected series. The assumption that Buddhism must, if we only study it enough, be found a consistent whole, is quite a gratuitous assumption. Perhaps we may safely assert that the moral system (*sīla*) is linked to the metaphysical (Four Noble Truths) by the theory of meditation (*Samādhi*). Meditation on the Four Truths leads, by way of recollectedness (*sati*), to moral conduct; but to moral conduct in its cold, egotistic, negative side,—to detachment, immobility, patience.

Passages

Passages may be found which would favour the idea that patience, by way of forbearance and forgiveness, leads up to kindness and the positive exercise of good will; but this would not be the true account of the matter. The duties of kindness and good will come from another side of Gautama's teaching altogether, and are allied to the duties of giving gifts and of sparing life. For it must be pointed out, in justice to the earlier Buddhism of the texts and commentaries, that the precept against taking life does not, in them, stand in the bald isolation from all considerations of feeling and of 'humanity,' in which it is found in the practical religion of modern Buddhists. In Ceylon, at least, the ordinary Buddhist is characterized by the want of what we call 'humanity,' whether towards men or towards animals. The recent official report of a Commissioner, who has been enquiring into the crime of Ceylon, tells us that the Buddhist part of the community are more given to homicide than any Asiatic people :—

'It is very remarkable that a race of Buddhists, who profess to abhor the taking of life in any form, should stand first on the list of homicides, not only in Ceylon, but perhaps in the world.' (Report on 'The Administration of Police, &c., in Ceylon.' By A. H. Giles, Officiating Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Bengal.)

Mr. Giles adds :—

'Buddhists in higher latitudes are not exceptionally homicidal, and it seems that climatic influences have overcome religious scruples.'

The low latitude will not account, however, for the Buddhists in Ceylon being so much more apt to murder than the Hindus or others in the same island.

And the want of feeling towards animals shown by the generality of the Sinhalese is notorious. They shrink with a curious false conscientiousness from taking life, but their aversion to it seems to be in obedience to some merely arbitrary law, or rather to a belief in a mechanical connexion between the act of taking life and future disaster, than to any perception of its relation to the principles of love and pity. But in the texts and commentaries it is not so. To injure no living thing (*ahinsā*), to allow all living things the enjoyment of security, or freedom from fear (*abhayaṃ*), is urged as the highest duty, and is placed in close connexion with positive goodwill. We say 'positive goodwill' rather than 'active goodwill,' because, even in the best instances, goodwill is seldom represented as going further than what is subjective—a kindly feeling excited by the sage in his own breast and for his own benefit; or what is negative—his refraining from acts and expressions of resentment.

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What goes beyond this, comes rather under the head of giving (*dānaṃ*), which may occasionally rise to 'charity,' but is for the most part too closely associated with the interest of the giver as the mechanical cause of merit, and with the interest of the community, as the 'field' in which the liberality of the householder can be most profitably invested. It is difficult to realize until one has seen it, the degree to which gratitude, or at any rate the expression of it, is checked in Buddhists by the conviction that it is the giver who gains—in the 'merit' which his action acquires; 'merit' being the mechanical cause of future prosperity. The recipient of alms, when reminded that he might say 'thank you,' has been known to reply sulkily, 'You have secured the merit!' In fact the form which thanks take is either a congratulation like the above, or a wish, 'May the merit be fulfilled to you!' The latter is the form in which monks of some sects acknowledge alms, while those of other sects make no acknowledgment.

We have strayed a little from our course in touching on these aspects of Buddhist morality; but they are practically the principal points in it, and the consideration of them shows us how they spring in reality from disconnected and even inconsistent sources. We must be content to offer no better explanation than this of the paradox, by which a belief that all life is evil is associated with a morality which makes taking life the chief of sins, or of that other paradox, that while indifference to, and even unconsciousness of, all beings whatever is the state to be aimed at, giving and friendly feeling are among the chief virtues.

The early Buddhists themselves experienced the difficulty of connecting their practical system with their great metaphysical principle. When the Four Noble Truths have been laid down, the attachment of the rest of the system to them is matter of much obscurity. All students have met with this difficulty, in interpreting the short but comprehensive discourse, supposed to have been preached by the Buddha at his first entrance on his public career, and called the Setting in motion of the Wheel of the Law (*Dhammacakka-ppavattana Sutta*). The Four Noble Truths are there laid down as follows * :—

'1. All existence—that is, existence in any form, whether on earth or in heavenly spheres—necessarily involves pain and suffering (*dukkha*). 2. All suffering is caused by lust (*rāga*) or craving or desire (*tanhā*=*trishnā*, "thirst") of three kinds—for sensual pleasure (*kāma*), for wealth (*vibhava*), and for existence (*bhava*).

* Sir M. Monier-Williams, p. 43.

3. Cessation of suffering is simultaneous with extinction of lust, craving, and desire.* 4. Extinction of lust, craving, and desire, and cessation of suffering are accomplished by perseverance in the noble eightfold path (*ariya aṭṭhangiko maggo*), viz. right belief or views (*samma diṭṭhi*), right resolve (*saṅkappo*), right speech, right work (*kammanto*), right livelihood (*ājivo*), right exercise or training (*vāyāmo* = *vyāyāma*), right mindfulness (*sati*),† right mental concentration (*samādhi*).'

Our author goes on to say :—

'Of course the real significance of the whole sermon depends on the interpretation of the word "right" (*sammā* = *samyak*) in describing the eightfold path, and the plain explanation is that "right belief" means believing in the Buddha and his doctrines,' &c.

Most writers have been puzzled to find in these eight terms as they stand any instruction or information. The point is important enough to justify a short digression.

Professor Rhys Davids has treated of them, both in his 'Buddhism' and in 'Sacred Books of the East.'‡ He gives the following§ :—

1. Right views : free from superstition or delusion.
2. Right aims ; high, and worth of the intelligent, earnest man.
3. Right speech ; kindly, open, truthful.
4. Right conduct ; peaceful, honest, pure.
5. Right livelihood ; bringing hurt or danger to no living thing.
6. Right effort ; in self-training, and in self-control.
7. Right mindfulness ; the active, watchful mind.
8. Right contemplation ; earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life.'

It will be seen by comparing this with what we give below, that it is only in Nos. 3 and 5 that this represents at all the orthodox interpretation. It adds little but what is obvious. Gogerly's list quoted on the same page also adds little but what is obvious, and it differs very widely from the Buddhist explanation.

Sir M. Monier-Williams, as we have seen, goes on to give a specific interpretation of each term, as follows :—

'And the plain explanation is that "right belief" means believing in the Buddha and his doctrine ; "right resolve" means abandoning one's wife and family as the best method of extinguishing the fires of the passions ; right speech is recitation of the Buddha's doctrine ; right work (*Karmānta*) is that of a monk ; right livelihood is living by alms as a monk does ; right exercise is suppression of the individual self ; right mindfulness (*Smṛiti*) is keeping in mind the

* Page 139.

† Page 50.

‡ Vol. xi. pp. 104, 143.

§ Page 144.

impurities and impermanence of the body; right mental concentration is trance-like quietude.*

The sum of this is in effect, that 'right' in every case means, 'after the rules of the Buddhist monk.' Thus regarded, the eightfold way is merely an assertion that the only path of safety is the monastic life; a view of Buddhism to which our author is too exclusively inclined. Whence our author has derived this interpretation we are not aware, though we confess that the introduction, 'it plainly means,' suggests that it is his own idea. It is certainly not the orthodox Buddhist interpretation, with which indeed it has only a few points in common. The second, fifth, and seventh terms only are in part correctly given.

As complete an account of the matter as is anywhere to be found is given in the *Sacca Vibhanga* (at the end of the *Suttanta Division* which forms the first section of that book). It is to the following effect:—'Right belief' is knowledge or intellectual grasp of the Four Truths. 'Right resolution' is carrying out this knowledge in a twofold way; viz. by leaving the world (*nekkhammā*) and by meek and friendly conduct. 'Right speech' is avoiding falsehood, slander, abuse, and chattering. 'Right conduct' is observing three other of the five precepts; that is, avoiding taking life, stealing, and sexual sin. 'Right livelihood' is the reverse of 'wrong livelihood' (*mitthājīvo*), and is elsewhere defined as being distinguished from that of the poor who take life from necessity, and that of princes who take life from pride. (The proper livelihood is either that of a monk or that of a cultivator or merchant, as these are supposed not to involve taking life.) 'Right effort' is fourfold, as it aims (1) at the destruction of demerit which has been acquired, (2) avoiding the acquirement of further demerit, (3) the acquirement of new merit, (4) the increase of merit acquired by (a) not losing it, (b) increasing it. The terms describing this effort are such as imply successively the aim, the undertaking, the setting oneself in order for carrying it out (as a man takes up the reins and gets his horses in hand in order to drive), and finally exertion. 'Right recollection' is knowing and seeing clearly the true character and condition of (a) the body, (b) the emotions, and (c) the mind. This is not properly called 'meditation;' it is more properly 'thoughtfulness' or 'mindfulness,' as rendered by Rhys Davids. 'Right meditation' is the fourfold method of 'jhānam,' in which the five 'coverings' are successively removed, and the

five grades of contemplation, ending in 'Unity' or complete 'Collectedness,' are achieved.

In the Visakha Sutta the eight are classed in three groups. The first two are regarded as concerning knowledge (*nāṇam*) (*a*) apprehended, and (*b*) applied; the next three as concerning moral conduct (*sīlāṃ*), and the last three as concerning meditation (*jhānaṃ*).

The interpretations given in other parts of the Pitakas and commentaries are substantially the same.

Such is the received method of distributing under these eight heads the total of Buddhist principles. It remains evident that the 'eightfold way' contains in itself little or no moral instruction. It is rather the table of contents to a treatise, which after all has never been written upon the plan implied in it. It is a compendium of Buddha's doctrine, not an introduction to it.

In fact European scholars have probably been mistaken in their estimate of the relative importance of this Eightfold Way and of the Dhammacakka-ppavattana Sutta itself. A Buddhist would say of that Sutta that it must be read in the light of the circumstances under which it was spoken. It was addressed, not to believers, but to the five Brahmins who would not believe that Gautama had become Buddha; and aimed not at unfolding the doctrine, but at asserting that it had been discovered. Accordingly it is not, in Ceylon at any rate, taught to novices, as an exposition of Dharma. Nor is it possible to believe that in its present form it was one of the earliest utterances of Gautama. We have indicated the main outlines of Gautama's moral teaching, in its metaphysical basis and the method of its application to conduct. What estimate must we form of it?

Buddhism was false in its foundation; for it is not true that there is nothing eternal, and that existence is necessarily bad: but the exact contrary of these is the central truth of morality, as well as of religion, and without a belief in it effective morality will nowhere long survive. And it was false in its aim; false in theory, for annihilation is neither possible nor desirable; and practically false, for even Buddhists, with few exceptions, desire to exist, and throw over the search for Nirvāṇa in favour of the search for life in various heavens of indulgence. And yet, on the way from false start to false end, Buddhism embraces in its theory much, and in its practice something, that is true, and, because true, attractive and even ennobling.

This is surely to be accounted for by the personal character of its founder. We cannot find the slightest reason for calling
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in question the historical reality of Gautama, or doubting that in a genuine sense he founded Buddhism. Almost all the materials existed ready to his hand. The metaphysical questions as to the nature of existence and of life, of the causes which link past to present and future,—and of the part played in that sequence by human action,—these had been discussed from every point, and answered in every way, in the Brahmanic Schools. All the phenomena of desire and action had been studied; moral precepts had been elaborated; a moral terminology of extreme richness and subtlety had been constructed. A large part of human life had been subordinated, in the Brahmanic discipline of caste life, student life, hermit and monastic life, to moral training, in a degree which nothing in European history can equal. Gautama was one among the many who laboured in these fields; and his definite contributions, when they come to be looked into, are found to be small: original only when false. For while Gautama's teaching included much of the thought of his day, it was characterized by emphatic denial of several commonly accepted principles, and among them some of the truest. Sir M. Monier-Williams shows in his seventh chapter, in an interesting way, how the denial of these truths, or their exclusion, led to many of the changes which Buddhism afterwards underwent; how Gautama's ignoring the existence of a God, his exclusion of all supernatural aid, his denial of prayer, led to the introduction, into what was still called Buddhism, of polytheism and worship of the Buddhas themselves,—to belief in magic, in praying-wheels, and the like.

How came it then that all that was best in Indian thought gathered itself round his name; all Indian folklore was made to teach his morals; that the 'community' which grew up about him, and for which he foresaw a vast extension, has had an extension equalling, and a duration perhaps far exceeding, his expectations? We attribute this to his personal charms. He combined the geniality, readiness, patience, and tenderness of a rich humanity, with that calm of the sage which is so dear to the Indian mind. If we are not too credulous, he had followers, Sariputta and others, who exhibited similar gifts, and formed the traditional ideal for the 'community.'

To the founder, who embodied their ideal, the monks attributed all the rules which their mode of life made necessary, and all the literature which grew up among them, and was pressed into their service; so that Buddhism, so far from being a consistent system, springing full grown from one brain, was an aggregate of what a group of the leaders of Indian thought in the third and fourth centuries B.C. believed and taught. Under the stimulus

stimulus of contrast with the Greek world, under Sandracottus and Bimbisara, and Asoka, all this took literary shape, and expressed itself in Art; and the great Asoka, a real 'cakkavatti,' or Emperor of the Indian world, completed the work of consolidating, while he extended, the system.

Even before Asoka's time differences and divisions had no doubt arisen—and Buddhist writings bear witness to it—in an aggregate so complex; but we may believe that the system was at that time in a high degree compact; possessing a unity not so much logical as historical, and, for the moment, national.

To its origin from within the heart of Brahmanism, to its pliable and tolerant character, and not to any deep-seated antagonism between it and Brahmanism, or even to the bitter enmity which sometimes divides those who differ on small points alone, Professor Monier-Williams traces the decline of Buddhism in the land of its birth. To the question, 'How did Buddhism die out in India?' his reply is of this sort:—

'In the first place, I think it may be confidently asserted that the disappearance of Buddhism from India was a very gradual process, and unattended by any serious or violent religious revolution.'*

The tolerance which has always characterized Buddhism and, our author adds, Brahmanism also, except upon the question of caste, makes him unwilling to believe—though there is considerable testimony to it—in any considerable persecution on the part of either. On the contrary, he affirms:—

'The passing away of the Buddhistic system in India was on the whole like the peaceful passing away of a moribund man surrounded by his relatives, and was at least unattended with any agonizing pangs.'†

'The Vaishnavas and Saivas crept up softly to their rival and drew the vitality out of its body by close and friendly embraces, and, instead of the Buddhists being expelled from India, Buddhism gradually and quietly lost itself in Vaishnavism and Saivism.'‡

'Buddhism was not forcibly expelled from India by the Brahmins. It simply in the end—possibly as late as the thirteenth century of our era—became blended with the systems which surrounded it, though the process of blending was gradual.'§

It may be doubted whether our author has proved this conclusion. His confidence in the tolerance of his Indian friends overbears, by an *à priori* argument, a good deal that might be urged on the other side. It is admitted that there were 'bitter controversies,' and that 'the Brahmins became full of hatred and envy in their hearts,' even in Fa Hien's time; though our

* Page 162.

† Page 171.

‡ Page 170.

§ Page 166.

author

author prefers to dwell upon the fact that the two religions did 'exist together in Northern and Central India till at least the seventh century.'* He shows that in plays of the seventh and eighth centuries Hindu and Buddhist met upon the stage; and, what is more to the point, that the great King Siladitya patronized both alike. But these things do not disprove the traditional belief in a violent persecution, especially in the West and South; any more than the fact that in Ceylon Buddhist kings alternated with Hindu, and that some kings were tolerant of both religions, is incompatible with the fact that some of the Hindu kings persecuted Buddhism to the verge of extermination, and would certainly have exterminated it if they had had the national majority on their side.

Yet, whatever may have been the character of some final outbreak, we accept on the whole Sir M. Monier-Williams's theory of a conquest by soft embraces. Buddhism was always changing, and always assimilating. In spite of theory, it has probably never been in practice altogether separate from the lower forms of polytheism and superstition. It has always been ready to compromise, and to live a parasitic life. Brahmanism, on the other hand, as it broke up into Hinduism, and especially in the case of Vaishnavism, approximated in many respects to Buddhism.

'It took care to adopt all the popular features of Buddhism. It vied with Buddhism in inculcating universal love, toleration, liberality, benevolence, and abstinence from injury. It preached equality, fraternity, and even, in some cases, the abolition of caste distinctions. It taught a succession of incarnations, or rather descents (Avatara) of Divine beings upon earth (as Buddhism taught a succession of Buddhas), and it even adopted the Buddha himself as one of the incarnations of Vishnu.†

'By the beginning of the thirteenth century very little Buddhism remained on Indian soil. Yet, after all, it is scarcely correct to say that Buddhism ever wholly died away in India. Its name, indeed, perished there, but its spirit survived, and its sacred places remain to this day. Its ruined temples, monasteries, monuments, and idols are scattered everywhere, while some of these have been perpetuated and adopted by those later phases of Hinduism which its own toleration helped to bring into existence.'‡

Something of the same power of assimilation is being shown by Buddhism now. It is taking a new lease of life, in the very presence of civilized Christianity, by adapting its customs and its teaching to the occasion. Our author in his description of Buddhism in Ceylon alludes to an instance of this, though he

* Page 167.

† Page 165.

‡ Page 171.

puts it in a curiously exaggerated form, when he says that the Poya days, at the four changes of the moon, 'are generally in modern times made to coincide with the Christian Sunday.'* This, as worded, is a mistake; the Poya days are strictly kept to the four quarter days of the lunar month; but it is true and significant, that some of the monks are transferring to Sunday some of the functions of Poya days. There are actually in Ceylon Buddhist Sunday-schools, and on that day the so-called priests visit hospitals and prisons, and sometimes preach in the streets. On the eve of the so-called Birthday of Buddha, 'carols'—in imitation of Christmas carols—are now sung by Buddhist choir boys in Colombo; a Buddhist Catechism has been published; tracts and controversial leaflets—a leaf out of the missionary's book, we fear—are disseminated.

Meanwhile, for the more educated, emphasis is laid on the philosophical aspect of the religion, and the less credible or less creditable parts of the canonical books are thrown over; while to the simpler sort a simpler religion, and one as much Christian as Buddhist, is sometimes at least taught. The inhabitants of a remote village, which a distinguished monk had visited, were asked what he had taught them. 'He told us,' was the reply, 'that if we did good we should go to heaven, and if we did wrong to hell.' To the question, 'Did he tell you there was no God,' they replied, 'No; who could believe that?'

Such imitations of Christianity are wholly contrary to the strict principles of Buddhism. We may be thankful that those principles are sometimes so happily modified. But this does not imply any likeness between Buddhism and Christianity, or make it less desirable to place in clear relief, as our author does in his last chapter, those fundamental contrasts and those innumerable contrasts of detail, which make it as incorrect as it is disloyal, for a Christian to compare Gautama to Christ, or his system to the Gospel. As regards the first of these comparisons, it may be most truly said that the events of the life of Gautama, so far as we can trace it in a historical sense, present an unbroken series of contrasts to the life of Christ; except in the one particular that both went about preaching. The life of Jesus began in poverty, that of Gautama in wealth; that of Jesus ended outwardly in failure and disgrace, that of Gautama in honour and success. Gautama was honoured and supported throughout by kings and by men of rank and learning; Jesus had none of these. In the higher region of example, if it is not irreverent to pursue the contrast, it is

* Page 257.

nowhere pretended that Gautama, though he behaved with courtesy and kindness, performed any signal act of self-denial, except the obviously fictitious one of declining to enter Nirvana at an early stage of his career, before he had preached his doctrine for the good of others. And if this belongs to the region of imagination, how much more evidently is that the case with all the other boasted acts of self-sacrifice, which, without exception, were done in former births!

If we turn to their teaching, in its outward form or method, there is no small resemblance. Gautama is said, and no doubt truly, to have used a tact and patience, a readiness of illustration and command of parable, which remind the Christian reader of our Lord.

But in the spirit of their teaching, the points of likeness—though such there are—are small in comparison with the essential differences. Gautama professed to teach a discovery of his own, and urged his disciples to trust only to themselves; while our Lord taught 'not His own word, but His that sent Him,' and referred His disciples in everything to the Father. On the other hand, our Lord preached Himself as the permanent object of faith and love; Gautama announced himself only as the teacher in this age of what innumerable Buddhas had taught before.

Passing from the comparison between Gautama and Christ, to that between Buddhism and Christianity, we find ourselves at a loss for points of likeness on which to hang the contrast. As a philosophy, Buddhism consists in the denial of spirit, and of the continuity of life, and of the dependence of nature upon God. As a theory of human life, its salient points are the denial of personality, and (theoretically) of personal responsibility; the denial that this life is the scene of probation, and that a final issue depends on it; the denial of the pre-eminent value of human life, and of the dignity of the body; while it asserts a virtual fatalism, and the ultimate identity of the superhuman, human and infra-human forms of life. So far no point of likeness has been found on which to hang a contrast.

And yet our author is strictly justified in saying that anything which would challenge comparison with Christianity must come forward as a religion, because Christianity is a religion; and that a religion must offer some truth about God, some truth about man in his moral relation to God, some practical aid to man in his desire for approach to God. Buddhism has nothing on any of these points to say, except that it knows nothing of God; that man has no moral relation with higher beings than man; that there is no external aid to be

be had by man in his efforts at self-improvement (or self-effacement).

It is only in the region of morality that any comparison can really be drawn. But in morality there are two parts, the science and the art; the description of virtue, on the one hand, and on the other the motives and sanctions by which it is promoted. The first of these is easy, and to a very large extent common ground to all systems ancient and modern, European and Asiatic. Asiatic writers in particular have shown a fatal facility in the expression of admiration for virtue, and even in imagining ideal illustrations of it. In this region, the flower of Indian aspiration has been collected by Buddhism, though it may be doubted whether Buddhism introduced in any one particular a standard really higher than is to be found in earlier Indian moralists. For extreme statements are not necessarily advances, as our author shows in reference to the Buddhist exaggeration of celibacy and of the contempt of the body. Yet we thankfully recognise, in the early Buddhist teaching, immense earnestness, subtle analysis of conduct, and, above all, an admirable sensitiveness to the beauty of meekness, self-sacrifice, and love. Individual passages may be paralleled from other sources, Indian, Confucian, and even Greek; but it is probably true that there has not been found anywhere else, outside Christianity, on the whole so fine a taste in morality. But all this belongs to the easier part of the moralist's function.

The motives and sanctions are nine-tenths, or far more than nine-tenths of the matter. Here Buddhism offers next to nothing. 'Nirvana' is too unreal, too inconceivable, to have ever practically stimulated effort. The principle, that a man's future is already irresistibly conditioned by acts done in a past for which he is not responsible, takes away almost all force from the expectation that his future will be affected by what he does now. The theory of an interminable series of lives destroys, as far as any theory can destroy, the sense of responsibility for this one. Nor is this only an *à priori* estimate of the ineffectiveness of the Buddhist motives and sanctions: it is too amply borne out by the facts observed in Buddhist countries, in which a varnish of good humour and good temper covers too often extreme untruthfulness, a shocking indifference to purity, and great spitefulness and cruelty. Buddhism repeats, has been repeating for twenty-two centuries,—five precepts. The fifth, that against alcoholic drinks, has probably never been much insisted on. The second and third, against stealing and lying, have left those vices characteristics of Buddhist peoples. As to the fourth—the less said the better.

It

It is on the first precept, that against taking life, that Buddhism has expended most of its strength. Here it has succeeded, as we have seen, in creating a false conscientiousness, among those who can afford it, about actually killing animals, but has failed to produce—what in theory it ranked under this precept—the temper of pity or humanity.

But it is not on the standard, nor even on the sanctions of conduct, that the Christian cares to base the claims of Christianity as a moral force. Christianity brings to man 'power from on high,' and without this pretends to no efficiency. Were the historical facts and the moral teachings of a religion exactly those of Christianity, yet such a religion, if it did not introduce to men the Divine gift of power from on high, would not be Christianity, would bear no comparison with it. If the claims of Christianity to do this had been proved to be untrue, then its pretensions might be compared with the pretensions of Buddhism. But to compare Christianity, being what it claims to be, with Buddhism being what it claims to be, is like comparing an engine with—at the best—a treatise on mechanics.

In following, with occasional digressions, our author through parts of his work, we have not done full justice to its comprehensiveness. But space does not allow us to enter on any of the questions that are raised by his able sketches of the Northern forms of Buddhism, or his discussion of the mysticism connected with it. As regards the latter, we have less patience than the Professor has with the occult and the esoteric, with Sinnetts and Mahatmas.

Buddhism, at the present moment, is entering on a new phase—stimulated by the curiosity which has been aroused about it in Europe—and some of its professors are lifting up their heads with a new self-assertion; for instance in its native Gaya, in Ceylon, and in Japan.

Whether this is the last flicker of an expiring flame, or the beginning of a new adaptation, by which this pliant system, in alliance with European agnosticism, is to maintain the old name for a season, we will not speculate. The issue will be affected by the relations in which it stands to nations and races. All peoples are tenacious of the religion they have grown up in, and Asiatic peoples not the least; but Buddhism has never laid much hold on national life. Hinduism is essentially national: Islam makes a nation as it moves: but Buddhism strikes no deep root and forms no indissoluble bonds. We leave it to others to conjecture whether its pliancy will favour its survival or hasten its inevitable decay.

ART. III.—*The Viking Age: The early History, Manners, and Customs of the English-speaking Nations. Illustrated from the Antiquities discovered in Mounds, Cairns, and Bogs, as well as from the ancient Sagas and Eddas.* By Paul B. Du Chaillu, author of 'Explorations in Equatorial Africa,' 'Land of the Midnight Sun,' &c. With 1366 Illustrations, and Map. In Two Volumes. London, 1889.

THE ancient Poems and Sagas of the North, after long ages of neglect, became the object in the 17th century of a literary renaissance in Denmark. Three hundred years earlier the Icelanders had been active in collecting the remains of their ancient literature; but a period had followed in which the vellums and parchments lay buried in obscure libraries, or forgotten in remote farmhouses, where they were subject to the chances of decay and destruction. The attention of the outside world was at last attracted to the subject, because a Danish king had heard of these records of his forefathers, and the buried treasures of the Eddas and Sagas were gradually brought to light. Messrs. Vigfússon and Powell have shown us, in their great work upon Northern Poetry, that the process of publication continued at a very slow rate. Two short poems from the Edda were printed in 1665; but for more than a century afterwards foreigners had to be content with a few fragments paraphrased in Latin by the Danish antiquaries. Of the English versions, derived at second hand from these sources, Dryden's 'Waking of Angantheow' is perhaps the earliest, and Gray's fine odes on the Fatal Sisters and the Descent of Odin deservedly remain the most famous.

A more general knowledge of the subject was made possible by the appearance of Mallet's treatise upon the Northern Mythology. This work was first published at Copenhagen in 1755, and was soon afterwards edited in this country by Bishop Percy, with valuable additions and corrections. The influence of the book appears in the poetry of Chatterton and the Ossianic compilations; at a later time it seems to have had a strong attraction for the mind of Sir Walter Scott, to whom we owe a spirited translation of the Eyrbyggja Saga. About the date of the battle of Waterloo an interesting volume on the Eddic Lays was produced by the brothers Grimm, 'then in their bright youth and at the height of their literary powers'; the poems of CEhlenschlager presented a popular version of the adventures of Woden and his companions, and the more archaic myths were critically explained by Dr. Bergmann in his version of the Icelandic

Icelandic poems. A great impetus was given in England to the study of Scandinavian history by the publication of Laing's 'Sea-Kings of Norway,' a very useful version of the 'Heimskringla' of Snorri Sturlesson. The biographies of the Northern kings were due to the industry of Ari the Wise, who lived in Iceland at the time of our Norman Conquest, and they had been again edited in the 13th century by Snorri, in whose hands the work assumed an almost dramatic form. In the 'Corpus Poeticum Boreale,' where all the poetry of the North down to the age of Snorri has been collected, Messrs. Vigfússon and Powell have endeavoured with great success to arrange what is known and to explain what is doubtful about the heroic age of Scandinavia, and to spread the knowledge, if only at second hand, 'of its glories and greatness, of its highest creations, and its deepest thoughts.' That period especially, between the 8th and 12th centuries, in which the power of the Vikings was dominant, is described as having been of most momentous importance. 'Any real knowledge of these old Norsemen's finest poetry and noblest era of history is of solid value and interest. The men from whom these poems sprung took no small share in the making of England; their blood is in our veins, and their speech in our mouths.' Apart from all questions as to the influence of the Danish conquests, it is allowed that there must have been a close affinity between the islanders of the Baltic and the tribes who came from the region of the Elbe to take part in the settlement of England. Lappenberg even went so far as to ascribe to this cause the weakness of the English power, 'when fleeing before the invading Northmen, the sons yielded the dominion of the land which their valiant ancestors had conquered.' A share in the conquest has been claimed, from Bede's days to our own, for almost every people found on the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic. We cannot quite pierce the obscurity of the time when 'there arose unnumbered wars' under invading chieftains, whose very names are forgotten; but perhaps we might fairly say that the English are a mixture of Low-German and Scandinavian elements. We may hold, with Professor Morley, that the country between Moray Firth and Whitby shows enduring traces of a Scandinavian immigration, and that the Danish element largely prevails in Lincolnshire; the southern coasts, except in a few districts occupied by the Jutes, were held by people of Frisian or Low-Dutch affinities, who are usually described as Saxons. In the North were more Scandinavians, in the South more Frisians, but they all called themselves Englishmen. We may also observe that there is very high authority

authority for saying that there was as little difference in those early times between a Dane and an Englishman as there was between two Englishmen in different parts of the country.

Mr. Du Chaillu has undertaken to depict the life of the Northmen, as it appears in the old poems, and in the biographical Sagas with which the public is less familiarly acquainted. He has succeeded in producing a very interesting book, full of every variety of picturesque illustration. We think that he is justified in stating that, by his study of the ancient literature and the abundant archæology of the North, he has helped us to form some clear idea of the Scandinavian peoples in peace and war, and in their religious, social, and political life. He brings before us a series of pictures, of which every detail is taken from some ancient authority. We see the child at his games, the youth practising with his weapons, the girl at her domestic work; we hear the clash of swords and the songs of the Skald, and the loud voices of the debaters in the great assembly. The Norsemen appear before us as they lived and fought and feasted; we hear the minstrel in the hall; we are shown the warriors drinking round the Yule-fire or at the 'heirship-ale,' the spears shining in the moonlight on a sudden call to arms, the dead chieftain in his blazing ship or lying in his armour on the funeral pile; we learn the nature of their dress and ornaments, of their implements and weapons, the appearance of their houses and halls, the splendour of their great temples, and the ceremonies and sacrifices of their public and domestic worship.

Mr. Du Chaillu has read nearly all the Sagas, and has taken infinite pains in illustrating their statements by the results of the archæological discoveries. He has visited most of the *tumuli* in which antiquities have been found in recent years, and has examined most of the objects shown in his illustrations. He has certainly succeeded to a great extent in the main objects of his work. Incidentally, however, he has raised a sharp discussion, if not a considerable controversy, by going further than his predecessors in claiming a Scandinavian origin for the institutions of our mixed English race. Well-known scholars have shown before him, and he is justified in adopting the conclusion, that the name of 'Saxon' must have been loosely applied to all the pirates that scoured the Narrow Seas. We may conjecture that many crews from Scania and the Danish Isles, or from the great bay by the Naze of Norway, which gave its name to the Vikings, must have been found among the roving fleets of the 4th and 5th centuries, when the Empire was crumbling into ruins, and any bold warrior

was

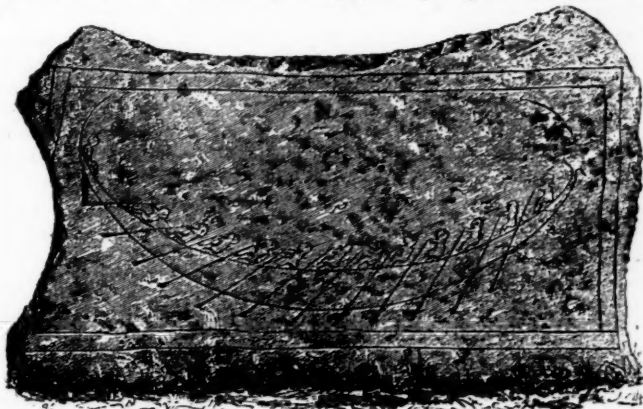
was free to claim a share in the spoil. But it does not follow that we are to allow no credit for desperate adventures to the ruder people, the occupiers of the 'Saxon Islands' and the neck of the adjoining peninsula, who plundered the coasts of Gaul and Spain in the clumsy boats described by Sidonius, and afterwards took the lead in a maritime confederacy over the coasts between the Elbe and the Rhine.

Mr. Du Chaillu rests his case mainly on the fact that, while the so-called Anglo-Saxon remains found in England correspond minutely with those discovered in enormous quantities in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, there are no traces of such objects in the basins of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, nor anywhere else, save in places which Scandinavians are known to have visited. But he also cites in corroboration of his views the testimony of ancient writers, to which all parties in the controversy make appeal. The classical authorities are searched for allusions to the trade of the ancient Germans, and the readiness of the Frisian or Suevic tribes to take to adventures by sea. The fleets of the Veneti, the depredations of the Chauci, and a wild voyage of some later Franks, are all brought into the line of argument. When we examine the evidence carefully, we find that the older geographers knew very little about the North. Mela, in the reign of Claudius, described a great gulf and a multitude of islands, but it is not quite clear that he distinguished the Baltic from the estuary of the Elbe. Pliny the naturalist, who served in the German wars, appears to have obtained accounts from eye-witnesses of the whole region of the Baltic. He pictures it as an inland sea filled with islands, of which Scandinavia was the greatest and the most celebrated. One of her States was itself divided into no less than five hundred districts, and the natives called their country a 'world by itself.'* Pliny mentions the names of a few of the smaller islands, but tells us nothing more about Scandinavia, with the exception of some apocryphal stories about elk-hunting.† It is somewhat curious to observe how completely Tacitus neglects the older writers. He speaks indeed about 'islands of immense extent,' but his romantic sketch of the 'States of the Suiones' appears to rest upon a totally different set of authorities. Mr. Du Chaillu attaches great weight to the words of the historian, whom he seems to credit with a personal knowledge of the Scandinavian people. We have no doubt that he is justified in connecting the Suiones with the Swedes; but we think that he somewhat begs the

* Hist. Nat. iv. § 96.

† Ibid. viii. § 39.

question in saying that Rome knew nothing of them 'till they began to frequent the coasts of her North Sea provinces in the days of Tacitus.' The only expedition to those coasts to which a very early date can be attributed is that of the Chauci under Gannascus in A.D. 47, when their light vessels were easily destroyed by the Roman fleet. The trade of Scandinavia, which certainly existed in very ancient times, had no outlet, to our knowledge, towards the Gallic or German provinces. The suggestion that the Veneti of the Morbihan, whose power was broken by Julius Cæsar, might have been Wends by origin, or have formed some other portion of 'the vanguard of the North,' rests partly on a fanciful etymology, and partly on the likeness



Ship propelled by oars. Slab, Haggeley, Uppland, Sweden. Similar to the Egyptian bas-relief on the temple of Medinet-Habou.

in build between their vessels and the 'Viking-ships' found buried in Scandinavia. Cæsar describes the ships of the Veneti as built of oak, with iron nails, just as those of the Northmen.

'For their own ships,' he says,* 'were built and equipped in the following manner:—Their ships were more flat-bottomed than our vessels, in order that they might be able more easily to guard against shallows and the ebbing of the tide; the prows were very much elevated, as also the sterns, so as to encounter heavy waves and storms. The vessels were built wholly of oak, so as to bear any violence or shock; the cross-benches, a foot in breadth, were fastened by iron spikes of the thickness of the thumb; the anchors were

* Bell. Gall. iii. 13.

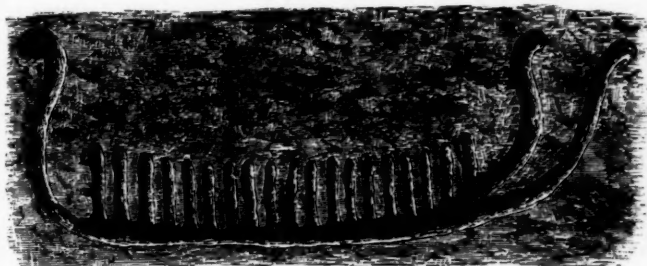
secured to iron chains, instead of to ropes: raw hides and thinly-dressed skins were used for sails, either on account of their want of canvas and ignorance of its use, or for this reason, which is the more likely, that they considered that such violent ocean storms and such strong winds could not be resisted, and such heavy vessels could not be conveniently managed by sails.'

In order to test the argument still further, it is necessary to refer to the exact words of Tacitus. In so doing we should bear in mind the opinion of the ancients that the German seas were traversed by the swift current or river of Oceanus. The States of the Suiones were set in the full mid-stream. 'They are strong,' says the historian,* 'not only in men and weapons, but also in their fleets. The shape of their vessels is peculiar in having a prow at each end, so as always to have the ship ready for beaching. The vessels are not worked by sails, nor are the oars fixed to the side in regular order, but as on some rivers the apparatus is loose and shifted this way or that, as may be required.' The Suiones differed from the Germans of the mainland in paying great respect to wealth, and so had come under the sway of a single master, bound in their case by no restrictions, and ruling by no precarious right. Among the Suiones the stock of weapons was not at the general disposal, but stood in charge of a keeper, who was himself a slave. It was thought that the ocean would be a barrier against any sudden attack, and that arms in idle hands were apt to be somewhat dangerous. Beyond the current which swept their shores, there lay a 'sluggish sea,' which they believed to be the limit of the world. The sailors used to hunt the 'beasts' which bred in this desolate sea and along the northern line of the great current, and traders carried the spotted skins to the interior of Germany, where they were much esteemed for purposes of ornament. Mr. Du Chaillu contends that the maritime power of the Suiones must have been the work of centuries; and the curious rock-carvings, of which he gives specimens, certainly show that even in the Bronze Age the Scandinavian tribes could build large war-canoes. He argues that the fleets of such a powerful nation would never have been suffered to remain idle; and he concludes that they must have navigated the North Sea long before the time of Tacitus. There is nothing very strange in supposing that some of the 'Angles' or 'Saxons' may have descended from the Suiones of Tacitus. That historian pretended to no knowledge of the mouth of the Elbe;

* Tac. 'Germania,' c. 44.

but

but he certainly seems to have included some of the Danish islands in his account of the oceanic territories. As to the tribes which afterwards formed the Frankish confederacy, they were settled, when Tacitus wrote, in the regions west of the Elbe. Their history is tolerably well known, and it seems unnecessary to bring their names into the controversy. The Saxons are first named by the geographer Ptolemy, who marked the position of their islands and their settlements on the mainland of Holstein. The Angles, who appear at a later time in Schleswig, were placed by the same writer not far from the neighbourhood of Hanover. The Cimbri occupied the north of Jutland, and between them and the Saxons the geographer set the 'Charudes,' best known by the fact of their submission to Augustus, and five other obscure nations, some of



Ship on a rock-tracing at Lökeberg in Foss parish, Bohuslän.
One-tenth real size.

whom may have included the ancestors of our Kentish Jutes. To the east lay the three small Scandian islands, and beyond them again the great 'Isle of Scandia,' inhabited by 'Gutæ' and other nations with less familiar names. Jornandes, a Gothic historian of the age of Justinian, credited Ptolemy with an interesting account of Scandinavia which seems rather to have been based upon ancient poems or Sagas.* A long and narrow country, spreading out to the right and left as it bent down towards the Vistula, lay 'in the shape of a cedar-leaf' in the midst of the Arctic Sea. Girt in on two sides by the ocean, of which the Baltic formed a winding gulf, Scandia was bounded on the east by a vast lake, 'engendered in whose depths the Vagi stream rolled its waves to the sea:' the description may remind the reader of the rivers of Chaos in the Eddic mythology, and 'Elivágar's torrent flowing out of the glaciers of the north.'

* Jornandes, 'De Rebus Geticis,' c. 3.

Jornandes describes the barbarians of the Arctic Circle, and the phenomena of the midnight sun. The southern region is covered with a crowd of nations. We should specially notice the 'Suethans,' who though poor in some ways had excellent horses and garments of fine black fur: 'these are the people,' we are told, 'who send the "blue-fur" to be worn by the Romans.' The 'Gauti-goths,' a much ruder race, took the clefts of the rocks for their castles, like wild beasts. Among the quieter tribes were the men of 'Raumarike' and 'Ragnarike,' and the Ethelrugi under that King Rodulf who 'cheerfully abdicated his savage greatness,' and retired to Theodoric's court at Ravenna. The migration of the Goths to the Euxine and much of their fabulous history is told almost in the words of their native Sagas. Procopius about the same time wrote an interesting account of the Scandinavians under the name of the 'men of Thule.' He says that he has long been desirous of visiting the North, but had always lost the opportunity. He was enabled at last to describe the country by the ambassadors of the Heruli, who had sent to Sweden for a king of their royal blood.* The fancy of Procopius was chiefly taken by the Arctic festivals in honour of the returning sun, but he also noticed that the Scandinavians, like the other heathen, adored a god of the sea, and worshipped at streams and fountains; he mentions further the custom of sacrificing the first captive taken in a war, and from several of the details as to hanging the victim on a tree, and piercing him with wounds, we may conjecture that he was offered as a 'victory-gift' to Woden. The only other ancient account of Scandinavia is that of Paul the Deacon, who wrote the history of the Lombards in the 8th century. Most of his information is derived from the older writers; but there are also extracts from old Teutonic Lays, which carry back the worship of Woden to a very high antiquity.† There can be little doubt that this god was always one of the principal deities of the Teutonic races, though, like the rest, he was degraded into a mythical hero or magician after the Christian religion had been accepted.

It is not easy to form any very definite idea of the religion of the ancient Northmen. Some few genuine traditions of its nature were preserved by Icelandic scholars; but the allusions to the subject in the biographical Sagas were all made by men, removed from heathenism by the space of two or three centuries, who disguised their ignorance of the Eddas by

* Procopius, 'De Bello Gothico,' ii. 15.

† Paulus Diaconus, 'De Gest. Langobard.' i. cc. 5, 8, 12.

borrowing

borrowing from the legends of the saints or the literature of classical mythology. Even at this distance of time we can perceive the figures of the great national gods; though it is still hard to understand the nature of the domestic religion, except the fact that its rites were performed in honour of the dead ancestors, who were afterwards confused with spirits of the earth and familiars lurking about the fire-place. It should not be forgotten that the general or 'official' religion was always in a state of change. Although the idea of Woden seems to have enjoyed a real predominance, even before he was raised as an 'All-father' to rule in a celestial empire, each country showed a preference for one or other of the greater deities and a tendency towards some special doctrine of the common creed. The gods of peace and plenty were highly honoured in Sweden; the Danes remained faithful to 'Odin'; the Norwegians loved the red-bearded Thor, who was also called 'the Englishman's god.' As time went on the more archaic beliefs were tossed aside and replaced by ideas imported from abroad. Mr. Du Chaillu points out many instances of the adoption or imitation of the Christian doctrines, which may be best explained by the constant intercourse of the Vikings with Ireland and the Hebrides. Several distinct stages in the process might be traced during the historical period. The fragments of an ancient cosmogony are preserved in such poems as 'Grimnismål,' which are little more than mythological tracts, dramatised in the shape of dialogues between Woden and some witch or giant. They deal with the first battles of fire and snow, and the wars of the Gods and Titans. We learn from them the mystical shape of the world-tree, and the language of the celestial signs, and all the tale of the building of 'man's home' from the body of a monstrous giant: 'from Ymir's corpse the earth was made, from his blood the seas, and the rocks from his bones.' To this order of ideas belong the barbaric myths of the serpent coiled round the earth, the 'cow of creation' licking the ice into life, and the hatching of the 'world-egg' in the primeval ooze of Chaos. Some of the most wonderful of these legends may be found, somewhat disguised by a burlesque treatment, in a work written late in the Viking Age by a poet who has been called 'the western Aristophanes.' The high gods are holding a feast in the Ocean-halls, when Loki, the evil spirit, comes in to join them at their ale; he flouts them all with slanders and sarcasm, and tells of their evil deeds 'in the morning of time;' 'he brings them a bitter spice for their drink, and mixes their mead with venom:' at last Thor comes in with his hammer, and the mocking fiend is silenced.

The

The traces of other old legends have been preserved in the Genealogical Lays, and in such poems as the 'Rig's-mål' and the 'shorter Sibyl's Lay,' where the origin of the classes of mankind and the generations of the gods were set forth. The best-known of the genealogical poems was the 'Ynglinga-tål,' or pedigree of the Kings of Norway. This was written originally by Thiodolf for his master Harold Fair-hair, who seems to have been regarded as an upstart by some of the supplanted kings. The Skald traced the descent of Harold through thirty generations from Woden, and took care to connect his race with the descendants of Freyr at Upsala and many other famous dynasties. The work was turned into a history in prose as early as the 11th century; it was afterwards worked up by Snorri Sturlesson, and in this shape has become familiar to English readers. The poetry of the North reached its highest development in the celebrated 'Völuspå,' or 'Lay of the Sibyl.' This fine ode shows many traces of contact with Christianity, though it is plain that the writer was actually a heathen. It may be divided into two portions, both unfortunately somewhat imperfect in their text; of these, one is concerned with the creation of the world, and the other with its destruction and ultimate renewal. In the first portion the Sibyl is supposed to be sitting in the assembly of the gods, answering as to what was in the beginning, when there was neither sand nor sea, 'when the Sun knew not her inn, nor the Moon his dominion, nor the Stars their place.' In the second part she sits in her cave and tells Woden of the doom that is coming on the world. 'All giant-land is rumbling from end to end: the dwarfs are moaning before their doors of stone; brethren shall slay one another, and kinsfolk break the bonds of kindred; it shall go hard with the world,—'an axe-age, a sword-age, and shields shall be cloven, a wind-age, a wolf-age, ere the world sinks.' In the South, as the vision proceeds, the sword of Death shines like the sun, 'the granite rocks are rending, the ravines fall in, the dead are marching up the roads of Hell, and the Heavens are riven asunder.' After the great judgment is ended the earth is restored to gladness. The waterfalls are gleaming, 'and above them once more hovers the eagle, that fisher of the falls.' The gods meet on the plain of 'Ith' and discourse on the mysteries of 'Fimbul-ty,' names and things that now are quite unknown. Balder the Beautiful is alive again; there is a hall, roofed with gold and brighter than the sun, 'in which the righteous shall dwell, and live in bliss for ever.'

Mr. Vigfússon, from whose work we have taken most of these

these extracts, considered that the '*Völuspá*' was 'the last act of the heathen religious drama,' written perhaps in sympathy with the gloomy prophecies of the year 1000, when it was thought all over Western Europe that the world was coming to its end. Mr. Du Chaillu seems to agree with those who have thought that it forms one of the most ancient accounts of the cosmogony and mythology of the North. 'It is,' he says, 'in some places so obscure, that if it had not been partly explained by the Later Edda, and had light thrown on it by the Sagas and ancient laws, it would be impossible to understand its meaning; and even now it is most difficult, and in some places impossible, to fully comprehend several of its mythical parts, some of which will always remain enigmatical.'

There is no such obscurity about the gross and brutal creed which caught the fancy of the later Vikings. They looked upon Woden, now accepted as the supreme master of the heavenly mansions, as being the sole disposer of victory and the material rewards of valour. Some of the dead were allotted to Freya's hall, and Thor had certain slaves and victims; but the soldier might look forward to a welcome in Valhalla, where all day they renewed the battle and feasted at night on an eternal meal of boar's flesh with never-empty flagons. When they marched into action, they accepted the chances of death with an almost Oriental fatalism; and as they lay wounded after the fight, they looked among the mists for the shadowy messengers from Valhalla, 'as they wavered and whispered together, and fashioned their solemn design.'

Mr. Du Chaillu has collected many interesting passages about these 'Shield-maidens,' who were variously known to the poets as the strong, the silent, the entangling, and 'the raisers of the storm.' The Sagas tell us of warriors who saw them acting as guardians to their favourites in the fray. The Princess Swava was a Valkyria, and rode over air and sea; 'she gave Helgi his name, and often sheltered him in battles.' Her companions are mentioned as riding amid the lightning, helmeted and with blood-stained corslets and shining spears: 'when their horses shake their manes, the froth which comes from their bitted mouths drops as dew into the valleys, and hail falls from their nostrils into the woods.' Some, we are told, were swan-maids or wood-wives, when not needed for service in war. 'There are others that have to serve in Valhalla, carry drink, and take care of the table-dressing and the beer-cups; these are called Valkyrias.' Woden sent them to every battle, and there they meted out death and risked the chances of victory. They were generally in company with the youngest of the Fates, and some-
times

times took part themselves in straining the 'dusky warp' and 'crimson web' of war. In Gray's version of the Ode on the Battle of Clontarf twelve 'Fatal Sisters' were all employed about the loom :—

'Horror covers all the heath,
Clouds of carnage blot the sun.
Sisters, weave the web of death !
Sisters, cease ! the work is done.'

The nature of the Vikings' creed may be illustrated by a reference to two celebrated elegies. One of them was written on the death of Eric Bloody-Axe, the son of Harold Fair-hair, who was crowned at York, and reigned there for several years; the other is the dirge of his brother Hakon, the foster-child of Athelstane. Eric was killed in a sea-fight by an English 'under-king.' 'There was a great slaughter of Northmen, and those who escaped went to Northumberland, and told Gunnhilda and her sons the tidings;' and Gunnhilda, the beautiful witch, the 'Jezebel of the North,' ordered this death-song to be composed for her husband. The 'Eric's-mål' has not been entirely preserved, but enough remains to show the wonderful vigour of the poet. There is something very original, as Mr. Vigfússon has pointed out, in the heathen dirge on a baptized king, 'composed by the orders of a Christian queen.' The scene is laid in Valhalla. Woden suddenly wakes and cries aloud: 'What dreams are these? Methought I rose before dawn to make Valhalla ready for a host of slain; I woke up the host of the chosen, and bade them rise to strew the benches, and fill up the vats of ale; I bade the Valkyrias bear the wine, as if a King were coming.' Then a great sound is heard, and Eric Bloody-Axe comes tramping in, 'walls and benches creaking as if Balder were coming back to the Hall.' One of the dead exclaimed, 'Why lookest thou more for Eric than for any other king?' 'In many a land,' says Woden, 'he has reddened the sword and borne the dripping blade.'—'Why didst thou rob him of victory who seemed to thee so brave?' 'Because it is unknown,' says Woden, 'when the Gray Wolf shall be upon the seat of the gods.'

Hakon was killed in battle by the sons of Gunnhilda, about the year 970, and a similar death-song was some time afterwards composed in his honour. Two Valkyrias are sent to choose an Yngling prince to serve Woden in the halls of the dead. When the dawn rose on the battle-field, they found Hakon sitting with his sword drawn, his shield scored deeply
and

and his mail-shirt burst asunder. One of the messengers speaks to herself, as she leans on her spear-shaft: 'Now the army of the gods is waxing great, since the Powers have bidden Hakon and a mighty host to come home.' The King says, 'Why didst thou so sway the fight? we surely deserved a victory.' 'Yea, and so we ordered it,' she answers, 'that thou shouldst keep the field, and all thy foes should flee: but now we must ride to the green city of the gods, to tell Woden that a mighty king is coming.' The next scene is in Valhalla, where Hakon seems to be doubtful of his reception, as having been at heart a Christian, though he had spared the heathen sanctuaries. The brave god Brági promises him a 'truce-plight' from all the assembled heroes: 'Take ale with the gods, thou conqueror of earls! Eight brothers hast thou here already.' At the end of the dirge the poet laments the misfortunes which have fallen on Norway, since his master departed. 'Cattle die, men die, waste are land and lea; since Hakon went to the heathen gods many folk are enslaved.'

Mr. Du Chaillu has collected some remarkable facts about the struggle between Christianity and Paganism. A few men were able to compromise the matter by keeping the ancient festivals at the newly-appointed seasons. Of Earl Sigurd Thorisson we are told that 'when he became a Christian he continued his custom with the feasts; he had in the autumn a great feast for his friends, and a Yule-feast in the winter, and still invited many guests; the third he held at Easter, and then also many were invited.' Hakon always kept Sunday and fasted on Fridays. 'He made it a law that the Yule should begin at the same time as that of the Christians, so that every man should have a certain measure of ale, or pay a fine, and keep the days holy while Yule lasted.' But the King was forced by his stubborn subjects into many acts of submission.

One excellent scene is described by the Saga-writer. There was a great sacrificing in the Temple of Ládé, in the north of Norway, and the farmers complained of the King for eating apart in a room instead of taking his place on the 'high seat' in the temple. Earl Sigurd persuaded the King to come in, and when the first horn was filled the Earl drank Hakon's health, after hallowing the drink to Woden; but the King made the sign of the Cross upon it, before he drank in his turn. 'Why does the King behave like this?' cries out Kár of Grýting; 'will he no longer worship the gods?' 'Nay,' answered Sigurd, 'the King only did like all those whose belief is in their own strength and might; he signs his cups to Thor, and it was the sign of the hammer that he made before he drank.'

drank.' Next day the yeomen crowded round the King and tried to get him to eat the sacrificial horse-flesh; but this he refused. Then they asked him to drink the broth; but he would not. Then they asked him to taste the fat; but he would not. They were about to fall upon him, when Sigurd announced that Hakon would open his mouth over the handle of the kettle, where the steam had made it greasy; and the King at last wrapped a cloth round the handle and opened his mouth above it, but nobody was very well pleased.

From Ari's account of this temple we learn that the neighbouring landowners contributed cattle and ale at the time of the three great sacrifices. The blood of the victims was collected in bowls, and sprinkled with brushes of twigs over the altar and the temple-walls. The meat was boiled, and was served round to the worshippers. It is said that prisoners of war were sometimes sacrificed, and that men were offered to Thor, and had their backs broken on a stone near the temple. When Earl Einar took Haldan, King of the Orkneys, he had a 'blood-eagle' cut on the captive's back, and so 'sent him to Woden.' The ring on the door of the temple was connected with an important incident in the life of Olaf Tryggvasson. The King had sent the ring as a betrothal-gift to Sigrid the Haughty, who was grievously offended when it turned out to be copper instead of gold. The quarrel grew into a dispute about the rival religions. 'Why should I care about you,' said the King, 'an old faded woman and an heathen jade?' and struck her in the face with his glove. 'Some day this may be your death,' said Sigrid, and fulfilled her prophecy in the terrible sea-fight at Stiklestad.

Ari also left an account of a temple near his own home in Iceland, which may be found in the Eyrbyggja Saga. It was a large building with two side-doors opening upon the 'high-seat pillars.' These pillars, on one of which was carved a figure of Thor, had stood in a Norwegian temple, and when the emigrants came near Iceland they threw the pillars overboard, so that Thor might show them where to touch the shore. There was an inner room in the temple, 'like the choir of a church,' and a table on which were set a gold ring and the blood-bowl for purposes of divination. The groves round the sacred buildings were not to be polluted by any form of violence, and no weapon of any kind might be borne within the consecrated precinct. 'Ingimund,' in a Saga quoted in the work before us, 'entered a temple, and, before he was aware of it, Rafn ran in with a sword.' Ingimund cries out, that it is unlawful to bring weapons into the sanctuary, and that the wrath of the gods would

would follow, unless atonement were immediately made. This will remind some of our readers of the high-priest converted by Paulinus in Northumbria, who mounted the war-horse and brandished the spear, in order more effectually to desecrate the altars at which he himself had served.

Having sketched the history of ancient literature, Mr. Du Chaillu passes to the archæological discoveries. He describes the varied contents of the rich 'finds' which have filled the museums of the North, and reveals their wealth of information



Stone coffin (hällkista) near Skattened, in Södra Ryrs parish, Västergötland, 21½ feet in length. Graves of this type are very numerous in Bohuslän also, and in Dal and South-western Vermland.

as to the details of daily life, the ceremonies at death, the arms and implements, and the very dress, ornaments, and trinkets, of the nations which have inhabited Scandinavia. There are, of course, very few relics of those primeval savages, the refuse of whose feasts is found in the Danish 'kitchen-middens.' But in a much later period of the Stone Age the 'dolmen-builders,' whose tombs are found along all the coasts of Western and Northern Europe, attained to a rude kind of civilization, and were able at least to make rough pottery, to devise ornaments of gold and amber, and to make all kinds of flint-implements, such

such as saws, knives and daggers, all 'beautifully polished,' and generally graceful in form. Mr. Du Chaillu classifies the graves of the Stone Age found in Scandinavia and on all the islands and shores of the Baltic, in four principal groups, all belonging to the general class of *tumuli* known among our own antiquaries as 'long barrows,' or 'giants' graves.' The 'cromlechs,' which always occur near the sea, consist of large stones placed upright in a ring with a block or boulder for a covering. 'The other graves of the Stone Age are often found far inland, but they are almost always near a lake or river.' The gallery-graves, sometimes called 'earth-houses,' are distinguished by having a long narrow passage leading into the grave-chamber. The 'stone-cist' is a large, oblong sepulchre, usually built up with thin slabs; it is shaped like the inner chamber of a passage-grave, and is partly covered with earth. Dr. Montelius has pointed out that graves of this kind are specially interesting, 'as representing an intermediate form between the passage-graves and the great stone-cists of the early Bronze Age, which were entirely covered.' These covered cists are placed by Mr. Du Chaillu in his fourth group; they belong to an age when the use of bronze for weapons and cutting tools was being gradually introduced in Denmark and Sweden. The Age of Bronze in these countries must have lasted for many centuries; it ended, according to the opinion which now prevails, about 500 B.C. in Norway and Sweden, but lasted much longer in Denmark. This great tract of time has been subdivided into several periods, and several distinct 'provinces' have been marked out according to local differences in the type and manufacture of the objects discovered. We may say, speaking generally, that the antiquities of the earlier period are distinguished by their artistic form, and show 'a highly-developed taste in the working of the metal': in the later periods the introduction of a new kind of sword, and the appearance of foreign figures among the ornaments on weapons, appear to indicate the beginnings of a commerce with more Southern countries. The whole series of discoveries amply justifies Mr. Du Chaillu's assertion, that a remarkably high culture existed in some parts of the North even before the knowledge of iron was introduced. It would be impossible to enumerate, or even to classify here, the articles of dress and ornament, the arms and implements, the curious rock-carvings and 'picture-writings,' which Mr. Du Chaillu has described and brought before our eyes in a series of fine illustrations. We may mention, among the most interesting objects, the vases of a Greek type, several ships and human figures on engraved razor-blades, the huge bronze trumpets used in war, and

and the woollen skirts, caps, and cloaks, which have been preserved in the 'oak-log' coffins.

The Iron Age of the North is in one sense still proceeding, but the term is generally used to denote the period between the introduction of the use of iron for tools and weapons and the definite extinction of heathenism. As far as Norway and Sweden are concerned, we may divide it into four periods. Of these the first covers the five centuries between the transition from bronze to brass and iron and the beginning of the Christian era; the second period extends to the end of the 5th century after Christ; the 'first part of the later Iron Age' covers the next two centuries; and the second part of the same age may be taken as lasting from the beginning of the 8th century to the time when in each country the Christian religion was established and a new civilization introduced. Mr. Du Chaillu's work is mainly concerned with the two divisions of the 'later age.' The following extract will show the countries and nations to which his arguments are applied:—

'All the antiquities, as well as the Eddas and Sagas, plainly show that the people who inhabited the eastern and southern shores of the present Scandinavia, the islands of the Baltic, and the southern shores of that sea to a certain distance inland, which now comprise Northern Germany, were of the same origin and belonged to the same race; and the vast number of weapons of various kinds testifies equally to the warlike character of the people.'

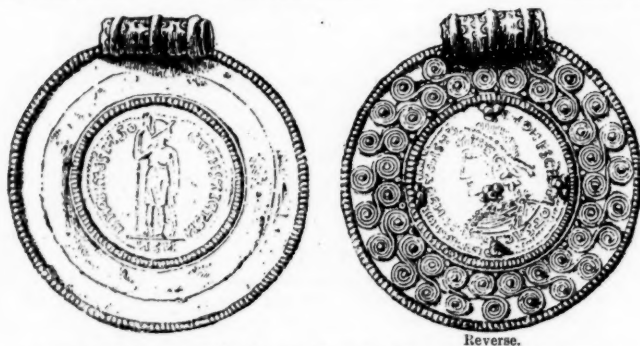
The sepulchral discoveries have proved that, even before the later Iron Age began, the Scandinavians must have been in constant communication with the Roman Empire. Large hoards of money from the Imperial mint show that currents of trade had passed down the valleys of the Oder and the Vistula.

Of the weapons and vases from the barrows many are found to be inscribed with the names and trade-marks of Roman workmen, and even the articles of native make show signs of the influence of Greek and Etruscan models. As the Iron Age advanced the Swedes established a regular and important commerce



Bronze knife. $\frac{1}{2}$ real size. Found in an urn in Holstein.

commerce with the East; the store-houses of Wisby were well known to the Arabian merchants; and the wealth of Byzantium was dispersed over the North from the marts of Kief and Novgorod. The islands of Zeeland and Fyen are especially rich in Roman antiquities. The Isle of Gothland, as might be expected, is famous for the largest hoards of money. Many specimens of the 'family' coinage of Republican Rome have been collected in the Museum at Wisby, and the same neighbourhood supplies an unbroken series of *denarii* from the beginning of the Empire to the reign of Alexander Severus. The 'finds' in the South of Sweden comprise a period of nearly the same extent, though it is rarer to come on silver money later in date than the time of Commodus. In the Danish island of



Imitation of Roman gold coin, real size, found in a tumulus with charcoal, gold ornaments, glass and amber beads, &c. (Norway.)

Fyen a long series of gold coins has been found, beginning with *aurei* of the 3rd century. The gold pieces from Byzantium, after the reign of Constantine the Great, were usually converted into ornaments; and where the originals could not be procured, their shape and pattern were imitated in the gilt 'bracteates' which formed pendants for clasps and brooches.

We can only select a few instances from the multitude of interesting topics discussed in the work before us. Something may be said as to the dress and domestic life of the people. Some attention is also due to the magnificence of the weapons and armour for which the smiths of the North were celebrated. In a warlike age no trouble or expense would be spared in obtaining the best arms from abroad, and we are constantly told in the Sagas of kings and champions who took their places in

in the smithy and hammered the metal for themselves. The remains of several fine coats of chain-mail have been found in Danish peat-bogs; and these are believed by the local antiquaries to have been of Roman workmanship. The use of this kind of mail was known to the Sarmatians on the Danube, and it is possible that this indicates the source from which the invention came northwards. It may be observed that ring-work of a somewhat similar kind has been found in the English barrows; and the references in 'Beowulf' and other ancient poems to the 'bright byrnies' of the warriors seem to show that armour of this kind was very extensively used and was probably manufactured at home. Another coincidence between the patterns of objects found in England and Sweden is rendered more interesting by the words of Tacitus in his description of certain neighbours of the Suiones. The soldiers, he said, wore the figures of boars as a sign of belief in their goddess; 'and they thought that this would keep them safe in every kind of danger.* Just in the same way we read in the Song of Beowulf that 'the warriors had over the face the likeness of a boar, of divers colours, hardened in the fire, to keep the life in safety.' Helmets with crests of this kind have been found in our own country, and the discovery in Sweden of several bronze plates showing soldiers with helmets adorned in the same way shows that the ancient fashion must have lasted until the beginning of the Age of the Vikings. The swords with hilts of silver or bronze inlaid with gold are believed to have been imported from Byzantium. Others show traces of a contact with Irish art. But the finest weapons of this class, including those of which the pommels are of solid gold, are thought to have been of native make. Mr. Du Chaillu considers that the manufacture of damascened sword-blades was practised in Scandinavia as early as the 1st century of our era, or at any rate that there must have been a very ancient knowledge of the art which the Crusaders so long afterwards found flourishing at Damascus. There seems to be actual evidence that these swords were made in the North. Among the despatches of Cassiodorus we have a letter thanking a king of the Vandals for sending a present of arms to Ravenna.† Among them were certain swords described in terms which bring before the mind the 'costly steel' of Beowulf, adorned with signs and 'speckled like the snake.' The learned Cassiodorus compares the blades to the very handiwork of Vulcan: they were 'bright as a mirror with their steely light,' and were exquisitely shaded with a long wavy design. The whole language of the letter

* Tac. 'Germania,' c. 45.

† Cassiodorus, 'Varia,' v. 1.

shows

shows that delicate 'damask-work' of this kind was quite new to the courtiers of Theodoric, and gives an incidental support to Mr. Du Chaillu's independent judgment on the matter. There is more doubt as to the origin of the ornaments on the horses' bits and trappings which may be described as being made of a rude '*cloisonné* enamel.' Mr. Du Chaillu claims a Scandinavian origin for the art. He refers to a passage of Philostratus describing the picture of a boar-hunt in a gallery at Naples.* The painter has ornamented the horses' bits with silver and their bronze cheek-pieces with colours like those of embroidery; and Philostratus remarks that 'the barbarians in the ocean pour



Bronze enamelled bowl, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, found in a bog at Maltbæk, in Jutland. The enamel in the serpentine line is red.

these colours upon red-hot bronze,' and that the material 'hardens into stone.' The passage is vaguely expressed, and might refer to a Northern people; but we must remember that the existence of the art among the Celtic tribes is proved by the finding of '*cloisonné* work' at Beuvray and in some of the Gaulish tombs, as well as by the occurrence of many British ornaments of the same kind in excavations along Offa's Dyke and at the Victoria Cave in Yorkshire. It should be observed that horse-trappings of the kind mentioned by Philostratus have been dug up in the Island of Fyen and in the Swedish province of North Upland,

* Philostratus, '*Imagines*,' i. 28.

and

and that there is a passage in one version of St. Olaf's Saga where one of the kings is said to have used 'a gilded saddle and a bridle gilt all over and set with melted stones.'

The same Saga describes the simplicity of the King's ordinary costume. He wore a blue kirtle and hose, a grey cloak and hat, and laced-up shoes; but for holidays he had boots of Cordovan leather and a fine scarlet cloak. Another great man wore 'a brown kirtle, and shoes made of the skins of sheeps' legs,' and a red cloak with folded skirts. The readers of Longfellow will remember how King Olaf and his marshal stood up in their red cloaks before they plunged into the sea:

'Two shields raised high in the air,
Two flashes of golden hair,
Two scarlet meteors' glare,
And both have leaped from the ship.'

The discoveries in the peat-bogs of Jutland have enabled us to form an accurate idea of the dress of the Northern warriors in the 3rd and 4th centuries after Christ. Dr. Montelius has given us a picture in his work on the 'Civilization of Ancient Sweden,' every line of which is true to history; the clothes, weapons, and ornaments being all copied from what was actually found. The clothes, he tells us, were made of wool, woven in a check-pattern: the long jacket had sleeves reaching to the wrists: the breeches and hose were sewn together, and a woollen mantle with a long fringe was thrown over the shoulders. One of these cloaks, discovered in a peat-moss at Thorsbjerg, had preserved its original colours; it is still green in the centre, with a border of a darker shade mixed with a yellow pattern. Mr. Du Chaillu gives us the designs found upon other fragments of cloth and embroidered silk, which were ornamented with figures of lions and leopards or human faces, and in one case with the symbol of the 'Swastika.' The women's dress seems to have differed little from that which is still worn by the farmers' wives. There was a tight gown with a jacket and apron, and a kerchief on the neck fastened by pin-brooches on the shoulders. The richer women wore loose dresses with trains and long sleeves. The lady described in the 'Rig's-mål' wears a low bodice with linen sleeves: 'the housewife sat and looked at her arms, smoothed her linen and pleated her sleeves'; she has a great brooch and a trailing sash; 'her brow was brighter, her breast was lighter, her neck whiter than driven snow.' Hallgerd, in the Njal's Saga, has a blue mantle, and a scarlet gown with a silver belt: 'her hair reached down to her waist on both sides, and she tucked it under the belt.' The

prophetess of the Erik's Saga, mentioned by Gray in a note to his 'Descent of Odin,' wore a blue vest spangled with jewels, and a cap of black lamb's wool, lined like her gauntlets with white cat's skin; her buskins were of rough calf's hide; 'she leaned on a staff adorned with brass and set with stones, and was girt with a Hunlandish belt, at which hung her pouch full of magical instruments.'

The latter part of Mr. Du Chaillu's work is taken from the biographical Sagas, which contain many interesting traditions about great men, though they are too much coloured by romance to be accepted as genuine history. We find ourselves among familiar friends when we reach the figures of Ganger Rolf, and King Athelstane at Brunanburh, and 'Sweyn of the Forkèd-beard, sailing from Wendland.' We are shown Canute the Great, tall and strong, with keen eyes and long fair hair: 'a very handsome man, except that his nose was thin, prominent, low, and somewhat crooked.' We are shown Hardrada at the Battle of Stamford Bridge, 'a tall man with a blue kirtle and a fine helmet,' and Harold of England offering him seven feet of English ground: 'a great man is he, and of stately appearance, but I think that his luck has left him.' The earlier Sagas have no appearance of historical accuracy. The story of Ragnar Lodbrog is an example of the blending of actual events with myths and folk-tales as old as the 'Niebelungen Lied.' We have no doubt that the old Viking was wrecked and murdered in Northumbria, though one may suspect the details of his death in the 'snake-pit,' where he chanted the famous 'death-song.' His fate was well avenged by the bloodthirsty princes, who killed St. Edmund, and afterwards enjoyed the 'exquisite delight' of torturing the cruel King of Northumbria. But the Saga-writer would have us believe that 'Ivar the Boneless' remained in England as ruler of the country which his remote forefathers had conquered. On his death-bed, we are told, he chose a place on the sea-shore for his barrow, where he lived for ages, like a vampire, and kept off all invaders. Harold Hardrada landed on that spot, and was slain; but when William the Conqueror came ashore, he broke up Ivar's mound, and saw that the body had not decayed: 'then he had a large pyre made and burned Ivar upon it, and thereupon he landed and got the victory.' Mr. Du Chaillu has exposed many of the anachronisms with which this Saga is deformed. It seems to have been made up in great part from myths as old as the Volsung Lay, with which several of its characters are connected. Ragnar, as transformed by the poet, like Perseus, slays a monster, to save 'Thora, the fairest of women'; he took to his throne
a beggar-

a beggar-maid, 'driving the goats in a coal-black gown,' who turns out to be a great princess, the daughter of Siegfried and Brunhilda. His father was the old King Hring, the conqueror in a battle of giants at Bravalla, which was to the Northern poets what the siege of Troy had been to the Greeks. A sovereignty over England and almost all the North is attributed to King Hring and others of his shadowy line; and it seems probable that the fabulous story was put together in order to exalt the family of Harold Fair-hair, in whose time the history of Norway begins to be authentic. His consolidation of the petty kingdoms into one imperial dominion was the first great blow against the power of the Vikings. He sought them out in their pirate lairs, and drove them to seek new homes in the Arctic countries:—

'King Harold heard that far and wide in the midst of the land ravaged the Vikings, who in winter dwelt by the western sea. He had a levy out every summer, and searched the islands and outskeries; but, as soon as the Vikings became aware of his host, they all fled, and mostly out to sea. The king got tired of this, and one summer sailed with his host westward. He first came to Shetland, and there slew all the Vikings who did not flee. Then he sailed southward to the Orkneys, and cleared them of Vikings. After this he went as far as the Hebrides, and ravaged there, killing many Vikings who before had ruled over warriors. He fought many battles, and was always victorious.'

It was this expedition, says Mr. Vigfússon, that drove the Scandinavian rovers from Caithness and the Western Islands to their new settlement in Iceland. We have not space to deal with the interesting story of the colonization of Greenland and the discovery of America in the voyages to 'Markland' and 'Vineland the Fair.' The subject of Mr. Du Chaillu's work is vast in extent and full of perplexing difficulties. We have shown that its author has collected a store of valuable information, a great part of which has hitherto been inaccessible to English readers. His critics in this country will hardly agree with some of his suggestions on points of ethnology and classical scholarship; but they will admit that his enthusiasm will have a very useful effect if it leads the people of this country to study and admire the ancient civilization and the splendid literature of our Scandinavian kinsmen.

ART. IV.—*Essays upon Heredity and kindred Biological Problems.*

By Dr. August Weismann. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1889.

ONE noteworthy characteristic of the latter half of the present century has been the increasing interest taken by the general public in the deeper problems which underlie the natural history of living organisms. At its commencement, the veteran anatomist, Sir Richard Owen, *facile princeps* of his class, had drawn the attention of many thoughtful minds to questions of biology. He had done so by his skilful restoration of the extinct, gigantic birds of New Zealand; his elaborate monographs on the man-like apes—especially the gorilla—and his fascinating theories concerning the archetypal principles of our own bodily structure, and the essential nature of the processes of generation and repair. We recollect a brilliant lecture given at the College of Surgeons to a distinguished audience—whereof one of the most interested was the then Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Wilberforce—wherein were expounded certain far-reaching suggestions concerning the then little known *lucina sine concubitu*—a process termed *Parthenogenesis* by the learned Hunterian Professor of that day. But however industriously and well Professor Owen may have prepared the way for him who was to follow, it was Charles Darwin who first compelled attention to biology by the efforts he called forth from opponents, as well as by the admiration he excited amongst his followers and disciples. The interest thus forcibly aroused has never been allowed to drop, and it has been recently intensified by the writings of Professor Weismann of Freiburg, upon whom the mantle of Darwin is declared to have fallen by not a few admirers. Strange to say, the subject about which the Freiburg Professor has aroused men's minds of late, is mainly the very same as that about which our own Hunterian Professor discoursed so learnedly some forty years ago. A great injustice has been unwittingly committed by those amongst us who, while lauding or criticising Professor Weismann, have failed to make any reference to the work of their aged and illustrious compatriot,* who in many respects actually anticipated the ideas of the Freiburg Professor himself. The theories of Professor Weismann, which are now the subject of such earnest discussion amongst our leading men of science, deal especially with what concerns both the beginning and the end of life. Although they do not mainly refer to human life and death, yet the progress

* See his work on 'Parthenogenesis.' London, 1848.

of science is continually making more and more evident the close relationship which exists between our own life and the lives of our humbler fellow-creatures—even the very humblest of them. Attention has also become increasingly concentrated upon the processes by which each individual animal or plant is developed from its germ. To this study was devoted the brilliant but far too brief career of the lamented Francis Balfour, of whom it is difficult to say whether he was more esteemed for his scientific knowledge or beloved for his most attractive personal qualities. Investigations concerning development and reproduction have been found to be exceptionally profitable scientifically, so that most varied lines of enquiry now converge upon that mystery of mysteries.

The position which the minds of men interested in the study of living things has thus taken up in our own time, is more or less a return to that mental attitude which marked the earliest days of scientific investigation whereof we have any knowledge. A very large part of Aristotle's biological treatises was directed to this subject, and wonderful indeed are those five books, when studied in the light of our most modern theories. Not of course that such questions were not debated at a yet earlier period. Indeed a passage in the second chapter of his second book shows that certain very modern theories were rife amongst his predecessors. These he refuted as he refuted Ionian materialism, and his influence for centuries preserved the world from errors of this kind. Owing to this, certain rational ideas about development were retained throughout the Middle Ages—ideas from which the microscopists of the last century went strangely astray.

Every one is now familiar with the word 'Evolution,' but during the controversies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was employed in a very different sense from that in which we now use it. The theory then in fashion was that of 'preformation,' according to which the embryo was a perfect miniature of the adult, its development being a mere process of growth, and the unfolding of what already actually existed. Such were the views of Swammerdam, Vallisneri, Boerhave, Malpighi, and other celebrated observers. But the same arguments which led to such a belief as regards the individual, logically compelled its supporters to maintain that all the individuals destined to arise in the course of ages also existed 'preformed' in miniature—such preformed germs existing one within the other in ever-diminishing proportions. This was the celebrated theory of 'emboîtement' which, for speculative reasons, received the patronage of Leibnitz and Malebranche.

On

On the other hand, our own immortal Harvey (1551) followed the teaching of Aristotle, according to which there took place a gradual formation of what previously had no actual existence, but only a potential one. This view, known in modern times as Epigenesis, was strongly reinforced (in 1759) by the careful observations of Caspar Friedrich Wolff; but his efforts remained without effect for two generations—so firmly had the strange theory of ‘preformation’ become rooted in men’s minds. It was deliberately adopted by the great physiologist Haller, was adhered to by Buffon and Bonnett, and not positively rejected even by Cuvier himself. Yet now it is upheld by no one, and the views of Aristotle, Harvey, and Wolff have obtained universal, unhesitating acceptance.

Another dispute was independently carried on concerning the predominant effect of paternal or maternal influences. From the most ancient times predominant influence was ascribed to the former, the maternal organism being regarded merely as an agent for nutrition. Ancient Indian teaching was but echoed by Æschylus* in the words:—

Οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἡ κεκλημένον τέκνον
Τοκεύς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου.
Τίττει δ’ ὁ θρῶσκων.

(‘The bearer of the so-called offspring is not the mother of it, but only the nurse of the newly-conceived fetus. It is the male who is the author of its being.’)

Modern supporters of this view came to be known as *Animalculists*,† their opponents being the *Ovists*. Both notions have now passed, along with ‘preformationism,’ into the limbo of discarded hypotheses, while the views of Aristotle (also expressed by Empedocles) have become solidly established through the researches of modern science. We now know that both these influences play their part, although it is still keenly debated whether or not there is any essential difference between them. This question, with the problem how and why the offspring resembles the parent to the wonderful extent it may, are amongst the subjects treated of in Professor Weismann’s essays. Another relates to the first introduction of death into the world, and its bearing upon that ‘struggle for existence’ between species and species, with which the writings of Darwin and of

* ‘Eumenid.’ 628.

† After the discovery by Leeuwenhoek and others of seminal particles which he considered to be animalcules. If the reader will refer to a German translation of Vallisneri by Berger, ‘Erzeugung der Menschen und Thiere,’ he will see marvellous illustrations of the extent to which a prejudiced imagination may mislead an observer.

Wallace have made us all familiar. He considers the whole mass of living animals and plants as divisible into two great groups, between which the strongest contrast exists both as to structure and vitality. The overwhelming majority of animal and vegetable organisms consist, as we do ourselves, of different kinds of substances—different tissues*—each made up of, or having been formed from, a multitude of cells.† A natural death is now the inevitable fate of all creatures thus complexly formed. But there is another set of animals and plants, mostly of minute size, which each consist of but a single cell, and none of these, according to Professor Weismann, can ever die a natural death. Like higher organisms, however, they have to take nourishment which leads to growth. Such unicellular, generally spheroidal, organisms absorb nourishment at their surface and grow, but the effect of growth leads to a constantly increasing disproportion between their very rapidly augmenting mass, which needs to be nourished, and their much less rapidly expanding nourishment-receiving surface. The consequence of this must be either a state of stagnation, death, or—what really ensues—a process of spontaneous division by means of which a due balance of functions is for a time restored, followed by re-augmentation of bulk and renewed division, and so on continually. Obviously in a creature which divides into two exactly similar halves, each half has an equal claim to be considered as the continuation of the previously undivided whole; and this the more, since there is no evidence of any cessation of

* Such, e.g. as muscle, nerve, bone, blood, &c., each of which is a different kind of 'tissue.'

† The minute structures termed 'cells' were first observed in plants, which indeed are mainly composed of them. Each cell is a minute bag with fluid contents, in which there is commonly present a certain denser body termed the 'nucleus,' as was shown by the illustrious botanists Robert Brown and Schleiden. This generalization was subsequently extended to the animal kingdom by Schwann, and thus that general conception known as 'the cell-theory' was promulgated. It became generally accepted about 1840. In 1849 Nägeli showed that the wall of the bag might be wanting, and by 1854 Max Schultze and others had shown that the nucleus also might be absent. Thus the 'cell' came to be regarded as a minute portion of semifluid substance, to which the now famous term of 'Protoplasm' came ultimately to be applied. This term was first used in a definite manner by Van Mohl, who employed it to denote the soft contents of the cells of plants. Within the nucleus of a cell a still smaller body is to be found, known as the nucleolus, or nucleoli if more than one. Recent observers have discovered that neither the structure of the nucleus nor that of the cell-contents in which it is situated is simple, but that each contains a complex arrangement of most delicate fibres. Cells multiply by spontaneous division, and in so doing very singular and definite changes take place in the arrangement of these fibres, the sum of such changes being denoted by the term *karyokinesis*. The egg or ovum is a cell with its nucleus; the corresponding male product is but the nucleus of a cell with which a portion of cell-contents is probably conjoined.

life during the process. Certainly there is no unequivocal corpse, and, as Professor Weismann observes, there can be no death when there is no dead body. But if the very living being of an organism is continued by means of the two halves into which it spontaneously divides, then it must also be continued on into the subsequently and similarly divided portions of those halves themselves, and the being of the undivided whole must be continuous with the organisms to which it, by its spontaneous division, gave rise. It therefore logically follows not only that each kind of unicellular organism is, accidents apart, immortal, but also that all the separate representatives of each kind may be regarded as together really forming but one self-segmented individual.

Such organisms, as the simplest and lowest, are regarded by evolutionists as having been at first the only living creatures in the world. The formation of multicellular organisms, and the prevalence of death as we know it, the Professor accounts for as follows:—From time to time some unicellular organisms failed to subdivide themselves completely, and so, by degrees, came to consist of aggregations of imperfectly divided, or at least of coherent cells. Some of these were better able, on account of their state of aggregation, to support the struggle of life, and were therefore preserved. They were the more surely preserved by reason of the death and replacement of more or less of the individual cells of which they were composed. He tells us (p. 60):—

‘The replacement of the cells of the tissues must be more advantageous for the functions of the whole organism than the unlimited activity of the same cells, inasmuch as the power of single cells would be much increased by these means. . . . The organism may thus, figuratively speaking, venture to demand from the various specific cells of tissues a greater amount of work than they are able to bear.’

Obviously an organism will be more vigorous and active, if the cells of which it is composed have adopted the principle of ‘the division of labour,’ and mutually aid each other by respectively dedicating themselves to one function exclusively. But the consequence of such increased life must ultimately be death, through a failure in such cells to reproduce themselves, and, without an adequate supply of all, the processes of life could not be continued. Yet although a natural mortality thus induced must be fatal to the individual, it must be all the better for the race or species, provided the individuals only live long enough to reproduce their kind sufficiently.

Professor Weismann, however, affirms that the death of each
kind

kind of animal has come to take place naturally, just at that time which is most beneficial to its species, and has so been fixed for each, by the operation of natural selection. He argues that, once the period of reproduction is finally over, any further survival of parental organisms must be prejudicial to the race, unless by their care of the young, or some other benefit to the community, they more than compensate for the loss of nourishment their survival occasions to the still reproductive members of the species. The Professor brings forward a great number of interesting facts with regard to the vitality of different groups of animals, and the facts brought forward by him of course tend on the whole to support his hypothesis. But the duration of life differs greatly in different creatures, even belonging to the same natural group.

As a rule, birds live long, and a white-headed vulture has lived for one hundred and eighteen years in captivity. This prolongation of bird-life Professor Weismann considers to be due to the very large proportion of eggs destroyed by enemies of so many different kinds,—a circumstance which demands a greater production of young by way of compensation. Beasts, the immature progeny of which are sheltered within the maternal organism, lose much less, and consequently may produce less also, without risk to the permanence of the species. Most insects are short-lived in the final or *imago* stage of their existence. The *Ephemeridæ*, the female moths, *Solenobia*, and the male of *Psyche calcella*, do not live even one entire day in that condition. On the other hand, Sir John Lubbock has kept a queen-ant alive for nearly fifteen years, and a beetle (*Buprestis splendens*) has been known (p. 47) to live over thirty years. A very lowly organism (the sea-anemone, *Actinia mesembryanthemum*) has even been found capable of living for no less than sixty-six years.

Even the males and females of the same species may differ greatly as to duration of life. There are certain minute parasites of bees, the males of which only live for two or three hours, while the females will continue to exist for over a week. Whatever may have determined the period during which different kinds of multicellular animals live, there is no doubt that they have sooner or later to die naturally, if they escape all the various circumstances which occasion accidental death.

Nevertheless, just as the simplest unicellular organisms produce, without dying, others like them—by means of a process of self-division—so even the highest multicellular organisms produce, without dying, others like them by means
of

of a process of self-division. For they separate off those reproductive elements, which subsequently initiate a new existence.

Therefore it would seem that there must be an immortal, corporeal part of every normal organism, however simple or however complex may be that organism's structure. The simplest creatures (as we have seen) are each immortal as a whole; but all the higher organisms are obviously and universally mortal as regards the visible mass of their structure.

Therefore every multicellular organism, from a medusa to a man, must consist of two parts: (1) the great visible mass of the body, which Professor Weismann speaks of as the *soma*, and (2) some minute, ordinarily invisible constituent. Such a constituent is affirmed by the Professor to exist and be transmitted, and this is named by him *germ-plasm*.

According to his views, if we return in imagination to the period when the first unicellular organisms were beginning to cohere in more and more complex aggregations, we shall see that, with the increasing division of labour amongst the cells, some must have been set aside for reproducing not merely themselves, but the whole complex organism of which they had come to form a part; and thus the distinction arose, between the general whole, or *soma*, on the one hand, and the contents—the *germ-plasm*—of such reproductive cells, on the other.

In this way the mystery of heredity seems satisfactorily explained; for the continuity of germ-plasm is like the continuity of multiplying single cells. Since the continuity of the latter makes succeeding generations in a sense really one, there is little wonder that the child is like his forbears; for the continuity of the germ-plasm makes succeeding generations to be, in a sense, really one.

But the Professor's theory carries with it one very remarkable consequence. If all the characters and powers possessed by every living creature are exclusively due to those portions of the parental organisms which consist of germ-plasm, it follows that no character acquired by the *soma* of either can ever be transmitted. However much bodily or mental activity may have developed the powers of a father, he can never hope to transmit to his offspring any similar capacity. All he can transmit must be such faculties as he himself brought with him into the world, and which were latent in the unimaginably minute structure of his own germ-plasm. All post-natal modifications of the *soma*, and all such mental acquisitions, Professor Weismann terms 'acquired characters,' and he absolutely and categorically denies that any acquired character can be transmitted.

Such

Such is the great theory which has excited so much interest in the world of science, and has begun even to attract the attention of the general public. Such is the main contention of this distinguished naturalist, upon whose shoulders, as we have said, the mantle of Darwin has descended, according to not a few of his admirers—admirers who mainly rest his claim to such distinction upon the fact of his having propounded this very theory.

We propose now to examine his theory, noting points in its favour, but also noting certain facts which seem to us to cast grave doubts on its validity and consequent permanence.

We will begin by considering the question concerning the inheritance of 'acquired characters,' and whether it is possible to believe that there is such a complete separation and distinctness of nature between the germ-plasm of a creature and the rest of that creature's body, as the Professor so unequivocally affirms to exist. In the first place, he himself makes some noteworthy admissions, the consequences of which he does not appear adequately to appreciate.

Professor Hoffman, of Marburg, has long been occupied in making experiments as to the effects, in producing variations, which changed conditions may call forth in plants. He found that by cultivating certain wild plants in garden soil for several generations he could produce double flowers, change their colours and also the shape of the green leaves of their foliage. He also found that the wild pansy could thus be made to produce larger flowers with different coloration, and that, after some generations, these changes were perpetuated through the plant's seed. This would seem plain evidence that acquired characters may be inherited, but Professor Weismann nevertheless denies it, affirming that the contained germ-plasm had thus itself become modified, so that the inherited changes were due to it alone and not to the structure of the plant generally. But, in the first place, it is impossible to believe that a modification of enclosed and protected germ-plasm can take place, save through the body-substance which so encloses and protects it, and therefore inherited characters thus produced must be due to the response of such body-substance to the action of its environment. Secondly, we may ask, Why is it less credible that the body-substance, or soma, should affect the germ-plasm, than that the germ-plasm should affect the soma? If the germ-plasm can be directly affected by physical influences which pass through the soma, on what possible ground can it be pronounced absolutely unmodifiable by the soma itself?

There are, however, certain facts which go far to demonstrate the

the direct action of the body-substance on the reproductive elements. Thus in the well-known case of Lord Zetland's brood mare which had a foal by a quagga, her subsequent progeny, though the offspring of thoroughbred horses, all bore quagga marks. It is also a fact familiar to dog-fanciers, that a thoroughbred bitch will produce imperfectly bred puppies if the father of her first puppy was a mongrel. Such cases prove both that the developing young may constitutionally affect the maternal organism (a fact pathologically evident), and that the thus constitutionally modified soma of the parent can modify the structure of the germs of its future progeny. But, indeed, pathological evidence on this matter is still much debated amongst experts; and Mr. Francis Galton, who has paid so much attention to this subject, allows some transmissibility to acquired characters. One very curious point is the fact that the footprints of some insects seem so to have impressed themselves on certain plants, that the marks have become hereditary specific characters.

Another very curious and suggestive fact has been of late years ascertained by an observer named Yung,* who ascertained that the sex of tadpoles could be changed by altering the nature and quantity of their food. Now no food taken into the body can possibly affect directly the organs thus modified. It can only do so through the action of the digestive organs and the circulation. Since change of sex necessarily implies changes in the germ-plasm contained within the organism, this amounts to a demonstration that changes in the soma can affect the substance which Professor Weismann regards as being so unmodifiable.

Our author argues at great length against the possibility of any transmission of mutilations. No doubt in the immense majority of cases such suddenly violently produced modifications are not transmitted, but there is nevertheless a certain amount of evidence that they occasionally are so.

An esteemed medical practitioner in the West of England informs us that a blood mare, belonging to the late Sir F. Williams, Bart., on the night of the day she had been put to horse was placed in an old stable prior to being turned out to grass for a summer's run. When the groom entered the stable the following morning, he found that the mare had lost one of her eyes, which he then found adhering to a rusty nail in the wall. In due course the mare gave birth to a foal with only

* See his 'Contributions à l'histoire de l'influence des milieux physiques sur les êtres vivants' ('Arch. Zool. Expérimentale,' vii. 1878, pp. 251-282, and 1883, pp. 31-55); also 'Arch. Sci. Phys. Nat.,' xiv. 1885, pp. 502-522.

one eye, and the same thing occurred in the following year. Afterwards she had foals with perfect eyes. The previous foals with only one eye each were without an eye on the same side of the head as that in which the injury to the mother had taken place.

From noting cases of injury, we turn naturally to consider instances of the repair and reproduction of lost parts in individuals which have sustained injury. Very remarkable instances of such repair occur sometimes in the human subject, but that which takes place in many of the lower animals is far greater. Thus, if the tail of a lizard be broken off, it will grow again. The limbs of efts will also be reproduced, with their bones, muscles, blood-vessels, and nerves. Even the eye and lower jaw have been seen to be reproduced in the last-named animals. The legs and claws of lobsters will similarly grow again if removed at one of their joints. If certain worms be cut in two, each half will become a perfect animal, the head producing a new tail and the tail a new head, and a worm of the genus *Nais* has been cut into as many as twenty-five parts with a like result.

In higher animals, artificially separated parts often continue for a time to exhibit a certain vitality. A tadpole's tail will, for a short period, continue to grow, and a separate lizard's tail will also move rapidly. Frogs' amputated legs long continue to respond to stimuli. The heart will continue to beat on removal from the body, and after death the various tissues of the bodily frame continue for different extents of time to show signs of vitality. The animal which is perhaps the most remarkable for its power of repairing injuries is the *Hydra*, almost any fragment of which will, under favourable circumstances, grow into a new and entire animal. The sea-anemone (*Actinia*) has also very great power of the same kind. This process, which excites our surprise and admiration in the case of animals, is so familiar to us in plants, that no one thinks the formation of new individuals by 'cuttings' a matter of wonder. Certain buds also of some plants, notably tiger lilies, will detach themselves, and develop into plants like those which bore them.

We must confess that Professor Weismann's theory does not appear to us to harmonize with such facts as these. He attempts to explain them by affirming that the germ-plasm must be present in all such parts of divided or injured organisms. But it hardly seems credible, that this hypothetical substance can be so distributed through the body, that each part or organ should have just that portion of it needed to bring about its own repair when injured. As to the difference between the germ-plasm of the

the embryo plant and that which Professor Weismann supposes to be present in a bud, he affirms (p. 322) that it

'must be very slight, and perhaps quite insignificant, for it is possible that the difference between the secondary shoots and the primary plant may chiefly depend upon the changed conditions of development which take place beneath the earth in the latter case, and in the tissues of the plant in the former.'

But in the seed of plants we may plainly see, as *e.g.* in the bean, the rudimentary stem or *plumule*, and also the incipient root or *radicle*, but no such rudimentary root is ever formed in the bud. Yet if there be real germ-plasm there, such as the Professor supposes, it is to us inconceivable that its mere situation should render such a fundamental structure as the radicle absolutely abortive.

But Dr. Weismann's position mainly reposes upon the great distinction which he draws between the lowest or unicellular animals and all the other higher forms, from sponges up to man, which are known amongst naturalists as Metazoa. In drawing the great distinction he does, he but carries somewhat further that previously drawn by most zoologists along the same lines. We, however, have for years been inclined to regard this popular view with distrust. It has been based upon what we deem an exaggerated estimate of the value and significance of the cell, as Professor Weismann's is based upon what, in our opinion, is an exaggerated estimate of the value and significance of the cell-nucleus. But recent discoveries have shown that early stages of individual development, which have been attributed exclusively to the activity of 'cells,' can take place without them;* and that changes in the nucleus hitherto thought to be due to its own inherent activity, are carried on by the agency of the surrounding substance,† which had previously been considered relatively functionless and inert. Although muscular fibres, as commonly understood, are products of cells, it has long been known that in some unicellular animals, as in the little *Vorticella* of our ponds, a practical equivalent exists within the stalk by which the little creature is sustained, and which contracts with all the force and activity of true muscle upon the slightest stimulus. Now, however, Boveri gives us reason to suspect the existence of something essentially similar within the germ-cell itself, even before it has begun its process of spontaneous fission. We

* As in the archaic, insect-like creature named *Peripatus*.

† See Boveri, 'Zellen Studien' ('Jenaische Zeitschrift für Naturwissenschaften,' 1887-1888).

now also know that processes performed by the subdivisions of parts of the contents of the one cell of which such creatures consist, must be regarded as sexual processes, and such subdivisions themselves as practically sexual organs; so that from this point of view the minute organism becomes the equivalent of an entire higher animal instead of being the equivalent of merely one of its component cells. Thus, if the higher animals are to be regarded as consisting of a soma containing germ-plasm, an essentially similar complexity must exist in unicellular organisms which are so far sexual, and Dr. Weismann's antithesis between them entirely breaks down. That such an essential similarity in minute structure does indeed exist has become a matter of direct observation. That veteran and king of microscopists, Dr. Dallinger, has ascertained that in even the minutest and lowest organisms precisely equivalent changes occur to those which take place in the nucleus of higher animals, and have been supposed (by Weismann and others) to show the distinctness between the germ-plasm containing chromatin, and the other constituents of the ovum.*

Further consideration will, we think, show that the antithesis he draws between the immortality of the Protozoa and the mortality of the Metazoa breaks down also.

As to this matter, Dr. Dallinger has further observed that after a prolonged continuity of fission (measured by following persistently *one-half* of the fission in every case to the end), there comes a period of death—absolute devitalization—to a majority of the individuals, after from six to ten hours, according to the species; while those which do not thus die fuse together, and end by producing a multitude of minute spores.

This perfectly agrees well with what M. E. Maupas has also quite recently observed in Infusoria.† After two hundred and fifteen generations had been produced by ordinary division, they either died a natural death, or blended with individuals derived from another source, and so ceased individually to exist.

One of the most curious of the Professor's hypotheses is that which denies all difference of sex, that is, of course, all essential difference. This denial is indeed but one aspect of his far wider denial of all differences of a qualitative kind (p. 101), to the consideration of which we shall return later. It is a fortunate denial, since certain consequences of the position he

* See Dr. Dallinger's Presidential Address, delivered to the Royal Microscopical Society on February 10th, 1886.

† 'Archives de Zoologie Expérimentale,' 1888.

has

has assumed can be tested by observation, and have been so tested quite recently.

If, as the Professor affirms, there is no difference of quality between the sexes, then the fertilization of flowers or insects can but consist in a modification of its quantity. But among lowly animals, certain so-called water-fleas, a few moths, wheel-animalcules, and the green aphides which so affect pelargoniums kept in dwelling-rooms, reproduce parthenogenetically. It follows, therefore, if Professor Weismann is right, that there must be a special quantitative difference between the ova of such creatures and the ova of allied forms which reproduce normally. This he unhesitatingly affirms, and stakes the validity of his view upon the alleged fact that, while two 'polar bodies' are expelled from ordinary ova, all parthenogenetic ova expel but one.

The ova of animals of the most varied kinds (but not so far as known of all classes) agree in the performance of a process, the meaning of which is much disputed. As each ovum becomes ripe for fertilization it extrudes from one end, or 'pole,' a minute particle of its substance, and, a little later, another apparently similar. These extrusions Professor Weismann explains as nevertheless being of quite different natures. He declares that every egg contains two substances—one devoted to the completing of the structure of the egg itself, and the other substance to the formation of the future young. The first particle excluded he declares to be formed of the egg-making substance only; while the second he considers to be part of the essential reproductive substance, or germ-plasm of the egg. When this is, as usual, extruded, then, according to him, there does not remain enough of the germ-plasm for the formation of the embryo. This deficiency must be made good by the addition of similar germ-plasm from without, and such he deems to be the only meaning of fertilization. When, however, the second particle is *not* excluded, then, he says, enough substance exists for development without any addition from another source, and hence parthenogenesis takes place without difficulty. Now, in the first place we must observe, his assertion that there are two such different substances in the egg is a mere hypothesis without a shadow of proof; and in the second place, his assertion that the two particles extruded are really different in nature though apparently alike, is another mere hypothesis without a shadow of proof. But there is not merely an absence of proof, there is now proof to the contrary. Amongst the creatures which are parthenogenetically produced is the male, or drone, of the hive-bee; and from the egg of this insect, it has recently been ascer-

tained,

tained, a second polar body is extruded.* Therefore, according to Professor Weismann, there cannot be substance enough for its development. But it is developed notwithstanding. Therefore fertilization must be something more than a mere addition of like to like, and the male influence must have some difference in kind or nature from the female. This is the view now strongly held by that most indefatigable and rising young naturalist, Professor Geddes, F.R.S.E., of Dundee. He holds, and has quite lately brought forward a mass of evidence in support of his contention, that in every male and male element there is an essential activity compared with which the female is essentially passive and inert. It would be foreign to the scope of this article to pursue the details of this contention, but we note with exceeding interest that here again the most recent scientific advance harmonizes with the views put forward so many centuries ago by Aristotle. The modes of expression are, of course, different. Professor Geddes employs terms familiar in the most recent physiological teaching;† but when we come to analyse the ultimate signification of his terms, we find that, deeply considered, they are really reducible to the conception of the ancient sage of Macedonia.

But Professor Weismann's views are to be refuted by following out the consequences of his doctrine in another direction, and contrasting them with facts. He is an enthusiastic Darwinian, and ascribes all the adaptations met with in organic nature and all new species to that agency. As, however, he denies that any acquired character can be inherited, he derives everything from accidental variations in the disposition of the germ-plasm, by which an enormously increased task is placed upon Natural Selection. On this account he also denies that favourable variations can occur in parthenogenetic reproduction, or at least that it can be more than minute and insignificant compared with the effects of ordinary reproduction. The Professor says (p. 275): 'If it could be shown that a purely parthenogenetic species had become transformed into a new one, such an observation would prove the existence of some force of transformation other than selective processes, for the new species could not have been produced by the latter.' But we have the authority of Professor Sydney H. Vines for affirming that new species have appeared in parthenogenetic plants, and the same

* By Blochmann: see his paper on the Polar Bodies of the Drone's Egg, 'Morphol. Jahrbuch,' vol. xv. part i., pp. 85-96.

† He regards it as a difference of metabolism, the male being predominantly Katabolic, and the female Anabolic.

thing appears certainly to have occurred amongst the parthenogenetic wheel-animalcules. But not only, according to Professor Weismann, are such forms unable to evolve new species, they are also unlikely to have themselves a long existence. But amongst the *Fungi*, a number of genera and species are admittedly parthenogenetic, and yet these plants exhibit not the slightest tendency to die out. These fungi, such as our common mushroom, fairy rings, &c., 'afford an example of a vast family of plants, of the most varied form and habit, including hundreds of genera and species, in which, so far as minute and long-continued investigation has shown, there is not, and probably never has been, any trace of a sexual process.*' Professor Vines may well ask how, on Professor Weismann's hypothesis, can all the variations and evolutions of new forms which have taken place in this group of organisms be accounted for? It appears to us to be a second absolutely fatal objection—that concerning the two polar bodies in the drone's egg, as described in the preceding page, being the first such.

But if the Weismann theory renders the evolution of new parthenogenetic species impossible, it appears to us to make the evolution of *non*-parthenogenetic species impossible also. According to him, the germ-plasm has but one power and function, the exact reproduction of the form from whence it came. The germ-plasms of the parents can then produce nothing whatever which is new, and yet new forms have (as the Professor would be the first to assert) constantly and repeatedly arisen. He will no doubt explain these novelties as results of conflicting tendencies, producing in each case a *tertium quid*. But this is a mere verbal explanation which is equivalent to the abandonment of his whole theory. If the germ-plasm of each or either parent is thus modifiable, it is not, as he affirms, rigidly confined to a mere exact repetition of what it has been. It must possess some peculiar plastic power and a capacity for reciprocal influence, which, when deeply considered, will be seen to be fully as mysterious as any of the phenomena the Professor set out to explain.

But the extreme complexity of his theory seems to us to be also fatal to it. He admits that the complexity of Pangenesis is too great for belief, but that of his own hypothesis is at least as great. He tells us (p. 191) that 'every detail of the whole organism must be represented in the germ-plasm by its own special and peculiar arrangement of molecules,' and (p. 146) that 'the number of generations of somatic cells

* 'Nature,' Oct. 24th, 1889, p. 626.

which

which can succeed one another in the course of a single life, is predetermined in the germ.'

Moreover, none of these circumstances can be explained by any difference of quality (since at p. 101 he has denied the existence of such a thing as quality), and must therefore be supposed to be due to differences in the size, number, and arrangement of the component parts, and to nothing else.

If we only consider what must be the complexity of the arrangement of minute structures, in order that this arrangement alone may efficiently determine, once for all in the germ, the precise number of all the epithelial scales of the skin which have to be cast off during the whole of subsequent life, as well as every one of the rapidly removed and replaced cells of all the glands of the body, and every blood-corpuscle which shall be found between the first to appear and the last reproduced at the end of the longest life, we may well be astonished. But mere complexity of this kind is but an initial difficulty. We must also believe that every modification of structure, every process of healing and repair, and the nerve accompaniments of every feeling and thought in each one's life history, must be similarly provided for in a definite manner at starting. In many animals great changes take place during life; the food and habits of the earlier stage of existence being widely different from those of the adult. Thus a small beetle, called *Sitaris*, instead of leaving its egg as a mere grub in the ordinary fashion, and subsequently changing into the adult, or *imago* condition, begins and ends its life in full activity, with an intermediate stage of torpidity. It is hatched in the nests of bees, and is at first active, and furnished with six legs, two long antennæ, and four eyes. It attaches itself to a drone-bee, and, when the drones and the queen sally forth, passes to the latter. Subsequently, when the queen-bee lays her eggs, it springs upon one; and when enclosed with it in the wax cell, it first devours that egg, and then, transforming itself into a grub, feeds on the honey it finds ready to hand. Ultimately it undergoes another transformation, and re-acquiring its legs, &c., emerges a perfect beetle! Now, according to Dr. Weismann, there must be present in the germ an arrangement of molecules such as infallibly to bring about all these processes, and provide at starting for all the complex changes of arrangement which may be necessary to build up reflex mechanisms capable not only of compelling complex instinctive actions occurring at one time of life, but of so successively changing as to be able successively to make necessary the successively occurring very different instinctive actions of different periods of life, as in this *Sitaris* and a multi-

tude of similar forms. All this, he tells us, is to be explained, exclusively by a mechanical arrangement of particles in the germ. Now Professor Weismann, in criticizing Nägeli's hypothesis which would explain heredity by 'conditions of tension and movement,' declares (p. 182) that 'it would be hardly possible to form even one approximate conception' of such an explanation. We confess to being in the very same position with respect to Professor Weismann himself. We do not believe that such an arrangement of particles as he supposes, is a possible one—namely, such an arrangement of particles in the germ as to enable mere shock and impact to produce all the phenomena of the life of a creature of a certain kind; including all pathological modifications and all instinctive actions. Such an hypothesis makes greater demands on our credulity than does even the now discredited theory of Pangenesis itself.

Professor Weismann is an enthusiastic Darwinian, and carries the principle of natural selection to much greater lengths than it was carried by the venerable naturalist who (with Mr. Wallace) promulgated it. Our judgment concerning that principle has been expressed without ambiguity,* and to that judgment we firmly adhere. We shall therefore enter into no further controversy on the subject now, though we are compelled to notice certain of Professor Weismann's references to it. He would explain all adaptive phenomena and every specific origin exclusively by the preservation through natural selection of accidental differences in the disposition of particles in the germ, excluding all direct action on progeny, through modifications induced by the environment in the soma of their parents—a conception which of course very heavily handicaps natural selection, and makes its acceptance as the one great cause of specific origin much more difficult. He believes all instincts to have been produced by it, and his confidence in that principle is so robust, that he does not hesitate to cite instances which may well stagger the faith of less devoted adherents. Thus he tells us (p. 93):—

'The queen-bee takes her nuptial flight only once, and yet how many and complex are the instincts and the reflex mechanisms which come into play on that occasion! Again, in many insects the deposition of eggs occurs but once in a lifetime, and yet such insects always fulfil the necessary conditions with unfailing accuracy. . . . It is indeed astonishing to watch one of the *Cynipidæ* (*Rhodites rosæ*) depositing her eggs in the tissues of a young bud. She first carefully examines the bud on all sides, and feels it with her legs and

* In the 'Quar'lerly Review' for 1871.

antennæ. Then she slowly inserts her long ovipositor between the closely-rolled leaves of the bud; but if it does not reach exactly the right spot, she will withdraw and re-insert it many times, until at length, when the proper place has been found, she will slowly bore deep into the very centre of the bud, so that the eggs will reach the exact spot—and here the necessary conditions for its development alone exist. . . . It is the same with the deposition of eggs in most insects. How can practice have had any influence upon the origin of the instinct which leads one of our butterflies (*Vanessa levana*) to lay its green eggs in single file, as columns, which project freely from the stem or leaf, so that protection is gained by their close resemblance to the flower-buds of the stinging-nettle which forms the food-plant of the caterpillars?’

How, we may ask in turn, can natural selection have produced so admirable a result by mere chance variation in the collocation of the molecules of the germ-plasms of a creature which before had them not?

It has of late been ascertained that the gall, which is found in plants punctured by the ichneumon-fly *Cynips*, is not produced, as was supposed, by the effect of the puncture itself. It is produced subsequently by the movements of the larva which is hatched from the egg laid by the *Cynips* when it effected the puncture. The presence of this small moving body so stimulates the plant as to produce a definite result—the growth of the gall. This growth is useful enough to the grub, but is certainly useless to the plant, if not more or less prejudicial to it. It is surely too much to ask us to believe that the germ-plasm of the plant, in the first instance,—before even, say, a single *Cynips* had visited it,—had had the particles of its germ-plasm so arranged as to compel the plant to grow a complex structure beneficial not to it, but to its parasite! Surely the action of natural selection would have led to the formation of a secretion or growth suitable for killing the intruder, not for nourishing and sheltering it! Professor Weismann’s whole system is built up on Natural Selection. One instance therefore really irreconcilable with the latter theory is necessarily destructive to his own.

More nearly connected with the question of instinct than may at first appear, is the question of death—its nature and its origin. We have already seen how the Professor attributes immortality to unicellular organisms, and asserts that death becomes established through the benefit thence arising to the race; but its absolutely first occurrence is very inadequately explained, nor can we agree with his representation of what death is. In the first place, why did cells which had been immortal

immortal for untold ages, begin naturally to die? The Professor affirms (p. 29) it to be 'conceivable that all cells may possess the power of refusing to absorb nutriment'—a refusal necessarily fatal to them. But we are quite at a loss to conceive why a cell should begin to practise so extraordinary an abstinence—an abstinence for which no foundation had been laid in its forbears, from whose spontaneous division it had itself resulted. We do not regard such a process as conceivable, though it is imaginable enough—as are a countless number of admitted absurdities of all kinds. The absolute origin and nature of natural death our author leaves as mysterious as he found them. We are certainly far from professing to be able to explain death. Indeed we strongly suspect that it must remain inexplicable till life, its opposite, can be accounted for and explained. In our eyes death can only be a consequence of something which causes a natural revival of a dead organism to be impossible. But what can that something be? Here Professor J. S. Burdon Sanderson comes very appositely to our assistance. The luminous and highly suggestive remarks he has recently made in his address to the Biological Section of the British Association (at Newcastle) should be carefully read and maturely pondered over by all those who are interested in that at once most familiar and most obscure of all subjects of investigation—life.

Adopting as a fundamental principle the constant correlation of parts in structure—of the form and organization of parts with the active processes they perform—he proceeds to show how microscopic observations have been altogether outrun by physiological investigations, so that structural conditions have to be imagined, which are altogether unverifiable by sight, however much it can as yet be aided by art. In considering the ultimate lessons to be derived from the subject he selected for exposition, Professor Burdon Sanderson, in concluding his address, uses the following pregnant words:—

'The word Life is used in physiology in what, if you like, may be called a technical sense, and denotes only that state of *change with permanence* which I have endeavoured to set forth to you. In this restricted sense of the word, therefore, the question "What is Life?" is one to which the answer is approachable; but I need not say that in a higher sense—higher because it appeals to higher faculties in our nature—the word suggests something outside mechanism, which may perchance be its cause rather than its effect.

'The tendency to recognize such a relation as this is what we mean by vitalism. At the beginning of this discourse I referred to the

the anti-vitalistic tendency which accompanied the great advance in knowledge that took place at the middle of the century. But even at the height of this movement there was a reaction towards vitalism, of which Virchow, the founder of modern pathology, was the greatest exponent. Now, a generation later, a tendency in the same direction is manifesting itself in various quarters. What does this tendency mean? It has to my mind the same significance now that it had then. Thirty years ago the discovery of the cell as the basis of vital function was new, and the mystery which before belonged to the organism was transferred to the unit, which, while it served to explain everything, was itself unexplained. The discovery of the cell seemed to be a very close approach to the mechanism of life, but now we are striving to get even closer, and with the same result. Our measurements are more exact, our methods finer; but these very methods bring us to close quarters with phenomena which, although within reach of exact investigation, are, as regards their essence, involved in a mystery which is the more profound the more it is brought into contrast with the exact knowledge we possess of surrounding conditions.'

These words point clearly to what we take to be one of the profoundest and most important truths in the whole range of science; one which may be called the very truth of truths of biological science. It is a truth which has the most direct and important bearing upon all those laws of life to the investigation of which Professor Weismann has devoted so many years and so much labour. He is a worthy worker in the cause of science, and yet, like not a few of his fellow-workers, he strangely under-estimates and misrepresents that good cause of which he is, in a subordinate field, so zealous a servant. Scientific knowledge, *par excellence*, is and must be the most complete, accurate, and certain knowledge attainable by man. We do and should speak of the science of botany, the science of mathematics, the science of history, and biological science; but when we use the word 'science' simply by itself and without qualification, it should be used to denote that which is the highest and most certain science. No branch of science can arrogate exclusively to itself that which is common to all sciences, and still less that to which it has itself to appeal to establish when need be its truth and validity.

The word 'science' thus used, should denote the highest and most certain knowledge to which we can attain—namely, the knowledge of necessary truths, of the laws of thought, and the fact of our continuous existence.

If we cannot reason validly, we can infer nothing with certainty, and there can be no such thing as science; and the same destructive result follows the negation, or non-affirmation,

of

of necessary truth and the continuity of our own personal existence. To doubt such continuity is to render every operation doubtful, and is logically fatal to any scientific certainty whatever. To doubt about necessary truth is the most destructive and absurd of all dubitation. To any one who should object that we cannot know such a truth as that nothing can both be and not be at the same time, it may be replied that 'if we know necessary truth at all, we know *that* truth,' and no one can deny that this hypothetical assertion is absolutely, necessarily, and categorically true. This alone, therefore, suffices to demonstrate that such truth does exist and is attainable. It also suffices to demolish materialism and the absurd conceptions of mechanical philosophy. For if we affirm that we know anything material at all, and any forces which are only physical, we are compelled yet more strongly to assert an existence which is immaterial and non-mechanical.

For we know intimately, by and in our own consciousness, something continuously existing, conscious of successive objects and events, and capable of holding all of them before it in one conception, as parts of a series which it transcends. Such a principle, aware of the kinds and directions of its activities, present to them all, and capable of reviewing its own states and external objects and events in various orders, cannot itself be multitudinous, but must be as much a unity as anything we can think of. If then we do know any material bodies, any physical force at all, it is simply *certain* that this principle is neither the one nor the other, but stands out in the strongest contrast with both. Thus since each man knows that it is he who merely feels as well as he who thinks, he knows, if he reflects upon it, that if he has a body, his body and his thinking principle are to his experience one unity—he knows that he is a unity with two sets of faculties, material and mechanical in one aspect, immaterial and non-mechanical in the other aspect. No certainty we can attain to about any other objects can be nearly so certain as this certainty which we have about our own being: first, its dynamic, immaterial aspect; and secondly, its material, mechanical aspect. That each man is a material, definitely organized substance in one unity, with a dynamic, immaterial principle of individuation revealed in consciousness, is the first truth of physical science. It is emphatically the fundamental truth of biological science; for biology deals exclusively with living things, and of no living thing can any one have so complete a knowledge as of himself.

Looking out upon the world about us, we find a multitude of
living

living beings, the world of animals, more or less like us, some of them so evidently like us, we cannot but deem it probable that each such being is also the seat of an immaterial, dynamic principle of individuation, however different in kind and in powers it may be from our own. Extending our gaze over nature, we find on all sides of us a network of living animal and vegetable forms so like each other, in spite of small gradations of differences, that we cannot well draw a line, and say below it, such living creatures have no such dynamic individuating principle.

All analogy is in favour of this view of nature, and no one fact in nature is in contradiction or out of harmony therewith. Its acceptance throws light on the phenomena of growth, repair, reproduction, development, and specific evolution. The words above cited from Professor Burdon Sanderson fully harmonize with the view. As he says, the discovery of cells served for a time to discredit vitalism, because men jumped to the absurd conclusion that, because another step in the mechanism of nature was discovered, all that was non-mechanical was thereby abolished. It is ever thus when physical science turns on a fresh lime-light. Men who have not sheltered their mental vision by a medium of philosophy, are thereby dazzled and temporarily blinded. Such fresh illuminations are continually recurring, but as soon as the retina of the intellect becomes accustomed to the novelty, the old lines, temporarily invisible, become plainly recognizable once more with, as Professor B. Sanderson says, 'the same result.' Without such a dynamical conception as we advocate, merely mechanical hypotheses show their insufficiency one after the other in an invariable succession; whereas, being reinforced by this conception, they have just that aid which is needed for their validity. Similarly the conception of dynamic principles of individuation in nature is, taken by itself, unsatisfactory and insufficient. We must, as Professor B. Sanderson says, 'ever have structure and function in harmonious correlation.' The ultimate structural elements of bodies are beyond the range of anatomical microscopic examination, as the ultimate dynamic agencies are beyond the range of detection in the physiological laboratory. Both, though thus beyond the scrutiny of the senses, are alike within the range of the fully instructed student of nature's mental vision. Here, as in so many other instances, it is only what is unpicturable to the imagination, which is satisfying to the cultivated intellect.

With this conception of life we might with more hope enter upon the question of the essential nature of death. But our
present

present space is exhausted. We can but reiterate that, thus considered, death may well be 'a consequence of something which makes natural revival impossible.' What that something is, physical science at least can never tell us. If life consists, as we believe it does, in the presence of an immaterial principle of individuation, then death must consist in the absence of that principle. The conception of the appearance and disappearance of such principles in nature is obscured by the demand of the imagination to know 'where' such entities can go to, or 'whence' they may have come—for spatial and temporal relations are necessities of the imagination. We know, however, that the intellect can transcend the imagination; and though we cannot reply in terms which may satisfy the bond-slave of the imagination, we can do so effectually for him who has gone beyond sense to that freedom of thought which characterizes the intellect. As an illustration, we may say that when a man is reading a book by the light of a candle, his eyes are fixed upon its pages, and there is so far a union between those pages and his organs of vision. Let the light be suddenly extinguished; there need be no movement of eyes or of book, and yet that union which before existed between them has nevertheless ceased to be and has been followed by separation. The relation which previously existed has not gone anywhere, though it has actually ceased to be and has lapsed into a mere potential existence. Let light be restored, and the union which previously existed may be restored also. Yet if it is so restored, it does not come from any place, though it none the less has definite spatial relations as soon as ever it actually exists. The categories 'whence' and 'where' apply only to material existences, and to our own imagination as being so intimately connected with existences of that kind.

We have been led to these reflections by our apprehension of the bearing upon Professor Weismann's theories of the declarations of Professor Burdon Sanderson; and before terminating this article, we must cite a few more of our Oxford Professor's words of wisdom.

Speaking of merely physical enquiries, he observes :—

'Let those who are so inclined cross the frontier and philosophize; but to me it appears to be more conducive to progress that we should do our best to furnish professed philosophers with such facts relating to structure and function as may serve them as aids in the investigation of those deeper problems which concern man's relation to the past, the present, and the unknown future.'

Most cordially do we echo these judicious words, which form

so striking a contrast to the declarations of mere physicists of the School of Haeckel, who, arrogating to themselves the title of 'Men of Science,' attempt dogmatically to explain the phenomena of nature,—including the mind of man and all its powers and attributes,—on a material basis alone, judging them exclusively by a consideration of anatomical structures and physical forces.

In concluding our brief review of Professor Weismann's hypotheses, we desire to express our thanks to the naturalist of Freiburg for his many valuable labours. If we deem them without result as affording support to the philosophical views he appears to favour, we are none the less confident that they are full of interest and profit for biological science. Nor do we doubt but that they will also conduce to the advantage and development of the highest science also, although we are persuaded that these ultimate effects will be widely different from those which their learned and accomplished author himself contemplates. They have already had the effect of greatly stimulating enquiring minds and directing research into new channels, and we have so high an opinion of Professor Weismann, that we feel sure he will be sufficiently consoled for any non-acceptance of his special hypotheses, by a clear perception that his enunciation of them has importantly accelerated and aided the pursuit and attainment of higher scientific truth.

- ART. V.—1. *History and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark.* By M. Concanon and A. Morgan. London, 1795.
2. *Annals of St. Mary Overie.* By W. Taylor. London, 1833.
3. *Old Southwark and its People.* By W. Rendle. London, 1878.
4. *The Priory of St. Mary Overie.* By F. T. Dollman. London, 1881.
5. *A Guide to St. Saviour's Church.* By the Rev. S. Benson. Third Edition. London, 1885.
6. *St. Saviour, Southwark. The Properties and Charities of the Parish.* London, 1887.
7. *Third Visitation Charge of Anthony Lord Bishop of Rochester.* London, 1889.

ON the 15th of October last, the old Minster Church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, was the scene of a remarkable spectacle. The Bishop of Rochester, sitting on his throne in front of the altar, with the great officers and dignitaries of the diocese around him, received his clergy in Visitation, and announced to them that 'the great if not absorbing duty of the next few years' would be the restoration of the ancient church in which they were gathered—'a grand and inspiring duty,' the Bishop added, 'which I deliberately initiate to-day.' Sitting in that dim-lit chancel, with the relics of the past all around, any one might be pardoned for indulging in reverie. The appeal might have come, as many a similar appeal did come, from one of the cathedral-building abbots of the 13th or 14th century, eager to repair the ruin which fire, or decay, or bad work (for there were plenty of jerry builders in the Middle Ages) had brought on some fair sanctuary. It needed the gas flaring high overhead in the triforium, and the shrill whistles of the trains as they rumbled in and out of London Bridge Station a few yards away, to bring the mind back to 1889, and the practical reflection that, though the enterprise may be similar, the conditions and the uses of its accomplishment are very different.

The Church of St. Saviour's, or St. Mary Overie, to give its old name, has had a long and a chequered history. Built as the collegiate church of an Augustinian Priory, the story of the one and of the other is identical until the Reformation. As usual, tradition goes back much further than history, and according to legend a convent was established in far-off Saxon times on the site of St. Saviour's by Mary Overie, the apocryphal heiress of an apocryphal ferry-master, who made a fortune by carrying
passengers

passengers across the Thames before the first London Bridge was constructed. He was a miser, and guarded his daughter and his money with equal rigour. But, despite all his efforts, the daughter acquired a secret lover, and the servants were extravagant. The legend goes that, to put a temporary curb on the appetite of his household, the old ferryman one day feigned himself dead, assuming that his servants would of course fast until his dirge had been sung. But instead, he heard lavish preparations being made for a feast to celebrate the joyful event. Unable to control his wrath, the supposed corpse started up to stop the revelry, but an apprentice, terrified out of his wits, knocked him on the head with his own boat-hook, and the sham funeral became a real one. Mary, in consternation, sent off post-haste for her lover; but while he was hurrying to her side, his horse threw him, and he broke his neck. This double bereavement was more than she could stand, and she retired from the world, founding a convent by the riverside with her father's savings, and endowing it with the tolls of the ferry. The story is not at all likely to be true, but at any rate its antiquity is respectable.

In 1106, the Norman knights William Pont de l'Arche and William Dawncey established, or more probably re-organized, an Augustinian Priory at St. Saviour's, and the church built on its present site at about the same time was appropriated to the Order. Bishop Giffard of Winchester, to which diocese Southwark belonged until its transfer to Rochester thirteen years ago, built the original Norman nave of the church. A beautiful doorway and other traces of Giffard's work were discovered shortly before the demolition of the nave in 1838. Henry II. gave to the new Fraternity the benefice of St. Margaret's, Southwark, which, at the Reformation, was united with the living of St. Mary Magdalene, comprising little more than the Priory and precincts. This will be explained later. Early in the 13th century there was a great fire in Southwark, which consumed a large part of the church. On this occasion it is related that a crowd of people, flocking from London to see the conflagration, were entrapped on the bridge by both ends simultaneously taking fire. A rescue was attempted by boats, but in the rush and confusion they were overturned, and 300, or, according to some accounts, 3000 lives were lost. The monks, aided by Peter de Rupibus, then Bishop of Winchester, lost no time in beginning the work of restoration. Partly by rebuilding, and partly by alteration, the Norman building disappeared, and in its place an Early English church of unexcelled beauty arose. At this time the church consisted of a retro-choir (hereafter mentioned as the Lady Chapel or Spiritual Court) behind the high altar, a chancel with

with aisles, a north and south transept, a nave with aisles, and a central tower at the junction of the nave and transepts. Bishop Peter added a large chapel on the south side of the chancel, which was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and became the church of the parish bearing that name. The tower was not completed till long after this date, and indeed the church itself was probably incomplete all through the 13th century. The gradual alteration of style as we come westwards, Early English sliding into Decorated; the difference between the south and north sides of the choir, the latter being more ornate, and the difference between the transepts, the north being the older,—all tell the same tale of protracted building. The nave roof of stone erected during this period is said, however, from a rubbing of a small remnant which has recently come under notice, to have belonged to the first period of Early English work. If we can believe the remonstrance of the Prior and Convent addressed to Edward I. in 1303, in answer to a royal request that they would provide a comfortable home for one of His Majesty's superannuated servants, lack of means made the rebuilding a slow task: 'Our church, too, which now for thirty years last past (oh! shame) has been a ruin, we have laboured our utmost about the repairs of, since the beginning of that time, yet we have only been able so far to proceed in its restoration—hindered by vexatious and burdensome exactions, as well in spirituals as in temporals—as to build our tower.'

In Edward III.'s reign a small chapel, supposed by many to have been the Lady Chapel, was built at the extreme east end of the church, beyond and opening out of the retro-choir. In this chapel Bishop Lancelot Andrewes was buried, and his tomb remained there until the demolition of the chapel about sixty years ago, when it was moved into the retro-choir or Spiritual Court, where it is still to be seen. It is a handsome altar-tomb, on the top of which lies a recumbent effigy of Bishop Andrewes in peer's robes. Originally there was a very magnificent canopy, but this was destroyed in a fire which partially wrecked the Bishop's Chapel in 1676. The Bishop's remains in a leaden coffin lie above ground inside the altar-tomb.

At the beginning of the 15th century, Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and a son of John of Gaunt, spent large sums upon the church in repairs and alterations. His arms and cardinal's hat are still to be seen carved on a pillar in the south transept. To his time belongs John Gower the poet, a friend of Chaucer; his poem '*Confessio Amantis*,' dealing with the morals and metaphysics of Love, was one of the first books printed by Caxton. He was a man of large means, and
a generous

a generous benefactor to St. Saviour's. His tomb is still one of the most interesting features of the church. In 1469 the stone roof of the nave fell, and was replaced by the wooden roof which lasted till our own century. Some of the bosses, curiously carved and with remains of the original colouring still upon them, are preserved in the Lady Chapel. The date of the roof is fixed by the rebus of Prior Henry de Burton, viz. three burrs growing from a tun, supported by two harts, which appears on three bosses. Burton was Prior of St. Mary Overie in 1469. The badge of Edward IV. is carved on another boss. Another represents a huge face, probably the Devil, into the jaws of which the dangling legs of an unhappy victim are disappearing. But the incident is not peculiar to any one epoch and suggests no special chronological identification. Nothing further of importance happened to the fabric of the church before the Reformation, except the erection by Bishop Fox of Winchester of a magnificent altar-screen, similar to the one he gave to his own cathedral.

The history of St. Saviour's parish begins at the Reformation and is probably unique. It is neither 'ancient'—that is, dating back to the original parochial division of England—nor has it arisen out of the modern legislative jungle known as the Church Building Acts. The Priory of St. Mary Overie in Southwark came within the list of the larger monasteries of which it will be remembered Henry VIII. made a second and separate mouthful during the process of the demolition. The religious houses with a less revenue than 200*l.* were suppressed by Act of Parliament in 1535. The larger monasteries were not in form suppressed, but in 1539 an Act was passed vesting in the King the lands and possessions of such of them as had been or should be renounced or surrendered. 'Voluntary' surrenders were in most cases procured. The few abbots who stood out were promptly found to have committed treason, and the attainder which followed was construed to include the property of the corporations of which they were the heads. The great Southwark Priory enjoyed a net income of 624*l.* 6*s.* according to Henry VIII.'s 'Valor.' The Prior and eleven Canons were subjected to the examination of Cromwell's dreaded Commissioners, but the Black Book contained no very damning indictment against them. The comparative lightness of the Augustinian rule, and the constant contact with the outside world, which the rich houses and busy thoroughfares all round provided, prevented the community from sinking at any rate below the level of current public opinion. However, the fate of the Abbeys was not dependent on their sins, and the last

last Prior, Bartholomew Lynsted or Fowle, who had held office since 1513, signed the deed of surrender, Oct. 14, 1539 (or 1540, according to some authorities), gave up the corporate seal of St. Mary Overie, and in due course received a pension of 100*l.* a year and the use of a house in the Close. He seems to have survived for many years, but to have let the house to a Dr. Mitchell, so that we cannot tell whether he was actually living in the midst of the strange changes which swept over the old Priory. If so, his thoughts, though too dangerous for expression then, would be worth recording now. He was buried in St. Saviour's in 1556. The King did not long hold the Priory. The buildings, other than the church, were granted to Sir Anthony Brown, whose son became Viscount Montague. His name has ever since been associated with St. Saviour's, and a narrow mews, crowded with unused carts and littered with stable refuse, which runs along the whole north side of the church between it and the river, is still called Montague Close. You must pick your way over its muddy cobble-stones if you want to see the Norman arch and wall (no doubt part of Bishop Giffard's church and the only relic of it now above ground) which form the external northern wall of the Vestry or St. John's Chapel. It is said, with what truth we know not, that Montague Close was the scene of the delivery of the famous letter to Lord Monteagle which led to the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, and that in commemoration of the event the place enjoyed certain immunities.

The church did not go with the other buildings. It has been already stated that the present St. Saviour's parish contains the small parishes of St. Margaret's and St. Mary Magdalene. The old parish church of St. Margaret had stood close by, in the middle of the Southwark High Street, like St. Mary's in the Strand at the present day. St. Mary Magdalene's Church was, as already mentioned, a chapel attached to the Priory on the south side of the choir. The Priory had the patronage of both livings. In 1541 an Act was passed reciting that St. Margaret's Church had been 'prostrated and converted to another use' (it was afterwards turned into a Vestry Hall), and that the parishioners, along with those of St. Mary Magdalene Overie, were then wont to repair to the late monastery church, and there all together heard Divine service and received the Sacrament, and also that 'the said church of St. Mary Overie was a very great church and very costly to be maintained in due reparations.' The Act went on to enact that the two parishes were to be united into one parish of 'St. Saviour in Southwark,' with the old Priory Church as the parish church. The people were
annually

annually to elect 'six or four able persons' to act as churchwardens. They were made a corporation with perpetual succession and a common seal, and the property of both the former parishes was vested in the new body.

Thus the parish of St. Saviour's was created, but its existence was eccentric and incomplete, for there was no rector or vicar, and the building, which was to be the parish church, was still the absolute property of the King. The Act does not refer to anything so indelicate as money, and speaks in a large way of the 'humble supplications of the parishioners,' and the 'reasonable consideration of our mooste dredde sovereign Lord King Henry.' Nevertheless it is clear from the records that what happened was this. The King leased the fabric of the church from time to time to the wardens, in consideration of a rent of 49*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, just as if it were a warehouse. There was no advowson or right of patronage properly so called, because there was no office of vicar or rector; but the wardens provided for the services and paid the clergymen, who probably on this account were always called chaplains. It would appear by the parish books, that in early days the wardens took a high view of their functions, and used to dismiss the chaplain at their pleasure. Thus in 1543 Mr. Kelle was warned to quit for refusing to wear a surplice, and Mr. Jas. Holyland is elected, and after him Mr. Harman, their wages being 20*l.* a year 'and not the christenings, and to leave at a fortnight's warning.' Even in 1613 there is a vestry minute that 'the minister be turned out upon any just occasion thought fit by the vestry.'

The reign of the wardens did not begin well. The reaction from Rome ran into sordid and repulsive extravagances. A part of the churchyard was let on lease to one Hemsley Ryell for 4*d.* a year 'to set his carts in,' and about the same time 'the old chapel behind the chancel' was ordered to be let. Stow the historian, speaking of a somewhat later period, says that the Lady Chapel or Spiritual Court was let to a baker who set up his kneading-trough there. In the same place hogs were kept, and at another time the chapel was used as a starch-house. Queen Mary's reign does not seem to have brought any change in the relation of the church to the parish, or in the constitution of the latter. The Act of Henry remained in force, though doubtless 'the six or four able' wardens found a new direction for the exercise of their zeal. The vestry minutes still extant begin with an entry under date 1557 as follows:—'The clerk and sexton sent to prison this year by the churchwardens and vestry for their disobedience in serving of God within the choir.' In 1553, Feckenham, a Royal chaplain who had made

himself conspicuous by a published invective against purchasers of abbey lands, preached in state before the Earl of Devonshire, Sir Anthony Brown (the grantee, be it remembered, of the Priory buildings), and other great personages. Bishop Gardiner often came over from his palace to preach in St. Saviour's pulpit. But notwithstanding the Romish revival, no attempt was made to reconstitute the Priory. It must be assumed that Mary continued to receive from the wardens the rent for the use of the church which had been paid to her father and brother. But there was no more subletting to carters and pig-keepers. The so-called Lady Chapel became once more the 'Spiritual Court,' as it is still called locally. The consistory of Winchester, suppressed in common with all episcopal jurisdiction under Edward VI., once more sat, and was presided over by Bishop Gardiner, a clever canonist and acute statesman, one of Henry's men whom the great Divorce brought to the front. The prominent part he took, whether willingly or not is a moot question, in the Marian persecution is well known. As Bishop of Winchester he lived, as it were, next door at Winchester House, and St. Saviour's was the scene of several important trials, notably those of the Reformers Bishop Hooper, John Rogers (better known as the editor of Matthew's Bible), Dr. Croom, Bishop Ferrars, and Mr. Saunders, all of whom were burned. Some modern stained-glass windows in the Lady Chapel commemorate these events in rather gaudy colours. But Bishop Gardiner did not long survive to sit in his court. His last entry into St. Saviour's was made a few months later with very different surroundings. He died almost suddenly on the 13th of November, 1555, and his dirge was sung at St. Saviour's prior to the long journey to Winchester, where he was laid to rest with great magnificence, and where his mutilated effigy may still be seen. Machyn's Diary * gives the following account :—

'The 13th day of December began the knell for the most right reverend father in God my Lord Chancellor of England, Doctor Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and of the Privy Council with King Henry the eighth, and unto Queen Mary queen of England, and with a hearse of four branches with gilt candlesticks, and two white branches, and three dozen of stave torches, and all the quire hung with black arms, and a dirge sung, and the morrow mass of *requiem*, and all Bishops and Lords and Knights and Gentlemen, and my Lord Bishop Bonner of London did sing mass of *requiem*, and Dr. White Bishop of Lincoln did preach at the same mass, and after all they went to his place to dinner. The same day at afternoon was dirge

* Page 97, ed. Camd. Soc.

in every parish in London, and a hearse and ringing, and the morrow mass of *requiem*, and so prayed for after the old custom. The 21st day of November at noon began the knell for my Lord Chancellor; for then was the body brought to the Church of St. Mary Overie, with great company of priests and clerks, and all the Bishops, and my Lord of London did execute the office and wore his mitre; and there were two goodly white branches burning, and the hearse with arms, and tapers burning, and four dozen of staves, and all the quire with black, and his arms, and before the corpse the King of Heralds with his coat, and with five banners of his arms, and four of images wrought with fine gold and enamel; and the morrow mass, four masses, one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and the three of *requiem* for his soul; and after to dinner, and so he was put in a hearse till a day that he should be taken up and carried unto Winchester to be buried there.'

As we have mentioned the Spiritual Court in connexion with Bishop Gardiner, it may be well to add here that the court is still used for the same purpose. Until the severance of Southwark from Winchester, the Bishop's Commissary of Surrey held his court there; and since Southwark has been joined to Rochester, the Consistory of that diocese has held several sittings there. Every now and then when some faculty case has to be tried, the verger of St. Saviour's is startled by a sudden incursion of lawyers, and the Spiritual Court has to be hastily prepared. For an hour or two there is a semblance of renewed life about the old place, but it soon comes to an end; the lawyers pack up their papers, and hurry off across London Bridge, back to legal haunts, and the Spiritual Court is left again to the silent guardianship of Bishop Andrewes' effigy.

St. Saviour's narrowly escaped destruction in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion in 1554. He had advanced on London with 4000 men as far as Southwark; but London Bridge was too strongly held for the Queen to be crossed, and so he paused, while his men sacked Winchester House. The Southwark people became anxious when they ascertained that the Lieutenant of the Tower had 'bent seven great pieces of ordnance, culverings, and demi-cansons full against the foot of the bridge and Southwark and the two steeples of St. Olave's and St. Mary's Overie, beside all the pieces on the White Tower, and three fauconets over the Water Gate.' They begged Wyatt, 'for the love of God,' to take pity on them, for that they 'were all likely to be utterly undone with the shot of the Tower.' Sir Thomas Wyatt is said to have replied, 'God forbid that you, or the least here, should be killed or hurt in my behalf,' and so 'in most speedie manner he marched away.' A few weeks later the rising had collapsed, and poor Wyatt was executed as a traitor.

The next change in the constitution of the parish took place in 1612. The leases from the Crown to the wardens had been renewed from time to time since Henry VIII.'s reign. But when James I. ascended the throne the good people of Southwark began to be troubled with certain 'Scottishmen' whom the King had brought with him from the North, and who were always on the look-out for Crown grants of reversions, fee, farm-rents, and anything else worth having. The wardens and vestry had prolonged disputes and litigation with a Mr. Elphinstone, who is generally referred to in the vestry minutes as 'the Scottish Gent.' But at last by Letters Patent in 1612 the 'Rectory,' church, and 'all and singular the tithes, fruits, oblations, obventions, profits, commodities, advantages, emoluments, and hereditaments' of St. Saviour's were granted to trustees in trust for the wardens of St. Saviour's. The wardens were directed to find and maintain out of the revenues 'two preaching chaplains,' to repair the church, and to maintain a Grammar School. The parishioners paid 800*l.* for this grant.

Thus the church was secured to the parish, the two chaplains becoming, in some sort, a settled institution. Another result of the purchase from James I. was that a new body, the trustees of the wardens, came into existence. The wardens were to be chosen under Henry VIII.'s Act, by the parishioners at large; but so early as 1556 the vestry of St. Saviour's—or the 'House,' as, like another great foundation, it preferred to be called—was made to consist of six wardens and twenty-four assistants. The obvious similarity to the constitution of the City Companies, with their courts of assistants and wardens, will not escape notice. The wardens of St. Saviour's are not mere *church-wardens*. Just about the period at which we have arrived, there was considerable agitation among the parishioners at what they considered, not without reason, their unlawful exclusion from power, for the vestry of thirty not only elected its own members, but also chose the wardens. The malcontents complained to the Bishop and to the Lord Chancellor, and finally to Parliament, but without effect. Reversing the usual fate of modern Church legislation, their Bill passed the Commons, but made no progress in the Lords. The vestrymen, indignant at the doubts thus cast on their position and management—for even their light refreshments at the expense of the parish were acrimoniously criticised—published eloquent 'reasons to repel the scandalous suggestions of a few discontented parishioners, tending to the overthrow of the vestry and government established fifty years previously, and since continued to the great benefit of the parish.' It was shown that
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the dinners were salutary, economical, and deserved. As an illustration of the care devoted to the matter, the following extract from the vestry minutes, April 5, 1569, may be read:— 'Whereas the calf's head which was wont to be put in a pie and ate in the vestry, as yesterday, to be with the charges thereof spent at some other time, when the vestry shall have to do in the affairs of the church.' Again, on Ascension Day, 1614, it was decided: 'There shall be a drinking on perambulation day for the company according to ancient custom, yet *sparingly*, because the corporation is indebted.' The protest against the usurpation of the public rights of the parish by a few individuals broke out again a century later, and with more effect, for in 1730, 'after a contest of some warmth,'* the select vestry of thirty resigned, and the parishioners in general vestry succeeded to the government of the parish. The choice of the chaplains, hitherto monopolised by the wardens and assistants, now reverted to the parishioners, and was decided by public election with much the same machinery and incidents as those of a Parliamentary contested election before the Ballot. The Metropolis Local Government Act, 1855, however, brought back the select vestry, so that the arrangement which seemed so tyrannical and unjust to the good people of the 17th and 18th centuries is established by statute in the democratic 19th century as the best that can be devised. But the whole body of parishioners continued to vote in the election of a chaplain until a few years ago.

So things went on until an Act of 22 & 23 Charles II. (1672) abolished tithes in St. Saviour's parish, and instead, authorized the churchwardens and overseers to levy a rate, so as to raise 350*l.* per annum, to be paid over by the wardens as follows:— 100*l.* to each of the two chaplains, 100*l.* to the master, and 10*l.* to the usher of the Grammar School. By an Act of 56 George III. (1816), after reciting that the provision made by the former Act was inadequate, it was enacted that a rate of not more than 1*s.* in the pound might be annually levied by the vestry on all lands and premises in the parish, to be applied first in paying 300*l.* per annum to each chaplain, 30*l.* to the master and usher, and the remainder towards repairs of the church. Gwilt's restoration of the choir a few years later was paid for out of this rate. We have not yet completed the statutory history of this singular parish. An Act was passed in 1868 abolishing the double chaplaincy, and enacting that, subject to vested rights, there should be but one chaplain, and

* Concanon and Morgan's 'History of St. Saviour's,' 1795, p. 168.

a curate under him. Last of all, in 1883 a fresh Act was procured, which greatly altered the position of the parish, and has placed it on what, to modern ideas, seems a much more convenient footing. The rate has been abolished, and with it the right of popular election of the chaplain. The Bishop of Rochester redeemed the rate with 7000*l.* placed at his disposal for the purpose, and the patronage was vested by the Act in him. The chaplain acquired the style of rector, and the church, advowson, and endowments, instead of being from time to time conveyed by deed to new trustees, were vested by the Act in the then trustees and the rector, and their successors *virtute officii*.

Thus St. Saviour's has quite recently lost some of its constitutional peculiarities. It has still a few left. Thus the freehold of the church is not vested in the rector, but in the trustees, of whom, however, he is one. Indeed, strictly speaking, there is no rector. For, as we have seen, there was only a chaplain till the recent Act, which does not make him a rector, but enacts that the 'incumbent of the office of chaplain *shall be styled* rector.' As the incumbent in whom the cure of souls in the parish is vested, he possesses, there can be no doubt, the powers ordinarily incident to that position. The abolition of popular election is, we need not say, a salutary reform. The repulsive proceedings which have disgraced these elections, too often attended by violence and drunkenness, and followed by litigation, not only at Southwark but in other well-known instances, have effectually condemned the system in the eyes of public opinion: and although it is natural enough that regret should linger in the minds of some who have themselves experienced the loss of the privilege, the good sense of the majority which made the change possible will always justify it.

In the first pages of this article we have sketched the history of this noble sanctuary up to the Reformation, when it ceased to be a conventual and became a parish church. We have described the growth of the parish since the Reformation, and we go on now to tell, in as few words as possible, the chequered story of the building itself from the surrender of the Priory to the present time. It is an unhappy story for the most part, but we desire to warn the reader in advance against indiscriminate condemnation of the parishioners for what has been, after all, as much their misfortune as their fault. Henry VIII.'s Act was perfectly accurate in saying that St. Saviour's was 'a very great church and very costly to be maintained in due reparations.' On the other hand, the parish was comparatively small and decidedly poor. This fact, coupled with the prevailing
ignorance

ignorance of architecture and indifference to history, account for most of the proceedings which it is impossible not to lament, and hard not to resent. When Prior Lynsted handed over his cherished trust, it was a magnificent Early English church: the choir, transepts, and nave formed a cross; the Spiritual Court, and beyond that the Bishop's Chapel, were added eastward; the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene on the south filled the corner between the choir and south transept, and St. John's Chapel or Vestry, the corresponding corner on the north side. The interior length of the church, not counting the Bishop's Chapel, was 250 feet, the width of the choir and nave about 60 feet, and the length from north to south of the transepts was 113 feet. The height of the nave and choir was 54 feet, and the tower, including the pinnacles, measured 163 feet 6 inches.

The first structural alteration, after St. Mary Overie became St. Saviour's parish church, was the knocking out of three clumsy arches to connect St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, hitherto reached by a door in the south transept, with the main building. The expense of repair soon began to be felt, and in 1559 we find a long list of vestments and ornaments, no doubt chiefly connected with the old worship, directed to be sold to provide funds for repairs. In 1561 the rood-loft which spanned the western end of the choir was ordered to be taken down and made 'decent and comely as in the other churches in the City.' In 1578 Stow relates that the church was within 'richly and very worthily beautified.' It is to this period that the scandalous misuse of the Spiritual Court already noticed principally belongs. Its resuscitation under Gardiner was short-lived, and ended with Mary's reign. The records give a sad account of its profanation, acquiesced in by the vestry, with occasional fits of repentance, when a commotion would be made, and stringent orders issued for the cleansing of the building; but it was not till 1624 that the Spiritual Court was finally freed from its unsuitable tenants. In 1607 a baker, Wilson, who then rented the place, complained that he found the tomb 'of a certain Cade' an obstruction to business, and the vestry allowed him to take it down, but so that 'it must be made up again in any reasonable sort.' From 1615 to 1621 the Southwark people were busy fitting their church with galleries. One was thrown across each transept, and another across the western end of the choir on the site of the old rood-loft. The organ was moved into this last gallery. About the same time the church was repaired, and the north side was 'strengthened and beautified with a substantial and very artificial rough cast.' In 1625 John Hayman caused one aisle of the Spiritual Court, now purged
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of bakers and pigs, to be paved at his own expense. The Great Fire in 1666 did not touch St. Saviour's, and from the roof of the tower Hollar made his celebrated pictures of London before and after the Fire. But in 1676 Southwark had its own catastrophe. A large number of houses, including the original Tabard Inn, immortalized by Chaucer, were burnt, and the Bishop's Chapel was partly destroyed. It was then that the roof fell in upon the canopy of Andrewes' tomb, as already narrated. The Bishop's Chapel was rebuilt in what Mr. Dolman, whose work, quoted in the heading to this article, has been used too frequently for detailed acknowledgment, calls 'an ugly and utterly incongruous style.' In 1680 the vestry records note that 'the north side of the church was very defective and likely to fall,' and the next year part of the church was taken down. In 1689 alterations were made in the tower, the pinnacles being rebuilt and the buttresses removed.

At the beginning of the 18th century, which we have now reached, no irreparable harm had happened to the church. It was cumbered with much rubbish, such as the galleries already mentioned and the more or less grotesque monuments of the time. Prominent among the latter is an absurd erection in honour of a quack doctor, one Lockyer (1672), still to be seen on the wall of the north transept. The doctor lies on a shelf, wearing a flowing wig and gown, in a sideways' position of much apparent discomfort, under a canopy, the culminating ornament of which is a gigantic pill. Underneath is a jingle, of which this is a specimen:—

His virtues and his pills are so well known,
That envy can't confine them under stone.'

And in addition to all this lumber there can be no doubt that the old church was greatly decayed. Yet, except the Magdalene Chapel, which was rebuilt and spoilt in the Stuart time, there was nothing in such a state of ruin that it could not, and in the present day would not, be remedied. But in 1703 the restorers of the period set to work with a vengeance. Two galleries were built on the north and south sides of the choir; a huge pulpit surmounted by an extinguisher sounding-board was introduced. The floor was covered with pews. The south and west windows were 'opened and enlarged,' or, in other words, the tracery cut away and the outlines disfigured. At the same time the Great Vault, a great arched chamber extending under the whole length of the choir, which at this moment contains at least three hundred coffins, was sunk, and according to a tablet set up in the church, 'very well liked and approved of.'

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A coloured print preserved with many others by the late chaplain, the Rev. S. Benson, whose very interesting collection, filling two large volumes, is now at the British Museum, shows the church as it must have looked at this time. It was the day of billowy cushions and red curtains and high pews. The choir is so smothered in upholstery as to be nearly unrecognizable, though here and there one of Bishop Peter's great piers defies absolute extinction. It was in this church, crowded with hearers from all parts of London, that the celebrated Dr. Sacheverell, Chaplain of St. Saviour's from 1705 to 1713, preached his first sermon after three years' suspension inflicted by Parliament on his trial in Westminster Hall. His offence was the publication of a 'malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel,' or, to be more explicit, an inflammatory and vulgar diatribe in defence of the Sovereign's Divine Right and in offence of her Whig and Nonconforming subjects. In the middle of the last century a fashion set in of patching the outside of St. Saviour's with brick. The result must have been squalid and unsightly in the extreme, but it would seem that by 1764 the west, south, and north sides were entirely coated with brick. In that year 1400*l.* were expended by the parish in a general painting, glazing, and whitewashing. At the same time the high roof was removed, and the north front of the north transept was taken down, a screen of boards and tiles being substituted. A contemporary writer says: 'Though the church hath been often repaired, yet the beauty for which it is justly admired consists in *this* repair.'

The 19th century found the church in a far worse plight than the 18th. The decay was more complete, and the depredations of neglect or ignorant zeal had been far more serious. It was a happy thing for posterity that, just when the church had reached a condition so bad as to compel attention, a man with knowledge, interest, and energy, should have come on the scene, who could do something, and not a little, to avert utter ruin. Just outside the south porch of the choir, between two buttresses, is the grave of the architect, Mr. George Gwilt. Of the many worthy names which the parish register of St. Saviour's preserves, none deserves honour better than his. For thirty years he fought a difficult battle against ignorance and parsimony, and it is not too much to say that, although all was not saved, we owe it to Mr. Gwilt and those who worked with him that all was not destroyed. In 1818 the tower was cracked from base to pinnacle by the excessive vibration of the fine peal of bells. It was in great danger, and Mr. Gwilt was employed to repair it. He devised a system of iron supports and clamps, which has been completely successful
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in making the tower secure, and he rebuilt the pinnacles and battlements. In 1821 he set to work on the choir. The galleries and pews were cleared away. The east end and much of the clerestory he took down and reconstructed, carefully following all indications of the old work, except that for the five-light Perpendicular window, which Bishop Fox inserted at the east end above his screen, Gwilt substituted an Early English three-light window copied from Salisbury. Opinions will differ as to the propriety of this change: it is a similar case to that of the west window at St. Alban's; but there can be no doubt that, on the whole, Gwilt's restoration of the choir was a thoroughly good and conservative piece of work, and, considering the time when it was planned, showed rare ability. In 1822 St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, which a 17th-century rebuilding and 18th-century patching had reduced to ugliness utterly unsuggestive of Bishop Peter de Rupibus's beautiful work, was removed, and Gwilt designed the present south door and lancet windows, to fill the void which the disappearance of the chapel created on the south side of the church. It will be remembered that the two were thrown together at the Reformation. In 1829 a very beautiful Norman doorway, probably the Prior's entrance to the church, was found in the north side of the nave. The piers and mouldings when uncovered, like those of a plainer doorway, also Norman, found in 1848 in the wall of the vestry abutting on Montague Close, bore evident marks of fire. There can be no doubt that these two doorways belonged to Bishop Giffard's Norman church, which, it will be remembered, was in great part burnt about the year 1207.

In 1830 the transepts were restored by Mr. Wallace. He rebuilt the north end of the north transept which had been destroyed in 1764, and inserted new windows of his own design at the north and south ends of the transepts. It is to be regretted that, probably from economy, Bath stone was used outside, and cement inside. The result is that the external masonry has terribly crumbled under the adverse influence of London smoke, and inside the walls are disfigured by huge black stains which look like damp. We shall leave architects to pass judgment on the restoration of the transepts, but we seem to miss the thoroughness and sympathy of Gwilt's work. In 1830 the Bishop's Chapel at the extreme east end was removed, professedly because it was in the way of the new London Bridge then being constructed. In 1831, the roof of the nave was torn off in a panic. The beams were showing signs of decay at the ends, and one day a fragment of rotten wood fell on to the floor. It was assumed that

that the whole roof was reduced to touchwood. Without examination or enquiry, orders for destruction were issued, and in a few weeks the roof of 1469 had disappeared, and the nave was left open to the weather. A picture-frame made out of the oak of the roof still hangs in the parish clerk's office, and a few of the bosses, already described, are preserved in the Spiritual Court. It is difficult to speak too severely of what was almost certainly a needless and wanton act of barbarism. But the taste for spoliation was evidently pretty strong in the parish at that time, for in the next year a mighty agitation, the memory of which still lingers at St. Saviour's, was started to procure the removal of the Spiritual Court. Its destruction was actually voted by the vestry, but the decision was reversed on a poll. It is unnecessary to recal the details of this now ancient conflict. Parochial humour was heavy on the ugliness and worthlessness of the old church, and especially the Spiritual Court. Handbills, misspelt and full of absurdity, exhorted the parishioners to rid themselves from the burden of repair, by sweeping the old building away. Equally inflammatory placards were issued by the other side, and the feud ran so high that the vestry meetings, held in the Spiritual Court, not unfrequently culminated in a free fight. In the end, however, the threatened destruction was prevented, and the Spiritual Court was carefully restored by Gwilt, who gave his services gratuitously, while the expense of the work was borne by subscriptions from outside the parish. In 1833, on the removal of a 17th-century screen, said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, the defaced remains of Bishop Fox's beautiful screen were discovered, and a restoration of it was made by Mr. Wallace.

In 1838, the nave, which since the roof had been torn off had gone rapidly to decay, was levelled to the ground, and the first stone of a new nave built on the old foundation was laid on July 26, 1839, by Bishop Sumner of Winchester. Externally it was to be 'pure Gothic,' and it is to be presumed that, had the parishioners found the means to finish the work, there would have been definite attempts to imitate the Early English style. Inside, a very remarkable expedient was adopted. In 1839, intramural burial was still permitted, and the Southwark people exercised the privilege to the fullest extent. But the simultaneous use of family pews on the floor and family vaults underneath was found inconvenient, because to get at the latter it was constantly necessary to remove the former. It occurred to some one that parochial taste would be satisfied and parochial comfort promoted, if a high arch were thrown over the pavement of the nave, which would thus be left clear for the gravedigger,
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while on the top of the arch, as on a first floor, the church might be constructed. This was actually done; a church with galleries, a three-decker, and serried ranks of pews, was built on a level, high above the choir and transepts, from which it was shut off by a partition. The access from the old part of the church is by steep flights of steps, like the way to the top of an omnibus. The building is probably unique in its ingenuity and unsightliness. Whether it would have looked better or worse had it been finished is perhaps an open question; but although there are doubtless many uglier churches, it would be difficult to find one that looks worse by way of contrast with its surroundings. There is a widely credited report that the architect was named Smith, and that when he witnessed his work carried out, he committed suicide. The architect's name was not Smith, and he did not commit suicide, but we give the story as the testimony of public opinion to the fitness of things.

Since the new nave was built, no structural alterations have been made. Better times have come. Not only has the fabric in its present state been taken care of by the wardens, but for years past there has been a growing desire for a general and real restoration. The rector, the Rev. W. Thompson, has promoted the scheme with indefatigable zeal, and, as we have already stated, the Bishop of Rochester inaugurated the work last autumn, by commending it to the diocese as its chief enterprise for the next five years. Since then a Committee has been formed, with the Bishop as Chairman. More than 22,000*l.* have already been promised. Sir Arthur Blomfield's services have been retained, and it is proposed forthwith to apply for a Faculty to remove the church of 1838, and so far as may be to rebuild the old nave. But, despite many good drawings and plans of the original work, it is impossible entirely to recalc the past. The old nave has not only vanished, but, strange to say, no one has the slightest idea when, or how, or to whom the materials were disposed of.

There is another aspect of the subject which must not be ignored. A church was until recently not only a place of worship for the living, but also a place of burial for the dead. This is emphatically the case at St. Saviour's. We have already mentioned one or two great names which are to be found in the Burial Register, but there are others. Edmond Spenser (1607), the brother of the great dramatist; John Fletcher (1625), Philip Massinger (1638), and Robert Harvard (1625), the father of the founder of Harvard University, U.S., all rest within the walls of the church. The neighbourhood of the Globe Theatre, now covered by Barclay's Brewery, made St.

Saviour's

Saviour's a special haunt of actors in the old days, and accounts for the very large number of that particular profession whose names appear in the registers. But, apart from distinguished people, the catacombs of St. Saviour's are only too well filled. It is estimated that, in addition to the ancient interments of which no record remains, there lie now under the pavement of the church at least 1200 bodies, all, or nearly all, enclosed in lead coffins, and thus preserved from mingling with the parent earth for a very long time. Six hundred are in the Nave, three hundred in the Great Vault in the Choir, and three hundred in the Spiritual Court and Transepts. In addition there is a large vault under the site of the Bishop's Chapel said to contain seventy bodies. Burials continued till 1854, when the church was closed for interments by Order in Council. It would be idle to suppose that all these hundreds of separate vaults have been so faultlessly constructed and so carefully used that no escape is possible into the church. Even if it were so, the continuance of this huge collection of decaying animal matter, so confined as to make its decomposition as slow and its exhalations as dangerous as possible, would be a continual source of peril.

How little air-tight even the Great Vault is, was shown some forty years ago, when during a funeral a spark from a candle fell unheeded into the sawdust spread on the vault floor. When the mourners and attendants had withdrawn, and the entrance had been closed, a serious fire burst forth. It was not discovered till the next morning, by which time it had nearly exhausted itself, but in the interval seven coffins had been melted, and the bodies inside completely cremated. So foul was the smell which made its way through cracks and crevices into the church above, that the services had to be suspended for a week. The danger of allowing the present state of things to continue is aggravated by the nature of the locality. Southwark lies low, close to the river, with marsh land all round. The result is that every epidemic, from the Black Death to Cholera, has always drawn crowds of victims from this neighbourhood. It is melancholy to read the long lists of dead, by which the registers of St. Saviour's give silent testimony to the peril of the parish in every time of visitation. In 1625, Fletcher, already named, died of the plague, while he was waiting for a new suit of clothes in which to escape to the country on a visit. The ground outside was long ago full to overflowing, so much so that 'bone-houses,' or cupboards where human bones could be stacked like firewood, were from time to time made against the walls of the church. The whole Metropolis is interested in the

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the removal of so obvious and extensive a seed-bed for disease. It is much to be hoped that the example of some of the City parishes will be followed, and that a piece of ground will be procured in one of the country cemeteries to which *all* the coffins inside the church may be reverently removed, with every consideration for the feelings of relatives, where any remain, and with full opportunity, in every case in which it may be desired, for the erection of a memorial over the resting-place of the departed.

It is a pleasant thing to see such an enterprise as the restoration of St. Saviour's energetically pushed forward, not merely by the parish, but by the whole diocese in which it stands. The preservation of historical monuments is a work which the feeling of the age emphatically approves. But the St. Saviour's restoration is much more. The religious and moral improvement of a great portion of the Metropolis—London south of the Thames—is indirectly involved. Until quite recently Londoners north of the Thames have scarcely realized that there is such a place. That a huge city of something like a million souls has sprung up within the present century, so near as to be part of London, is a fact still very imperfectly understood. Yet so it is. Down to 1818, London on the other side of the river covered quite a small area, namely Southwark and Bermondsey. Rotherhithe and Deptford were detached centres. Battersea scarcely existed. Then came a gigantic advance. The tide of bricks and mortar swept southward. Kennington, Camberwell, Brixton, South Bermondsey, Peckham, Hatcham, New Cross, and the adjacent districts, sprang into existence, and the wave of building ever passing on has now got miles away and is even touching the Surrey Hills. Thus within a single lifetime a great city has been built. This rapid development has had a strange effect on the inhabitants. The well-to-do people, the professional and business men, have, as the tide passed southward, been swept clean out of South London, leaving behind a mighty city of dull, level, uninteresting, unhopeful poverty. In other words, as the suburbs move further away, the moneyed classes move with them, and the streets behind are denuded of all but those who cannot afford to follow. There are different degrees of poverty among the population thus produced, but all are poor. The lines of want follow the line of the river. The most absolute penury is along the banks of the Thames from Battersea to Greenwich. The next line is poor, but not so near the Poor-house; the next is still a little better off.

The need and the difficulty of religious and philanthropic work
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in South London are very great. The land lies low and is rather unhealthy; much of it is reclaimed marsh, and some actually below the river-level. The very atmosphere of South London is depressing, and only those who have lived there, as clergymen or teachers, know the strain on nerve and spirit, which isolation and the callous indifference of the people inevitably exert. Yet South London has been curiously forgotten. The interest, which for thirty years has been successfully evoked from the West of London towards the East, has failed to reach the South. What has been done, and it is much, has been largely the result of personal effort. The present Bishop of Rochester has succeeded in making church accommodation a little less inadequate; although he points out, in appealing for special help for providing curates, that even now there are three parishes of 20,000 souls or more, six of 15,000, twelve of 12,000, and nineteen of 10,000; and that the proportion of curates in the diocese is 1 to 6132 population, being not much more than one half the proportion for London diocese. If we were to attempt a summary of the good work lately done in South London, it would be impossible to omit Mr. Spurgeon's manifold agencies at Newington, the Roman Catholic work in Bermondsey, Mr. Newman Hall's activity at Lambeth, the Technical School and Polytechnic movement, and a great deal more. But the need for such enterprises, and the overpowering amount of arrears to be made up, will be best expressed in one sentence—the verdict of the writers of an elaborate report on South London which appeared in the 'Record' newspaper two years ago—'*Christianity is not in possession in South London.*' This verdict was endorsed afterwards by the Bishop of Rochester, as no hysterical exaggeration, but a sad fact only too easily verifiable.

If St. Saviour's, Southwark, were destined to be a mere antiquarian relic, greatly as we should rejoice in its preservation, it might be doubted whether the bishop and clergy of a diocese that contains South London, have not more pressing duties to discharge than this work of restoration. But standing as it does in the very centre of the poorest, or river side, line of population, walled in by tall warehouses, except where the Borough Market (on the site of an old See house of Rochester) spreads its stalls in continental fashion at the church gates, St. Saviour's has a work to do, as special as the position it occupies. It ought to be, and, unless a great opportunity is thrown away, it will be, a centre and a rallying-point for all Church work in South London, not hid away in far-off country fields, but there in the middle of the scene
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of action, in daily touch with the people, grimy with London smoke, and its stones worn with the feet of the London poor. We lack space for any account of the numerous charities with which St. Saviour's is endowed, the administration of which is chiefly entrusted to the wardens. Their time-honoured titles are the Warden of the Great Account, the Renter Warden, the College Warden, the Bell Warden, Newcomens' Warden, and, now, the Rector's Warden. The endowments for the good of the poor of St. Saviour's are large, and with some modifications to suit modern circumstances might be made of very great utility. A cathedral in South London, with poverty all around it, which had nothing to spare for the poor, would bring only cold comfort, and it is no small advantage that St. Saviour's, whenever it realizes its obvious destiny, will have the, probably unique, characteristic of being able out of its own funds to relieve the necessities of its poor neighbours. The value of St. Saviour's as a rallying-point for the forces of the Church of England, may be measured by the absolute and inevitable uselessness of Rochester Cathedral (despite the admirable efforts of individuals) for the same purpose. The distance is fatal. It is now a commonplace of Church opinion, that the proper work of a cathedral is not merely to present a dignified ideal of worship, but also to strengthen weak places, to revive flagging energies, and generally to impart vigour and life to the diocese. Nowhere throughout the whole wide field of the Church of England's activity is such an influence more needed than in South London. The restoration of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and the changes which in one form or another must follow, are interesting for their own sake, but in their relation to the religious and moral welfare of hundreds of thousands of Londoners they are of most urgent importance.

ART. VI.—*Sophocles: the Plays and Fragments, with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Translation in English prose.* By R. C. Jebb, Litt. D., Regius Professor of Greek and Fellow of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge; Hon. LL.D. Edinburgh, Harvard, and Dublin; Hon. Doct. Philos., Bologna. Part I. *The Œdipus Tyrannus*. Second edition. Cambridge, 1887. Part II. *The Œdipus Coloneus*. Second edition. Cambridge, 1889. Part III. *The Antigone*. Cambridge, 1888.

WHETHER there has ever been a greater poet than Sophocles would not be a very profitable question to ask, and the answer given to it would probably show considerable divergence of opinion. But that he was the happiest of poets, the most enviable both for the circumstances of his life and for the triumphs of his art, will be denied by none who are acquainted with his career. Such was his personal beauty and grace, that he was chosen, when sixteen years old, to lead the choir which celebrated the victory of Salamis with song and dance. The boy Sophocles walked naked in front of the choir, bearing an ivory lyre in his hand. He afterwards held high office* in the State, and died at a great age, the accepted poet of Greece, not least happy in his death, by which, as Phrynichus wrote in an epitaph on his brother poet, he was taken away from the evil to come.† According to Aristophanes, the sweetness of disposition, which was naturally fostered by his happy lot, survived even the grave and attended him in the world below.

‘Genial he was above and genial here,’

says Dionysus of Sophocles in the ‘Frogs.’ And the brightness of the gay and happy Athenian—who was the very bloom of the brilliant age of Pericles, Phidias, and Thucydides, and the mirror of its mind; who revelled in

‘The bloom of young Desire and purple light of Love,’

and yet found a calm pleasure in advanced age in the sense of release‡ from the passions which tore his youth—is reflected perfectly in the sparkle and glow of his lyrics. Where, even in Greek, can we find words that dance as they burn like those of the matchless ode in which the aged poet sung the praises of Colonus, and of that Queen of Cities which was his nursing

* He was one of the *Strategi*, B.C. 440, and was among the *Probuli* elected after the failure of the Sicilian Expedition, B.C. 413.

† *καλῶς ἐτελεύτησ’ οὐδὲν ὑπομείνας κακόν.*

‡ *ἀσμεναίτατα ἀπέφυγον* (Plat. Rep. 329 C).

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mother, and set free his ever-young fancies to sing with the nightingales in the meadows aflame with crocus and narcissus, amid the olives and laurels which were the girdle of Athens, and the violets that crowned her brow? We wonder how many thousands of readers of Sophocles, fascinated by the magic charm of this immortal ode—which for any one who can read Greek for pleasure at once raises the standard of what is possible for human achievement in poetry—have essayed the feat of transplanting it into their own tongue, and have failed to catch completely the note of pure joy which it utters. Yet there was in this bright spirit a well of tears deeper than that which overflows in the tragedies of Euripides, and making a rainbow in the sunlight of his genius. It was not a passion-torn, broken-hearted Catullus, a sick and persecuted Keats, but the happy Sophocles, the idol of Greece, from whom was wrung that cry of agony:

‘Not to be born is, past all prizing, best; but, when a man hath seen the light, this is next best by far, that with all speed he should go thither whence he has come.’*

It is, perhaps, the great psychological range of this enthusiastic yet sober contemplator,

‘Who saw life steadily and saw it whole,’

which has secured for him the unquestioning applause of every age. As regards formal estimates of his poetry, belonging neither to the Gigantesque nor to the Naturalistic schools, he has missed the praises which have been poured on Æschylus and Euripides, and has sometimes been regarded as a kind of compromise between two rival ideals. We do not propose to enter on the oft-instituted comparison between the three great tragic poets of Greece. We may, however, form a surmise as to what Sophocles himself thought on this subject by calling to mind his own criticism on his two great rivals. He is reported to have told Æschylus that ‘he did what he ought to do, but did it without knowing’; and of his younger rival, he said that ‘Euripides portrayed men as they are, he himself as they ought to be portrayed,’† that is, as the laws of art demanded. Thus he seems to have proposed to himself as the ideal temper of a dramatic poet a mind which on the one hand applies conscious principles of art to the treatment of human affairs, and on the

* *Cæd. Col.*, 1225, Jebb’s trans.

† Not ‘as they ought to be’: morally perfect characters would not afford materials for a drama.

other hand refuses to confine itself within the narrow limits of vulgar experience. Tragedy should have its scene in palaces, not boudoirs, and should present to the spectator not photographs, but pictures, or rather groups of statuary or *tableaux vivants*, for ancient Greek tragedy had closer affinities with the sculptor's art than the painter's.*

Aristotle has told us that 'Tragedy is a representation of an action that is weighty, complete, and of a due magnitude, effecting through pity and terror a purgation of the like passions in the mind of the spectators.' The precise meaning of the term 'purgation' (*κάθαρσις*) has puzzled commentators; but it broadly indicates that the feelings should be rightly excited about something which is their proper object; and that those feelings ought ultimately to be allayed artistically. The best among modern tragedies, and even works of fiction—'Hamlet,' 'Lear,' 'Faust,' 'Romola'—have succeeded in exciting the feelings rightly, and exercising them on worthy objects. Sometimes, however, it is easier to make the nature of a quality clear by pointing to a case in which it is absent than by adducing one in which it is present—by appealing to an *instantia contradictoria*, not an *instantia exemplaris*. Of one who did not proceed in the right way to purge our emotions of pity, Thackeray † gave a good instance in the late Mr. Warren when he told how Mrs. Aubrey shed tears as she reflected that it was the hour at which her (now impoverished) husband had been accustomed to go out to dine at the houses of the aristocracy. On the other hand, modern art neglects the due allaying of the passions aroused. 'Sin and suffering—the old, old story—men are in the hands of chance and fate—but God is good'—such is the broad lesson of Greek Tragedy. The most sublime of modern

* The magnificent *kommos*, or amœbean dirge, in which Antigone and the Chorus (Ant. 808–881) antiphonally bewail the girl's approaching doom, is, from a dramatic point of view, certainly too long. Yet it fully satisfies another sense of beauty than the dramatic. It affects us as some stately frieze representing a slow, sad funeral procession. The action of the piece stops, to give us time to contemplate the girl's heroic self-sacrifice. It has not even the moving life of a picture, but the statuesque repose of a cunning piece of sculpture.

† 'In that noble romance called "Ten Thousand a Year," I remember a profoundly pathetic description of the Christian manner in which the hero, Mr. Aubrey, bore his misfortunes. After making a display of the most florid and grandiloquent resignation, and quitting his country mansion, the writer supposes Aubrey to come to town in a postchaise and pair, sitting bodkin probably between his wife and sister. It is about seven o'clock, carriages are rattling about, knockers are thundering, and tears bedim the fine eyes of Mrs. Aubrey and Kate as they think that in happier times at this hour their Aubrey used formerly to go out to dinner to the houses of the aristocracy, his friends. This is the gist of the passage—the elegant words I forget. But the noble, noble sentiment I shall always remember and cherish.' ('Book of Snobs.')

dramas has no more definite conclusion than 'the rest is silence.' *

It is not as the representative of this or that school of poetry that a great genius takes a firm hold on the mind of the successive generations. The chief quality in Sophocles which fascinates the modern world, is the sustained stateliness of his diction, which never shrinks into the colloquialism of Euripides, nor swells into the inflated bulk of Æschylean pomp. One is, indeed, astonished and dazzled by some of those Æschylean

'jewels five words long,
That on the stretch'd forefinger of all time
Sparkle for ever.'

Yet the English taste at least will never relish such daring experiments in language as 'thirsty Dust, near-dwelling brother of Mud,' or 'the maw of Salmydessus, stepmother of ships,' or 'dumb children of the undefiled one' as a synonym for 'fishes.' The language of Sophocles is never turgid, but it is always stately. Dignity is never dropped even in the least elevated passages :

'Tall, and with newly sable-silver'd head,'

is the answer of Jocasta, when Œdipus asks her to describe her former husband Laius. And when the theme calls for the sublime in diction, none can soar on more ample pinion than Sophocles. When he contemplates cosmic order, or the high and eternal verities of natural law, his style is among the stars : one recalls—

'Dread things and things most potent bow to office;
Thus to lush Summer snow-clad Winter yields,
Aye, and the dreary round of Dark makes way
For blaze of Day on argent coursers horsed,
And tempests let the groaning main alone ;' †

or the 'wild and whirling words' of Antigone,

'Nor deem'd I thy decrees had such avail
That I, a mortal, could o'erleap the laws
Unwrit, unfailing, of heav'n's chancery ;
Their life is not to-day's or yesterday's,
But of all Time the birth : and no man knows
When first they were revealed ;' ‡

* Some of the latest, however, of Shakspeare's plays, 'The Winter's Tale,' 'The Tempest,' and 'Cymbeline,' show a feeling for the principle of Aristotle, and end with 'a resolution of the dissonance—a reconciliation,' as Prof. Dowden has pointed out.

† Ajax, 672.

Ant. 453.

or the lyrical glorification of

'those laws of range sublime, called into life throughout the high clear heaven, whose father is Olympus alone; their parent was no race of mortal men, no, nor shall oblivion ever lay them to sleep.' *

Such passages as these, especially when we remember that they were written considerably more than two thousand years ago, encourage us to indulge, not without hope, the thought that after all men may not be descended from apes; and they find a ready welcome with a nation which shows so clear traces of a kindred spirit, for instance in Shakspeare's

'The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
Observe degrees, priority, and place; '†

and Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty: '

'Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong.'

But it is time to cease dwelling on the broad characteristics of the Sophoclean muse, a subject on which it is equally difficult to come to the end of what may be said, and to begin to suggest any reflections which have not been made often already. Our special purpose at present is to welcome an edition of Sophocles which bids fair to be one of the very brightest ornaments of English scholarship. More than twenty years ago Prof. Jebb produced school editions of the 'Electra' and the 'Ajax,' which were models of what commentaries for beginners should be, and which have without doubt permanently raised the standard of such books. His other splendid contributions to classical learning are too well known to call for mention here. His 'Characters of Theophrastus,' and his 'Attic Orators,' are recognized as showing all those qualities which go to make up the ideal of scholarship in England, and—what by no means follows of course—they have been received in Germany with unstinted welcome and praise. Prof. Jebb was known as the most perfect master of the art of composing in Greek and Latin, before he showed himself to be the most sound and brilliant of editors. We think his career has done much to vindicate a most scholarly accomplishment from the charge of dilettantism, which it has become fashionable to launch against it; and no observant reader of his commentaries and translation can fail to see in almost every line the rich fruit of that exquisite taste and feeling for beauty which have gained for him the first place among modern

* CEd. B. 865 (Jebb's trans.).

† Troilus and Cressida, i. 3, 85.

composers.

composers.* His powers in this direction have recently won for him a signal distinction—the dedication to him by Lord Tennyson of his last poem, 'Demeter and Persephone,' with a curiously exquisite allusion to Prof. Jebb's Pindaric Ode in honour of Bologna and her University:—

' Fair things are slow to fade away,
 Bear witness you, that yesterday
 From out the ghost of Pindar in you
 Roll'd an Olympian ; and they say
 That here the torpid mummy wheat
 Of Egypt bore a grain as sweet
 As that which gilds the glebe of England,
 Sunn'd with a summer of milder heat.
 So may this legend for awhile,
 If greeted by your classic smile,
 Tho' dead in its Trinacrian Enna,
 Blossom again on a colder isle.'

There is one of Prof. Jebb's works to which we would direct special attention, not because it is superior to the others, but because it seems to us so thoroughly characteristic of the English school of classics at its best. One can hardly conceive the existence outside England of such a combination of ripe scholarship, sound judgment, and high literary skill, as is presented by his 'Introduction to Homer.' It is as learned as if it hailed from the Fatherland, and as brilliant as if it bore 'Hachette et Cie.' on its title-page; and it is marked by a judiciousness, a moderateness, a delicacy of criticism, and a pure desire to attain the truth rather than surprise the reader, which we hold to be characteristic of the English school of criticism at its best.

* We will do ourselves the pleasure of quoting some excellent remarks on this subject by Prof. Jebb in his Introduction to the 'Æd. Col.,' p. liii.:—'Here it may be permissible to observe, since the practice of classical composition has been subject in late years to some ignorant and silly disparagement, that not a few of the conjectures which we sometimes see put forward are such as could not have been suggested, if their proposers had profited, even a little, by the discipline of Greek verse composition. It is earnestly to be hoped that the day will never come when that exercise—duly reserved for those to whom it is congenial—shall cease to have a place among the studies which belong to the English conception of classical scholarship. When cultivated sympathetically and maturely—as a delight, not as a mechanical task—the accomplishment is one which necessarily contributes not a little towards the formation of a correct feeling for the idiom of classical poetry. In relation to the criticism of poetical texts, its positive merit is not so much that it sharpens a faculty of emendation as that it tends to keep verbal ingenuity under the restraints of good sense. But it has another influence, and one which (especially in our time) is perhaps not less useful. It helps to educate an instinct which will usually refrain from change where no change is required.'

It was not, however, until he took in hand the edition of Sophocles, of which the three Theban plays have already appeared, that he had an opportunity of showing fully his characteristic excellences as a scholar and a critic. Perhaps no classic—not even Virgil—demands in his exponent such minute faculty for observation, such delicate feeling for expression, and such refined æsthesi, as are required for the complete apprehension and appreciation of the subtle elements so kindly mixed in the genius of Sophocles. These are the very qualities which we have learned to expect from Professor Jebb, and which we never look for in vain. The combination of these good gifts with great literary ability and the most complete mastery over the province of the grammarian is so rare as to give these editions a marked pre-eminence in an age which has been rich in valuable work on Sophocles—an age which has produced the complete edition of the plays and fragments by Prof. Campbell, the ‘*Studia Sophoclea*’ of the late Prof. Kennedy, and the verse-translations of Prof. Campbell, Sir C. Young, Dean Plumptre, and Mr. Whitelaw.

We must not defer the payment of a debt of gratitude to the Editor for setting his face against the hacking and slashing of the Greek masterpieces which is now fashionable in Germany, and which seems to be there regarded as the whole duty of scholastic man. On this subject Prof. Jebb has written judiciously and pointedly in the Preface to the ‘*Ædipus Coloneus*’:—

‘It is allowed on all hands that our traditional texts of the Attic dramatists have been interpolated here and there with some alien verses or parts of verses. But there has been a tendency in much of recent criticism to suspect, to bracket, or to expel verses as spurious, on grounds which are often wholly inadequate, and are sometimes even absurd. In this play upwards of ninety verses have been thus suspected or condemned by different critics, without counting that part of the last kommos (1689–1747) in which it is certain that the text has been disturbed.’ [About eighty verses in the ‘*Antigone*,’ not counting the certainly corrupt 904–920, have been indicted on similar grounds. Prof. Jebb here gives a list of the supposed interpolations in the ‘*Æd. Col.*,’ and adds:] ‘I know not whether it is too much to hope that some reader of these pages will take the trouble to go through the above list of rejections or suspicions, and to consider them in the light of such aid as this edition seeks to offer towards the interpretation of the play. If any one will do that, he will form a fair idea of the manner in which a certain school of criticism (chiefly German, but not without imitators elsewhere) is disposed to deal with the texts of the Greek dramatists. When an interpolation is surmised or assumed, it is usually for one

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(or more) of the following reasons:—(1) because something in the language appears strange; (2) because the verse seems inconsistent with the immediate context, or with the character of the speaker; (3) because the verse seems inconsistent with something in another part of the play; (4) because it seems weak or superfluous. In dealing with the first class of objections—those from language—the grammarian is on his own ground. But the second, third, and fourth classes of objections demand the exercise of other faculties—literary taste, poetic feeling, accurate perception of the author's meaning, insight into his style, sympathy with his spirit. Consider, for instance, why Nauck suspects two of the finest verses in a beautiful passage of this play (610 f.):

“Earth's strength decays, the body's strength decays,
Faith dies, distrust is born.”

He ascribes them to an interpolator because only the second is pertinent; the decay of faith is in point; but what have we to do with the decay of earth or of the body? This is not a whit worse than very many of the examples in the above list. Could Sophocles come back and see his text after all these expurgators had wreaked their will, he might echo the phrase of the worthy Acharnian, as he held up his ragged garment to the light—ὦ Ζεῦ διόπττα.

We have done as the Editor has suggested, we have gone through the list, and we share completely his confidence in the soundness of the passages impugned. When we consider the reckless way in which the critical knife is now being flourished in Germany, and reflect further on the loose hold which German *savants* seem to have of the metrical discoveries of Porson and his school, and think of the portentous things which they and their imitators put forward (and print in their text-books) as emendations, we are fain to protest against the obsequiousness with which many English (and nearly all American) editors bow their neck to the yoke of German authority. We are disposed to recommend an adjunct to the Decalogue for the guidance of our rising scholars: Thou shalt not covet the German's knife, nor his readings, nor his metres, nor his sense, nor his taste, nor anything that is his.

As a translator Prof. Jebb years ago set an example which has already brought about a complete change in the point of view from which translation is regarded. The scholars of the last generation, of whom we take the excellent Paley as a fair type, thought only of the letter that killeth, not of the spirit that giveth life. The Greek or Latin passage was never regarded as the expression of the thought of a great mind, but as a mere exercise in grammar. Let the bare construction of the sentence be indicated, and no matter how ludicrous the contrast between the

the spirit of the rendering and of the original. When, in a scene of an almost horrible intensity in the 'Eumenides,' the Awful Goddesses sing the mingled pain and humiliation which they feel at their victim's escape, and say it is as the cruel doomsman's lash, we recognize that the thought is fine and impressive; but what did the more intelligent schoolboy think of the art of Æschylus, when the foot-note presented to him this translation—

'There is present for us to feel (or perhaps "one may feel") the severe, the very severe chill (smart), of a hostile public executioner' ? *

We do not doubt that Paley could have devised a far more worthy rendering of the fine words of Æschylus. His great success in the kindred, but more difficult, art of turning English into Greek or Latin poetry precludes the theory of incompetence. No: he thought the attempt to preserve the spirit of the original neither necessary nor even desirable, a mere trifling with grammar. Like the young Hamlet, though not in quite the same sense, he held it 'a baseness to write fair.' The more intelligent schoolboy, we doubt not, secretly despised his Virgil and Sophocles, preferred the battle-pieces of Rider Haggard to those of the 'Æneid' and the 'Iliad,' and thought Claude Melnotte less stilted than Hæmon. When he listened to elaborate eulogies on these stiff and frigid writers in the class-room or the lecture-room, he thought, no doubt, that an affected admiration for them was one of the duties, not the most pleasant, of the lecturer, as to whom the pupil's real sentiments were probably those of the Northern Farmer towards the Parson, when he summed them up in the words:—

'I thowt a said whot a owt to 'a said, and I coomed awaäy.'

Prof. Jebb's school editions of the 'Electra' (1867) and the 'Ajax' (1869) showed that English scholarship had become awake to the considerations on which we have been dwelling. Since then we have had Conington's prose translation of Virgil, Myers' of Pindar, Butcher and Lang's of the Odyssey, Lang's of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, and other admirable prose renderings of ancient poetry, which are in themselves high

*

πάρεστι μαστίγοροι, δαίον δαμίον.
βαρὺν τὸ περιβαρὺν κρύος ἔχειν. (Eum. 154.)

'Hostile' always struck us as a humorous touch, implying that the public executioner might sometimes be a pleasant friendly fellow whose society one might enjoy; just as an invitation to dine 'quietly' with a friend seems to imply a possibility of dining turbulently, or 'eating with tumult,' like huge Earl Doorm and his lusty spearmen, 'feeding like horses when you hear them feed.'

works

works of art, which bring the English reader as near to the ancient masters as he can hope to come without learning the language in which they wrote, and which give the scholarly student as pleasing a sense of successful artistic effort as any which could be produced by a metrical version.* Prof. Jebb's prose rendering of the 'Œdipus Rex,' 'Œdipus Coloneus,' and 'Antigone' seems to us the most poetical version of these plays which has yet appeared, and it is not likely to be surpassed unless some great poet, who is also completely equipped with scholarship, applies his genius to the task of giving Sophocles a poetical garb in English—a consummation not, perhaps, devoutly to be wished, and certainly not likely to be realized. Meanwhile Prof. Jebb's prose version is not more likely to be superseded by a metrical one than that of the Psalms and Job, which have hitherto successfully resisted the attempt to hitch them into verse. It would be a mistake to suppose that the task of the prose translator is the easier. Rhythm is really a harder task-master than metre, and the presence of the latter often disguises the absence of the former. We are inclined to think that it would not be quite so hopeless an attempt to try to reproduce the effect of Hamlet's verse-soliloquies as of the prose one beginning, 'I have of late—but wherefore I know not—lost all my mirth.' Now we confidently point to Prof. Jebb's version as a triumph of rhythm throughout, and his freedom from metrical shackles has enabled him to express in it the nicest shades of meaning in the Greek, and to make his translation discharge to a great extent the function of a commentary as well. What we have said will be made good by our citations from his translation from time to time.† We would gladly add here, if space allowed, many examples of his dexterous dealing with single words and phrases, and of his power of sustaining the dignity of style in long and impassioned speeches. We must, however, for further confirmation of our estimate of his skill in the execution of his task, refer our readers to the books themselves; those who have ears to hear will not say that we have expressed too high an opinion of the translation as a work of art, or as an exact equivalent for the Greek.

Minute grammatical accuracy and happy critical insight have

* We can hardly conceive as possible the publication at the present time of such a translation of 'Pindar' as Paley's, of which the diction was really that of a provincial daily newspaper.

† We have used throughout Prof. Jebb's renderings when our extracts have been from the three plays which his edition includes so far. In some cases we have modified the order of the words, so as to produce a metrical effect in line-to-line dialogue. Even in those cases we have moulded our version on his, but in the longer prose extracts we reproduce his translation word for word.

been far more characteristic of English editions than a marked feeling for the artistic beauty of the ancient masterpieces. We would gladly invite attention to the scores of places in which the keen observation of Prof. Jebb has detected delicacies of expression and construction hitherto unnoticed; but our readers will perhaps feel greater interest in those comments which illustrate in the Editor the rarer quality of æsthetic sense. We will therefore point to certain passages in these plays where the question involved is wholly or mainly an æsthetic one, and show how the Editor has dealt with the problem in each case.

In 'Antigone' (904-920) the heroine defends her defiance of Creon's edict, that the corpse of Polynices should lie unburied a prey to carrion-birds and beasts, by a feeble and sophistical exaggeration of the nearness of the fraternal tie, an argument involving a complete abandonment of the high ground which she has already taken, that she had given her brother burial rites in defiance of Creon, because no mortal decree could override the unwritten but unfailing statutes of heaven. The passage, which closely resembles that in which the wife of Intaphernes in Herodotus (iii. 119) defends a similar preference of a brother before a husband or a child, runs thus in Prof. Jebb's translation:—

'And yet I honoured thee, as the wise will deem, rightly. Never, had I been a mother of children, or if a husband had been mouldering in death, would I have taken this task upon me in the city's despite. What law, ye ask, is my warrant for that word? The husband lost, another might have been found, and child from another, to replace the first-born; but, father and mother hidden with Hades, no brother's life could ever bloom for me again. Such was the law whereby I held thee first in honour; but Creon deemed me guilty of error therein, and of outrage, ah, brother mine! And now he leads me thus, a captive in his hands; no bridal bed, no bridal song hath been mine, no joy of marriage, no portion in the nurture of children; but thus, forlorn of friends, unhappy one, I go living to the vaults of death.'

Eckermann has preserved an utterance of Goethe on this scene which best describes the impression which the passage first produces:—

'In the course of the piece the heroine has given the most admirable reasons for her conduct, and has shown the noble courage of a stainless soul; but now at the end she puts forward a motive which is quite unworthy of her, and which almost borders on the comic. I should like a philologist to show us that the passage is spurious.'

If a husband, then, or child had lain unburied, Antigone would
not

not have defied Creon's edict. And why? Because she might have another husband and child, but, her parents being dead, she could not hope for another brother. Could any respectable poet, not to speak of Sophocles, have put such a sentiment into the mouth of such a woman as Antigone? Yet Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 16) recognizes this passage as coming from the 'Antigone,' so that, if the verses are spurious, the interpolation must have found its way into the text not later than seventy years after the death of Sophocles. Hence vigorous efforts have been made to bring the sentiment into harmony with the principles of art and the character of Antigone. Bellermann's theory is that Antigone still occupies the high ground of religious obligation, but feels that that obligation has degrees. She merely says, 'I can imagine breaking that command in any case sooner than in that of a brother.' She knows the feelings of a sister, she had never known those of a wife or a mother. Boeckh thinks that Antigone has abandoned her lofty ground; she has attained to a perception that she did wrong in breaking Creon's law, and when that noble illusion fails her, the poet permits her to catch at such support as sophistry can lead to despair. Seyffert also finds in the passage a note of despair; her troubled thoughts fall back on the one thing of which she still feels sure, the deep human affection which bound her to her brother. Professor Jebb's criticism on these theories must be given in his own words:—

'Bellermann's sliding scale of the religious duty here involves a fallacy from the Greek point of view. Greeks distinguished between the obligation in respect to *θυγαῖτοι* and in respect to *οἰκεῖτοι*. A husband and child are on the same side of that line as a brother. Besides, Bellermann's subtlety invests the crude and blunt sophistry of the text with an imaginative charm which is not its own. If the psychological phase which he supposes in the heroine had been expressed by the poet, such an expression must have preserved the essential harmony between her recent and her present attitude of mind.

'Of Seyffert's view we may say first what has been said of Bellermann's—that it is an idealizing paraphrase of a crude text. But there is a further and yet graver objection—one which applies alike to Seyffert and to Boeckh. After this disputed passage, and at the very moment when she is being led away to death, she says, "If these things are pleasing to the gods, when I have suffered my doom I shall come to know my sin; but if the sin is with my judges, I could wish them no fuller measure of evil than they on their part mete wrongfully to me." Here the poet identifies his heroine, in one of her latest utterances, with the principle on which the catastrophe turns. Creon is punished by the gods; and his punishment is the token that they approve of Antigone's conduct. In the very
last

last words which she speaks she describes herself as τὴν εὐσεβίαν σεβίσασα (943). Thus in two different places—both of them subsequent to the suspected passage—she stands forth distinctly as the representative of the great law which had inspired her act. Is it probable—would it be endurable—that at a slightly earlier moment (in vv. 905-912) she should speak in the tone of one to whom that divine law had proved a mockery and a delusion—who had come to feel that thence at least no adequate vindication of her conduct could be derived—and who was now looking around her for such excuse or such solace as could be found on a lower range of thought and feeling?'

We entirely agree with Professor Jebb that the passage is spurious, and was probably introduced into the play, after the death of Sophocles, by his son Iophon, who earned from his contemporaries the nickname of 'the tasteless' (ὁ ψυχρός). Further, the diction seems to us to warrant a surmise that the interpolator had recently been reading the 'Medea.' We would include in the spurious passage verses 920-924, which are weak in themselves, and contain another suspicious echo of the same play of Euripides.*

In another still more interesting scene in the 'Antigone,' again a question arises which must be decided mainly by considerations of taste. Antigone is condemned to die for her defiance of Creon's decree. Her sister Ismene seeks to share her fate, but Antigone disavows all complicity with her, and takes the sole responsibility for her act. Ismene then seeks to move Creon. She appeals to the betrothal of his son Hæmon to Antigone. 'Nay,' says Creon, 'there are other fields for him to plough.' 'But no such bond,' urges Ismene, 'as bound those two together.' 'Out on such rebel wives for sons of mine!' retorts the tyrant; and this draws from Antigone the only tender cry that her proud lips suffer to escape from a woman's heart, 'O Hæmon, O my love, thy father wrongs thee.' In no other part of the play does she unpack with words of love a heart set fast only on the stern thought of duty. Then Hæmon enters with words of filial piety and sweet reasonableness. He urges his own deep concern for his father's fair name, the essential nobility of Antigone's moral attitude, the public sympathy with her pious contumacy, the beauty and dignity that would be in

* The strange use of the genitive καθανόντος in v. 909 is exactly like that of παρεμπολῶντος in Med. 910; in both cases a genitive has to be evolved to agree with the participle, and in both cases from the same word, or from some word signifying 'husband'; πόσους would fit both places, if there were any justification for the form.

The suspicious echo is to be found in ἐκτησάμην, 924, 'I have earned the name of'; ἐκτήσαντο is found in exactly the same sense in Med. 218.

Creon's

Creon's control of a cruel passion born of absolute power, the moral hideousness of tyranny. He receives for answer only flouts and gibes: 'Am I, a signior, to be schooled by lads?' and 'O dastard, following a woman's lead,' and 'Wheedle me not with words, thou woman's slave.' Hæmon, who at first uses only the language of temperate argument and respect, is gradually stung into petulant expostulations, such as, 'A desert were the realm for thee to rule.' At last the pent-up fire flashes into flame, and the youth leaves the stage with a hint that he will not survive his bride. Hæmon never sees his father again, till the latter, terrified by the prophecies of Teiresias, who announces to him that he shall atone for his sin with the life of his son, has resolved to pay the due rites to the corpse of Polynices, and, this done, repairs to the tomb in which Antigone is immured, resolved to spare her, and thus save his son. He finds her dead, and Hæmon is embracing her lifeless body. Then

'his father when he saw him cried aloud with a dread cry, and went in and called to him with a voice of wailing, "Unhappy, what a deed hast thou done! What thought hath come to thee? What manner of mischance hath marred thy reason? Come forth, my child! I pray thee—I implore!" But the boy glared at him with fierce eyes, spat in his face, and, without a word of answer, drew his cross-hilted sword: as his father rushed forth in flight he missed his aim: then, hapless one, wroth with himself, he straightway leaned with all his weight against his sword, and drove it half its length into his side: and while sense lingered he clasped the maiden to his faint embrace, and as he gasped sent forth on her pale cheek the swift stream of the oozing blood. Corpse enfolding corpse he lies; he hath won his nuptial rites, poor youth! not here, yet in the halls of Death.'*

Was not Hæmon right in spitting in his father's face? We think he was. At all events he did so. And Prof. Jebb rightly refuses to force on Sophocles, in defiance of the Greek, a refinement of sentiment alien from the ancient world everywhere, and from the Southern races even now, and to make Hæmon merely 'express loathing in his looks.' Yet the editors, with hardly an exception, reject with ridicule, or suppress all mention of, an interpretation in itself robust and natural, in favour of one which does violence not only to the language but to the dramatic effect.† Prof. Jebb has the editors against him, but he has on his side a master of dramatic effect, and one who would be the first to reject a coarse touch in a fine passage. In 'Athens, its Rise and Fall,' Lord Lytton has translated this

* Ant. 1226-1241.

† We cannot find that any modern editors except Mitchell and Bothe are willing even to consider the natural interpretation.

scene,

scene, and it does not seem to have occurred to the author of 'Richelieu' to reject the natural translation of *πτύσας προσώπω*:

'Then glaring on his father with wild eyes,
The son stood dumb and spat upon his face,
And clutch'd the unnatural sword: the father fled;
And wroth as with the arm that miss'd a sire
The wretched son drove home into his heart
The abhorrent steel; yet ever, while dim sense
Struggled within the fast expiring soul,
Feebler and feebler still his stiffening arms
Clung to that virgin form; and every gasp
Of his last breath with bloody dews distain'd
The cold white cheek that was his pillow. So
Lies death embracing death.'

We cannot see any reason for the view which the editors have preferred except one that the Village Maiden in 'Ruddygore' might have urged—spitting is nowhere justified in the 'Book of Etiquette.' A similar robustness of explanation, due to an abiding clearness in his conception of the ancient world as distinguished from the modern, is to be found in a note on 'Œdipus Coloneus,' v. 1250, where Prof. Jebb rejects the rendering, 'weeping as no man weeps' (but only women), on the ground that this view of the unmanliness of weeping is essentially modern. Æneas and Achilles do not think it womanish to weep.

The same unerring feeling for artistic beauty, which leads Prof. Jebb into the right path missed by others, points out to him, and to those whom he guides, charms before unnoticed. It greatly enhances our enjoyment of a great work of art to have our attention called to minute felicities, which only a very close and appreciative study reveals, and which at once commend themselves to us as not imported into the play by the ingenuity of the commentator, but discovered there by his sympathy with the mind of the poet. How many, in reading the 'Œdipus Rex,' have ever thought of comparing v. 950 with v. 1447? In the first passage, Œdipus, still a happy man, and hopeful of future happiness, addresses her who was so horribly linked with him as 'Jocasta, dearest wife.' He does not refer to her again till he gives directions for her burial after the curse has fallen on them all, and she has died by her own hand; and then he will not even utter the name which had become so horrible to him: 'Give *her* that is *within* such burial as thou thyself wouldst give,' is his charge to Creon when about to go on his lonely pilgrimage.

In 'Antigone,' 465-468, the heroine says:—

'So for me to meet this doom is trifling grief; but if my mother's
child

child in his death had been the unburied prey of dogs, that would have grieved me; *for this, I am not grieved.*'

This is one of the many passages impugned on frivolous grounds by German editors. Prof. Jebb has given a reason for believing the passage to be genuine, which seems to us as conclusive as it is acute. What interpolator would have thought of introducing the pathetic pleonasm in the words which we have italicised? The third clause touchingly iterates the sense of the first. This delicate piece of work comes from no common workshop, and commends itself to no common mind. It comes out of the air, in which great poets delicately walk, and is almost intangible. Interpolators are made of sterner stuff. A similar pathetic iteration meets us in the 'Œdipus Tyrannus' (v. 1463), where the King bespeaks Creon's protection for his two little girls 'who never knew my table spread apart from them; *mine aloof from them.*'*

To dwell for a very little on minute points, we would draw attention to Prof. Jebb's observation that the same petulant exclamation, 'Ha! Say'st thou?' marks the climax of the anger of Teiresias in the 'Œdipus Rex,' and of Creon in the 'Antigone';† and that a certain hardness of feeling appears in the phrase of Jocasta ('Œd. R.' 987), 'Howbeit thy father's death is a great sign to cheer us': she was softened by fear for Œdipus and the State; now she is elated. Again in the same play (1037), when Œdipus cries, 'Oh, for the gods' love—was the deed my mother's or father's?' the Editor points out that the question is not the insignificant one whether it was his father or his mother who inflicted the mutilation which gave Œdipus his name, but the touching enquiry whether it was at the hands of his father or mother (or, on the contrary, at the hands of strangers) that he received this brand. In the 'Œdipus Coloneus,' v. 1680, Antigone, speaking of her father's death, which was sudden yet not violent, says that 'death met him not in war or on the deep.' But the comment of the scholiast seems to show that he had

* Dr. Kennedy, to whom we owe many valuable comments on Sophocles, gives a strangely frigid meaning to this passage. He understands the final words to mean 'without my special orders': Œdipus would then say that his daughters always dined with him, 'except when I gave special directions to the contrary.' This would certainly add to the accuracy of the statement of Œdipus, but Œdipus was not in a state of mind to aim at accuracy. A like difficulty besets Dr. Kennedy's view of the reading in 'Œd. R.' 1526. We must suppose the Chorus suddenly inspired by a desire to make a broadly true statement perfectly accurate by the insertion of a qualifying clause. But the tragic poet will generally find minute accuracy to be, like 'the idiot laughter,'

'A passion hateful to his purposes.'

† ἄληθες. (Œd. R. 350; Ant. 758.)

before

before him some word not meaning 'the deep' (*πόντος*), but *sickness*. Wecklein, with that bluntness of perception which sometimes characterizes German criticism, suggests *fever* (*πυρετός*). 'This,' writes Professor Jebb, 'is too specific, as if one said, *Neither the War-God nor typhoid*.' Even the splendid ode in praise of Colonus in this play takes on a new beauty, when we are reminded that the period of the year when the nightingale's song would first be heard in Attica coincides with the time, the end of March and beginning of April, when the great Dionysia were held at Athens; so that the spectators could hear 'the nightingale, a constant guest, trill her clear note in the covert of green glades,' while their eyes wandered over the olive-groves, the hills, and the distant girdle of mountains, and could catch at one point even a broad stretch of blue sea.

We sometimes find in books on Greek literature a tendency to disparage Sophocles as one who showed a marked lack of military capacity. Æschylus, we know, fought at Marathon and Salamis; but, though Sophocles was one of the *Strategi*, we do not hear that he showed any of the qualities of a general: we only read that he was genial and popular with his colleagues and associates; hence, it is inferred, he was 'no soldier.' This way of looking at the matter is akin to that which, according to 'Punch,' led the German to figure to his mind's eye the Right Honourable Mr. Smith, when he was Secretary of State for War, as a warrior bristling with offensive and defensive armour, and tugging fiercely at a huge martial moustache. In this matter let Prof. Jebb place us at the Athenian point of view:—

'Assuming, then, that the "Antigone" was brought out not long before Sophocles obtained the *strategia*, we have still to consider whether there is any likelihood in the story that his election was influenced by the success of the play. At first sight a modern reader is apt to be reminded of a man of letters who, in the opinion of his admirer, would have been competent at the shortest notice to assume the command of the Channel Fleet. It may appear grotesque that an important State should have rewarded poetical genius by a similar appointment. But here, as in other cases, we must endeavour to place ourselves at the old Athenian point of view. The word "general," by which we render "*strategus*," suggests functions purely military, requiring for their proper discharge an elaborate professional training. Such a conception of the Athenian *strategia* would not, however, be accurate. The ten *strategi*, chosen annually, formed a board of which the duties were primarily military, but also in part civil. And for the majority of the ten the military duties were usually restricted to the exercise of control and supervision at

Athens. They resembled officials at the War Office, with some added functions from the province of the Home Office. The number of strategi sent out with an army or a fleet was at this period seldom more than three. It was only in grave emergencies that all the ten strategi went on active service together. In May 441 B.C.—the time, as it seems, when Sophocles was elected—no one could have foreseen the great crisis at Samos. In an ordinary year Sophocles, as one of the strategi, would not have been required to leave Athens. Among his nine colleagues there were doubtless, besides Pericles, one or two more possessed of military aptitudes, who would have sufficed to perform any ordinary service in the field. Demosthenes—in whose day only one of the ten strategi was ordinarily commissioned for war—describes the other nine as occupied, among other things, with arranging the processions for the great religious festivals at Athens. He deplores, indeed, that they should be so employed; but it is certain that it had long been one duty of these high officials to help in organizing the great ceremonies. We are reminded how suitable such a sphere of duty would have been for Sophocles, who in his boyhood is said to have led the chorus which celebrated the battle of Salamis—and we seem to win a new light on the meaning of his appointment to the strategia. In so far as a strategus had to do with public ceremonies and festivals, a man with the personal gifts of Sophocles could hardly have strengthened his claim better than by a brilliant success at the Dionysia. The mode of election was favourable to such a man. It was by show of hands in the Ecclesia. If the “Antigone” was produced at the Great Dionysia late in March, it is perfectly intelligible that the poet’s splendid dramatic triumph should have contributed to his election in the following May.’

To enter minutely into a discussion of the characters introduced into these plays would require far more space than we have at our disposal; and in some of them, especially the character of Antigone, analysis has been pursued too far by some historians of literature, and has been founded on mistaken principles by others. They have been misled by not being able to place themselves at the ancient point of view. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how ancient tragedy, which is such an enduring monument of Attic genius, achieved such a position without drawing from the chief sources from which modern tragedy derives its interest. The plots were well known to the spectator at the Dionysia, and some of them—it must be owned—contained, like all folklore, some dross of triviality mingled with the gold of fancy. The whole story of the riddle of the Sphinx is redolent of the nursery, and there was a childish pendant to the CEdipodean myth, according to which CEdipus in his seclusion, after he had blinded himself, cursed his sons because, contrary to his interdict, they had served him with the silver

silver table and golden cup belonging to his father; and repeated the imprecation on another occasion when his sons sent him from the altar the buttock of the victim instead of the shoulder. Not only were the plots hackneyed and sometimes trifling, but the analysis of the passion of love, on which the modern drama almost wholly depends, was absent from Greek tragedy at its perfection. Æschylus follows Homer; it no more occurs to him to dwell on the passion of Clytæmnestra for Ægisthus, than it occurred to Homer to analyse the feelings of Helen and Paris. It is only the consequences of the passion that have an interest, and lend themselves to epic or dramatic treatment. In Homer love is almost savage; the woman is little more than a chattel; Penelope's *dot* is more than Penelope; and the pathos in the death of a young warrior, who was cut off in battle ere ever he possessed his bride, is found in the fact that he had incurred considerable expense in procuring her. In Æschylus it is cosmical. In one of the fragments of his lost plays he puts into the mouth of Aphrodite herself a passage which describes love as a cosmic force, and reminds us of the Lucretian invocation of *Æneadum genetriz*. In Sophocles it comes into the sphere of humanity, but only as a cause of effects, as a factor in the evolution of destiny. In the hands of Euripides for the first time it is a passion worth studying, analysing, and dissecting for its own intrinsic interest. Hence, if the influence of passion on the female mind is widely different in Sophocles and Euripides, it is not because these poets take a different view of the female mind, but because they have a completely different theory as to how far the influence of love on it should be made the object of dramatic treatment. Æschylus is made by Aristophanes to boast that he never depicted a woman in love. Sophocles does not analyse the passion of Antigone for Hæmon. Love returned, love repelled,—on these themes Euripides dwelt with loving hand, and drew down on himself the denunciations of Aristophanes in the 'Thesmophoriazuzæ' and the 'Frogs.' In the former play, after appearing successively as Menelaus, Echo, and Perseus, Euripides finally transforms himself into an old procuress. This, according to the comic poet, is the last incarnation of Euripides. This is the penalty which he paid for bringing into a prominence, not before accorded to it, a passion which has ever since been a well-nigh essential ingredient in poetry, the drama, and the romance.

We may now glance briefly at certain peculiarities which mark the ancient method of dealing with the portraiture of character,

and point out how far in this and other matters the ancient poets recognized the obligation to keep within the bounds of probability and consistency. Ancient tragedy admits almost any conceivable violation of the laws of probability, provided that violation lies outside the limits of the play, outside the period embraced by the action of the piece. For instance, in the 'Agamemnon' of Æschylus, almost immediately after the beacon-signal has announced the fall of Troy, we hear of the arrival of Agamemnon himself, though we learn that the return of the Grecian army from Troy was impeded by a tremendous storm which destroyed nearly the whole of the fleet. So in the 'Œdipus Rex,' to which Aristotle gives the palm for construction above all the tragedies known to him, the difficulties outside the play are very great, but they do not offend Aristotle because they do not beset anything within the limits of the drama itself. When the action begins, Œdipus must have occupied the throne of Thebes for at least sixteen years; for Antigone and Ismene, when they appear in the last scene, seem to be children of from ten to twelve years of age, and the two brothers were older. So the plague, which visited the city as a token of the divine wrath for the murder of Laius, was not sent until sixteen years after the crime was committed. And how did it happen that, during all those years, Jocasta had never questioned her husband about his past life, the story of which she hears from him for the first time during the progress of the play? And why had not Œdipus asked even what was the personal appearance of his predecessor Laius, or what were the circumstances of his death? To a Greek tragic poet such questions would give no concern; they refer only to matters outside the scope of the action,—ἐξω τῆς τραγῳδίας, as Aristotle expresses it. In obedience to a similar view concerning the obligations of art, Greek tragedy demands from each character consistency with itself only within the limits of each play; in different plays it may assume new, if not contrary, qualities. If we take the three Theban dramas in the order of their appearance, and consider the character in them which is common to them all, we shall find that in the first, the 'Antigone,' when Creon is an old man, he is perversely rigorous. He bursts into invectives against the chorus, when they suggest that the mysterious funeral honours paid to Polynices may have come from the miraculous interference of the Gods: 'Cease,' he cries, 'ere thou fill me to overflowing with wrath.' He goads his son to madness with his taunts; and at first he meets the warnings of Teiresias, by swearing that he will

will never suffer the burial of Polynices, 'not though the eagles of Zeus should bear the carrion morsels to their Master's throne.' Finally it is only through base fear of the consequences that he consents too late to remit the cruel doom of Antigone. In the second of the plays, 'Œdipus Rex,' Creon is the patient object of the unjust suspicions of Œdipus. When the tragedy has reached its height, when Jocasta has destroyed herself, and Œdipus has put out his eyes, the language of Creon is noble and magnanimous: 'I have not come to mock thee, Œdipus, nor to reproach thee with a bygone fault': * though he is not so generous afterwards when he reminds Œdipus that he, above all men, has reason to be a believer in the fulfilment of prophecy; † and again, ‡ that he must not count on good fortune as likely to abide with him,—he had already won it, and it had deserted him at his need. In the 'Œdipus Coloneus,' which appeared last of the three plays, and which deals with a period intermediate between the other two, Creon is a ruffian without a redeeming trait. There is not a trace of the reasonableness of the Creon of the 'Œdipus Rex'; and the narrow but not malevolent rigour which he shows in the 'Antigone,' certainly does not prepare us for the coarse truculence with which he receives the dignified refusal of Œdipus to accompany him to Thebes, nor for his subsequent sulky submission to Creon. The tone of the refusal of Œdipus is curiously suggestive of Dr. Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield. Creon had sought to cloak under the guise of kindness his desire to secure for Thebes the blessings which, according to prophecy, should accrue to the land which should be the burial-place of Œdipus. The latter thus receives his overtures:—

'What joy is there here—in kindness shown to us against our will? As if a man should give thee no gift, bring thee no aid, when thou wert fain of the boon; but after thy soul's desire was sated should grant it them, when the grace could be gracious no more: wouldst thou not find that pleasure vain?'

It has often been remarked that Euripides is prone to introduce into his plays persons of humble position, and to put into their mouths homely sentiments and expressions suited to their low estate. Æschylus and Sophocles, though far more sparingly, have recourse sometimes to the same source of dramatic *vraisemblance*. The Nurse in the 'Choëphoræ' is nearly as garrulous as the Nurse in 'Romeo and Juliet,' and the reader will at once call

* v. 1422.

† v. 1445.

‡ v. 1523.

to mind the homely diction of the Watchman in the 'Agamemnon,' when he says that the beacon-light which announced the fall of Troy was to him 'a throw of triple-sixes' for luck. In the same way Sophocles makes his Watchman in the 'Antigone' adopt a comic vein on his first entrance. Surely this ('Ant.' 223-236) is designedly comic:—

'My liege, I will not say that I come breathless from speed, or that I have plied a nimble foot; for often did my thoughts make me pause and wheel round in my path, to return. My mind was holding large discourse with me: "Fool, why goest thou to thy certain doom?" "Wretch, tarrying again? And if Creon heard this from another, must not thou smart for it?" So debating, I took my time about hurrying,* and thus a short road was made long. At last, however, it carried the day that I should come thither—to thee; and though my tale be nought, yet will I tell it; for I come with a good grip on one hope,—that I can suffer nothing but what is my fate.'

Does not this pretentious prattle strongly remind one of the first appearance of Launcelot Gobbo ('Merchant of Venice,' ii. 2) in the scene beginning—

'Certainly my conscience will serve me to run away from this Jew my master. The fiend is at my elbow, and tempts me . . . My conscience says, "Launcelot, budge not." "Budge," says the fiend. "Budge not," says my conscience.'

In 'Œdipus Rex,' 337 f., there is a marvellous specimen of the poet's art. Teiresias uses words which have one meaning for Œdipus and another for the audience: 'Thou blamest my temper, but what thou hast in thy bosom thou knowest not.' By 'what thou hast in thy bosom' Œdipus would understand Teiresias to mean 'the wrath which thou hast in thy bosom,' that wrath which the Seer had upbraided in the King; but the audience would see that the real allusion was to his incestuous union with his mother, 'thou knowest not what wife thou hast in thy bosom.' In Greek not only a wife but a wrathful mood may be said to 'be taken to one's bosom' (ὁμοῦ valeiv). Locke, in a quaint passage,† has a very similar play of fancy:—

'Nothing being so beautiful to the eye as truth is to the mind, nothing is so deformed and irreconcilable to the understanding as a lie. For though a man may with satisfaction enough own a no-very-handsome wife in his bosom, yet who is bold enough openly

* We read here *ἤντρον σχολῇ ταχὺς* with the margin of L, regarding this as a designedly comic expression, 'twas but a laggard haste I made,' 'I took my time about hurrying.' The rest of the version is Professor Jebb's.

† 'Essay on Human Understanding,' Book iv., ch. 3, § 20.

to avow that he has espoused a falsehood, and received into his breast so ugly a thing as a lie?'

There is a certain construction recognized by grammarians as forming a feature in Attic usage, whereby between the object and its governing verb are inserted words which must be regarded as parenthetical in the construction, and as not influencing (though they seem to influence) the object of the sentence. This 'non-intervention' construction (*διὰ μέσου*, grammarians call it) is very alien from English usage. Indeed we doubt if we could illustrate it at all except by citing the (probably mythical) advocate, who is reported to have said, 'Oh yes, indeed, your Lordship is quite right, and I am quite wrong, as your Lordship generally is.' But in Greek it is common enough. Prof. Jebb considers that in many cases the applicability of this principle breaks down on closer scrutiny, and, as regards the places to which he refers, his remark is fully justified. We would, however, invite him to consider whether the *διὰ μέσου* theory ought not to be applied to three passages in these plays. In the first* it seems required by the construction, and in the two others† it would obviate a change in the manuscript reading.

In textual criticism Prof. Jebb may be pronounced to be conservative in the best—the only just—sense of the word. He will not revolutionize either the reading or the interpretation of a passage, unless he can make an unanswerable appeal either to the laws of grammar or to the canons of taste. In applying the latter, an Editor should be very cautious. He should approach the ancient masterpiece with the feelings of Marcellus in 'Hamlet' towards the Ghost of 'buried Denmark':—

'We do it wrong, being so majestic,
To offer it the show of violence.'

For his own statement of his views on this subject we must refer our readers to his admirably judicious observations in his Introductions to 'Ædipus Rex' (pp. lvii.–lix.) and to 'Ædipus Coloneus' (pp. lii., liii.). We would gladly quote the passages, but that the limits of an article in a Review entirely preclude

* 'Æd. Rex.' 1093, where unless *καὶ χορεύεσθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν* is *διὰ μέσου* there is no construction for *φύροντα*.

† 'Æd. Col.' 161, *τῶν ξένη πάμπωρ' εὖ φύλαξαι μετάδοσθαι*. Prof. Jebb changes *τῶν* to *τὸ* because *φυλάσσεσθαι*, 'to guard against,' takes the accusative, but *τῶν* may be governed by *μετάδοσθαι*, the intervening words being *διὰ μέσου*, 'from which (beware, poor wanderer) avaunt!' The third is 'Ant.' 1102, *καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπαινέεις καὶ δοκεῖς παρειαθεῖν*, where Prof. Jebb reads *δοκεῖ*: but if *καὶ δοκεῖς* be regarded as *διὰ μέσου* there is no need for change, 'and dost advise—and think'st I will—a yielding in this matter?' The validity of the construction is, of course, not denied, and it is applied to several places even in Attic prose, in Plato and the Orators especially.

such large extracts, especially from works which we trust are in the hands of all who have a real interest in the progress of classical learning. But we must lay before our readers a few of his excellent remarks in the Introduction to the 'Œdipus Rex' (p. lvii.), because we mean to appeal to them against his treatment of a passage in the 'Antigone,' the only place in which he seems to us not to have carried out thoroughly the principles which he has so clearly laid down:—

'The use of conjecture is a question on which an editor must be prepared to meet with large differences of opinion, and must be content if the credit is conceded to him of having steadily acted to the best of his judgment. All students of Sophocles would probably agree at least in this, that his text is one in which conjectural emendation should be admitted only with the utmost caution. His style is not seldom analogous to Virgil in this respect, that when his instinct felt a phrase to be truly and finely expressive he left the logical analysis of it to the discretion of grammarians then unborn. Such a style may easily provoke the heavy hand of prosaic correction; and, if it requires sympathy to interpret and defend it, it also requires, when it has once been marred, a very tender and very temperate touch in any attempt to restore it. Then in the lyric parts of his plays Sophocles is characterized by tones of feeling and passion which change with the most rapid sensibility—by boldness and sometimes confusion of metaphor—and by occasional indistinctness of imagery, as if the figurative notion was suddenly crossed in his mind by the literal.'

These last words seem to us to describe with wonderful felicity the mind of Sophocles as it worked on the passage to which we refer, and in which we think the Editor has needlessly abandoned the tradition of the manuscripts, and has acquiesced in a time-honoured conjecture which seems to have occurred independently to several scholars, but which is, in our judgment, not only unnecessary but positively objectionable. Sophocles, in a wildly impassioned lyric, makes the Chorus deplore ('Ant.' 599–604) that the ray of hope (the survival of Antigone and Ismene) which was shed above the last root of the house of Œdipus, is now extinguished by the heroic contumacy of Antigone. But the spiritual excitement of the Chorus forces them into a hurly-burly of metaphor which would now be condemned, but which seemed to the ancient Greek (rightly, we think) to convey well a tumult of feeling. What the Chorus say is:—

'Now that ray of hope, which was shed above the last root of the house of Œdipus, is mowed down in its turn by—a handful of bloody

* With the reading of the MSS. *κόμισ*, not the conjecture *κωμίσ*.

dust due to the gods below, wild whirling words, and a fury in the heart.'*

The passage is aglow with all the hues of a heated fancy. The ray of hope is figured as a gleam of light above a plant. A word is applied to the ray of hope which is strictly suitable only to the plant. It is said to be 'cut down.' By what? By the act of Antigone—the dust cast on her brother's blood-stained corse, her wild words of defiance to Creon, and the desperate resolve which upheld her. But, as the hope is said to be 'cut down,' the editors, with hardly an exception, demand something which cuts. They regard *κόμης*, 'dust,' as an error, and read instead of it *κοπίς*, 'a cleaver' or 'chopper.' This change, in our mind, takes away a great deal of the sublimity of the passage, if indeed it does not rob it of dignity altogether, and still leaves behind a confusion of metaphor, for a light would naturally be said to be hidden, or extinguished, rather than 'mowed down.' We do not think that confusion of metaphor is alien from Greek lyric poetry, but, on the contrary, quite characteristic of it, conspicuously so in the hands of Pindar and Æschylus, from whom it would be easy to cite metaphors as mixed as that which we are now considering. Of course the question how far such a licence in the use of language may fitly be carried, must be decided in each case by an appeal to the critic's taste and sense of fitness. Here the indistinctness of the imagery seems to us to be quite in keeping with the mood of the Chorus. But the conjecture, *κοπίς*, is in itself objectionable. There is nothing in the passages where the word occurs to show that it was not a homely weapon, such as 'a cleaver' or 'a chopper,' or at best 'a bill,' and we do not know that this word would not have sounded to Attic ears almost ludicrous in a highly-wrought passage like this.† The poetical aspirant in Lewis Carroll's poem was grieved when told that there was some hidden want in

'The wild man went his weary way
To a sad and lonely pump.'

We are not satisfied that a *κοπίς* is not as alien from dignified poetry as a pump. If this were so, we could hardly over-estimate the havoc which such a word would work in a lyrical passage of a very elevated tone. Let us think what

* Lord Tennyson has a similar expression in the 'Sailor Boy':—

'A devil rises in my heart
Far worse than any death to me.'

† A like objection may be urged against *μόθων*, a conjecture which has ousted *νόθων* of the MSS. in Eur. 'Bacch.,' 1060.

would

would be the effect of the substitution of *chopper* for *axe* in Andrew Marvell's fine description of the demeanour of Charles I. on the scaffold :

‘He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try.’

It is possible that the introduction of *κοπίς* into the wail of the Chorus might be even more fatal to the effect—as fatal as if Macbeth should cry,

‘The beer of Life is drawn, and the mere lees
Is left this vault to brag of;’

or Swinburne should apostrophise ‘Dolores’ as

‘Young, but with fancies as hoary
And grey as a badger.’

Plainly, then, the admissibility of *κοπίς* as a conjectural emendation turns on the question whether it can be proved to be a dignified expression—a word with the connotation of *axe* rather than *chopper*. We cannot find any really trustworthy credentials for the word in any commentary on this passage. The word is common as a kitchen utensil, and gave its name to the Helots’ Festival at Sparta. In Euripides (*‘Electra,’* 810 ff.) a sacrifice is described, in which Ægisthus slays the victim with a knife (*σφαγίς*), then Orestes asks for a cleaver or chopper (*κοπίς*) to cut open the brisket. Plutarch tells us that Demosthenes used to call Phocion ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπίς. This is usually translated ‘the pruner of my periods.’ But such a rendering is quite erroneous. The word does not mean a ‘pruning-knife,’ which is *δρέπανον* (Plat. *‘Rep.’* i. 353); and, if it did, no word could be more inapplicable to the oratory of Demosthenes, who beyond all orators, past or present, is absolutely free from redundancy, and never admits of pruning. It is indeed the chasteness of the eloquence of Demosthenes which often conceals from the modern reader his greatness as an orator. What Demosthenes meant when he called Phocion ‘the *κοπίς* of his arguments,’ was that the plain matter-of-fact common sense of Phocion often gave a ‘knock-down blow’ to his own arguments and appeals, which would easily have withstood the assaults of the sophistry and vulgar rhetoric of his other opponents. It is not so long since Lord Palmerston—straw in mouth, and thumbs in the arm-holes of his waistcoat—used to direct a *douche* of common sense on the fires of Parliamentary rhetoric. Such a speaker was Phocion, and the cleaver

cleaver of his home-spun mother-wit was more formidable than the flaming sword of eloquence or the nimble rapier of dialectics.

The ancients are far less prone than the moderns to beat out the gold of fancy into a thin leaf. Shakspeare, it is true, will compress into an epithet the materials for a sonnet, as when Lear says, 'Down, thou *climbing* sorrow.' But his successors are not so lavish, and make their material go further. Moore diffuses into four lines what Sophocles packs into one word, *πολύπλαγκτος*, 'flitting':—

'Has Hope, like the bird in the story,
That flitted from tree to tree
With the talisman's glittering glory,
Has Hope been that bird to thee?'

Æschylus is contented merely to allude in a word * to the 'sullen seclusion' which seems to give personality and volition to the lonely peak. Lord Tennyson in the 'Talking Oak,' and Horace in one of his 'Odes,' devote a couple of verses to the expression of a thought which Sophocles conveys in one epithet, 'colt-like' (*ἄμπιπος*) o'er the steep hill, when he gives us ('Ant.' 985 ff.) that wonderful little vignette of the daughter of Boreas who was nursed in a cave remote amid the storms of her sire, and yet Fate found her out, and prevailed against her, and made her a hapless and scorned wife, and mother of a persecuted brood.

To put aside the scores of places in which Prof. Jebb has exercised perfect judgment in embodying in his text the suggestions of other scholars, and to choose among his own only those which are at the same time most striking and most certain, we would point especially to 'Œdipus Rex,' 1218, where his brilliant emendation † must, in our opinion, supersede all other attempts to restore the text; and to 'Œd. Col.' 541, where by a very slight modification of the reading of the manuscripts ‡ he has set right a most perplexing passage, and restored beyond all reasonable doubt the very words of the poet. We would also express our conviction that he has completely solved the problem presented by 'Œd. R.' 622–627, by the very slight change of *ὄταν* to *ὥς ἄν*, and by dividing the lines differently between

* *οἰόφρων*. ('Suppluces,' 795.)

† *ὥσπερ ἰδλεμον χίων* for *ὥς περίαλλα* (or *περίαλα*) *ιαχέων*.

‡ *ἐπωφελήσας* for *ἐπωφέλησα*. He shows that in wishes the Greek idiom does not demand a finite verb, or, in other words, that the wish may be expressed in the infinitive depending on some such word as *ἔφελον*, understood. Such an infinitive is *ἐξελεσθαι* in this passage. The corruption arose from a misapprehension, natural in the copyists, of this nicety of Greek idiom.

Œdipus and Creon. This, indeed, involves the hypothesis that a line has fallen out in the passage, but it provides connexion for the thought and construction for the language. The ordinary view of the passage, we may say, dispenses with a construction; for who will grant that words which mean 'what kind of thing envy is,'* can be rendered as if they meant 'what is the nature of your grudge against me'? We would suggest that the verse which fell out may have been very similar in form to the preceding verse, which would, of course, increase the chance of its being omitted by the copyists. It might have run

οὐχ ὥσθ' ὑπείκειν μ' οὐδὲ πιστεύειν λέγεις.

('Thou lead'st me not to yield or to believe.')

The question of Creon which precedes the lost verse is

ὥς οὐχ ὑπείξων οὐδὲ πιστεύσων λέγεις;

('Speak'st thou as one who'll yield not nor believe?')

His other valuable contributions to the settling of the text of these plays would more appropriately find mention in a periodical devoted especially to recording the progress made in classical studies. Several of these seem certain to us, some even of those to which he has denied a place in the text, contenting himself with a modest mention of them in the notes.†

We have, unquestionably, in this edition of Sophocles, so far as it has proceeded, a splendid example of the work which can be done by the English school of classics at its best; and we have no doubt that the rest of the edition will confirm the judgment which must be pronounced by all competent critics on the treatment of the three great Theban dramas. The combination in one person of such scholarship, literary excellence, and critical refinement must always be rare; but we hope that English scholars will keep Prof. Jebb's work before their eyes as an ideal to be aimed at, and as a model of what the editing of the classics in England ought to be.

* οἷόν ἐστι τὸ φθονεῖν.

† E.g. *μονάδα* for *νομάδα*. ('Ed. Rex,' 1350.)

- ART. VII.—1. *Les Gascons en Italie*. Par Paul Durrieu. Auch, 1885.
2. *Journal de Jean le Fèvre*, publié par H. Moranville. Paris, 1887, et seq.
3. *Les ducs d'Orléans*. Par A. Champollion-Figeac. Paris, 1844.
4. *Le Mariage de Louis d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti*. Par M. Faucon. Paris, 1882.
5. *Le duc Louis d'Orléans, père du roi Charles VI.: ses entreprises au dehors du royaume*. Par le comte Albert de Circourt, 'Revue des Questions historiques,' July 1887, Jan. 1889, July 1889.
6. *Les ducs d'Orléans en Lombardie*. Par R. de Maulde, 'Revue d'Histoire diplomatique,' Jan. 1888.
7. *Gli Astigiani sotto la dominazione straniera*. Per C. Vassallo. Florence, 1878.
8. *La France en Orient au XIV^e Siècle*. Par H. Delaville le Roulx. Paris, 1887.
9. *L'Influence politique Française en Italie avant Charles VIII.: Introduction à l'Expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie*. Par H. F. Delaborde. Paris, 1888.
10. *La Vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans*. Par E. Jarry. Paris, 1889.
11. *Nuovi documenti Viscontei tratti dell' Archivio Notabile de Pavia*. Per Giacinto Romano. Milan, 1889.
12. *La Cartella del Notaio C. Cristiani nell' Archivio di Pavia*. Per G. Romano. Milan, 1889.

THE present is haunted by the ghosts of the past. The dim survival of ideas, no longer recognized, influences the history of every age. Motives, of which the present loses count, have gone to shape the being of the present; and in order to understand any given moment of history we should add to the facts of the case an acquaintance with the ideas of preceding generations. Otherwise how tangled appear the intricacies of a movement to be explained by no existing policy! How mere a chaos of dates and battles are the French wars in Italy, for instance, in the period we review to-day; or again, in the end of the fifteenth century; and under Francis I., and under Napoleon! But by searching backwards we find the idea that animates a seemingly incoherent bulk of facts, and lo! the thing moves and marches with a life and a purpose of its own.

The possession of Italy was in the eyes of France the first step towards a Monarchy of Europe, to which, at many times, she

she proposed to add the Empire of the East. Before the development of the idea of Nationality, the idea of *Monarchia* ruled the Middle Age; it was a theory of peace secured by the unquestioned supremacy of a sovereign State. From the fall of the House of Hohenstaufen till the days of Charles V., the Holy Roman Empire was no fit depository of the duties and responsibilities of *Monarchia*. And to whom should such a Monarchy belong more fitly than to the successor of Charlemagne? 'France desires not merely the Papacy, but the Universal Monarchy of the globe,' wrote Pope Urban to the Emperor in 1382. We find the phrase repeated a century later, in the panic of Spain, of Venice, of England, of the Empire, when, in 1494, Pope and Emperor were alike considered doomed, to be replaced by candidates more pleasing to the Second Charlemagne. Europe witnessed with scarcely less dismay the early triumphs of Francis I.; and when she bowed before the progress of Napoleon, she felt, though she knew no longer, that for centuries the Monarchy of France had been a threatening terror. And the unrecognized expectation of centuries gave to victor and to vanquished the sense of an inevitable destiny.

In the period we review to-day, 1379-1415, men did not ignore the motive which inspired the Italian policy of France. Whenever the irruption of the English ceased for an instant to engage the strength of her neighbours, the French King began to dream again of Charlemagne, and his statesmen to whisper of *Monarchia*.

The outbreak of the great Schism favoured their illusion. The Clementines did not acknowledge Wenzel for their Emperor; and Clement repeatedly administered Imperial fiefs, declaring the Empire vacant. It was natural that the French looked forward to the day when their arms should bring their candidate in triumph to his see of Rome; when he should reward their monarch with the crown of Charlemagne, and depose the champion of Urban. 'And if the French usurp the Empire, next they will take the whole world, and come at last to England;' so wrote the Roman Pope to Richard II. in 1391. Italy, Rome, Europe, the Empire of the East! Such was the vision of *Monarchia*, which animated the Italian policy of France, from the opening of the Schism; until, in 1415, the Council of Constance put an end to the pretensions of the Antipope, and the battle of Agincourt to the pretensions of the French. The dream of French supremacy did not die there: it went into captivity with the House of Orleans, with Marshal Boucicaut. But when, at the end of the century, the ghost of Charlemagne should again ride over Europe before the Kings
of

of France, he should ride alone, no French Pope at his side. The more familiar glories of the French under Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I., were really less ambitious than the projects of their ancestors.

With the help of the important works placed at the head of the present article, supplemented by our own researches among the original documents preserved in the national collections of Paris, London, and Florence,* we now proceed to trace the Italian policy of France under Charles VI.—a policy which we have already defined as the project of a monarchy of Europe. It divides itself into three movements—the first led by Louis of Anjou, the second by Louis of Orleans, the last by Marshal Boucicaut.

I. We have always thought that Gregory XI. transferred the papal see from Avignon to Rome in obedience to the voice of St. Catherine of Siena. M. Jarry moderates our conviction. It is indeed most probable that the voice of Catherine attracted the Pope to Italy, aroused his conscience, and deeply stirred him. But M. Jarry shows us that a difference with the King of France made a further residence at Avignon no longer consistent with the most fragmentary independence. Gregory's difference with the King of France concerned the succession to Naples, which Charles V. coveted for his second son. He had made France strong, and driven the English out of their recent conquests. In 1374 Bordeaux and Bayonne were all that remained of their possessions in Southern France. This new France must remain united: Charles desired to leave it entirely to his elder son. He could not undo the work of his life—he could not endure to sequester so much as a single province for his second son. For Louis he desired a kingdom in Italy, and the still foreign county of Provence.

Naples was occupied by a distant cousin of the King's, Queen Jeanne of Anjou; but Charles knew that her claim was disputed by their common cousin, another Anjou, the King of Hungary. This King of Hungary had three daughters. Nothing seemed simpler to the two kings than to marry the infant prince

* London: Brit. Mus. MSS. Additional, 30,669 and 30,662, various folios.

Paris: Bib. Nat. MSS. (*Household of Orleans*), Inventaires de Joursanvault, 6210, No. 515 et seq. Arch. Nat. MSS. (*Marriage of Valentine Visconti*), Cartons J 409 and K 553; (*Accounts of Asti and Savona*), Carton KK 315; (*Kingdom of Adria*), Carton J 495; (*Affairs of Genoa*), Carton J 497, No. 15; (*Royal Purchase of Pisa from Orleans*), Carton K 54, No. 37.

Florence: Archives of the Uffizj (*Affairs of Boucicaut*), Dieci di Balia, classe x. dist. iii., No. 2; Filze xx., xxi. and xxii. della Signoria; Signori, Cart. MSS. Reg. i., Cancelleria 22-27; Filze I. & II. dei Dieci.

in Paris to the second princess at Buda, and to dower the little girl with the kingdom of Sicily, Naples, Apulia, Salerno, Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont. It was only necessary that the Pope should consent to destitute Queen Jeanne. But, to the amazement of King Charles, the good Gregory refused to do anything of the sort, acquainted Queen Jeanne with the whole affair, and prepared to retire to Rome. Vainly the King's brother Louis posted to Avignon on the eve of his departure, and implored him to remain. Gregory returned to Rome, only to die in the barbarous foreign city—only to leave behind him as a legacy the Schism.

His action had, however, been decisive. When the first little Hungarian *fiancée* died, King Charles proposed that her elder sister should take her place, and the child Louis succeed, not to Naples, but to Hungary. As for Naples, the French began to indulge in quite other plans for its acquisition.

After the death of Gregory, an Italian Pope was elected in Rome. But the intolerable character of Pope Urban reminded the Cardinals of a certain informality in his election, and at Fondi, in the autumn of 1378, the French Cardinals elected Count Robert of Geneva Pope, as Clement VII. Urban was an Italian. The enthusiasm of St. Catherine had rendered him popular among the people. Italy and Hungary were for Urban. France decided for Clement, and, probably out of gratitude to the late Pope at Avignon, Naples gave in her adhesion. Thus, four years after the scheme of the Franco-Hungarian match, there was a great change of partners. Naples and France were now allied together against Hungary. The two candidates were forced to a civil war, and at Marino the French Pope was utterly put to rout.

Clement was too experienced a captain to attempt the impossible. He retreated from the Roman marshes upon Naples, to bide his time and make a stronger effort. France must come to his aid; and Clement bethought him of that elder of the King's brothers who had come, four years before, to Avignon.

This was Louis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V., a distant cousin of the sovereigns of Hungary and Naples—his great-grandmother, Margaret of Naples, having brought the title to his line. Louis was a man of middle age, brave, astute, loving adventures; but he was also exceedingly avaricious; he was not the man to invade a hostile country out of pure love of the Church.

During his flight from the Campagna, Pope Clement meditated how to secure the services of this deliverer. He was willing to risk a great deal on the chance of victory. In fact
he

he did risk a great deal. At Sperlonga, where he halted on the 15th of May, 1379, he, without consent or counsel of a single Cardinal, drew up a secret instrument constituting a kingdom for his champion, a kingdom to be called *Adria*, which should comprise the greater portion of the Papal States.

The Pope was almost alone. The fact that he signed away so large a part of the Church's heritage became in after days to him the occasion of true remorse. At the moment he excused his rashness by the reflection that the greater part of these territories was in the hands of petty tyrants. But Clement cannot so soon have forgotten the campaign of Robert of Geneva: he knew that many petty tyrants may be vanquished by a militant Pope. The tyrant that he proposed to give to the lands of the Church was one far otherwise redoubtable: the very Defender of the Faith himself, the brother of the King of France.

The kingdom of *Adria* was to consist of the whole Adriatic littoral of the Papal States, from Ferrara in the north to the frontiers of the Kingdom of Naples; its eastern boundary should be the sea. Starting from the Neapolitan frontier in the south, by Rieti and Orvieto, it ascended the Apennine ridges in the west, shouldered the Garfagnana, and descended to the plain beyond Bologna to the north. There, turning east again above Modena and Ferrara, it regained the Adriatic.

Whoever will have the patience to trace out on a map the kingdom thus indicated, will perceive how important a part of Italy would thus be alienated. A little later, the acquisition of the Mediterranean littoral from Lucca to Provence was intended to complete this earlier design. Provence would belong to Louis of Anjou, King of Sicily (for so ran the historic title of the Kings of Naples); the Genoese littoral would be subject to the Crown, with Pisa and Lucca, under different governors; Bologna and the Adrian kingdom would be ruled by a French prince, either Anjou or Orleans, and would keep the road clear to the kingdom of Naples, another Angevine possession. The student, who has grasped these details, and who is in a position to add to them the theory of the French succession to Milan, has mastered the Italian policy of France from Charles V. to Henri II., with the one striking exception of the reign of Louis XI. That policy had many defects, and among others the gravest of all: it was impossible. Yet recent events have proved that it was based upon solid reasoning. And those who behold the France of to-day suffocated between a United Germany and a United Italy, will hesitate to condemn a line of action which would

have made a French prince Emperor (the Dukes of Burgundy inherited the pretensions of Charles VI.), and which would have divided Italy between the French Pope, the French King of Sicily, the French King of Adria, the French Protectorates of the Riviera, while the French Duke of Milan—or, at least, the Francicized King of Lombardy—remained their ally against the rare and isolated native powers.

Clement signed the Adrian Bull on the 15th of May at Sperlonga. He suggested a few restrictions. Should a woman succeed to Adria, her husband must be chosen by the Pope. The King of Adria might not acquire or inherit the German Empire, the Lombard Kingdom, or the Patrimony of St. Peter. Finally, if the kingdom were not conquered within two years, the whole deed of gift became null and void.*

By the end of the month Clement found himself in Naples under the protection of Queen Giovanna. There he intended to await the Duke of Anjou and his armies. But a tumult arose in the city. In a great national crisis even the prestige of a feudal sovereign is powerless against the passion of a people. Despite the well-known convictions of the Queen, the houses of the Clementine citizens were pillaged, the mob rushed through the streets crying, 'An Urban! an Urban!' The Court itself was declared in danger. Queen Giovanna dared not keep her unpopular guest. In the first days of June, Clement took ship for Avignon, where he was received with reverence by the five Cardinals who had remained in Provence, and where he was joined by the other Cardinals of his allegiance. There, surrounded by his college, the Pope did not venture to revive the Adrian project. And yet, without Anjou, it was impossible to return to Rome. At this moment it so happened that the Pope was enabled to obtain the services of Anjou for himself, and to secure the adherence for ever of the Queen of Naples, without endangering the entirety of the Papal territory.

Carlo della Pace, nephew of Queen Giovanna's dead husband, and heir to the kingdom of Naples, was weary of waiting for his crown. He was an Urbanite; and from that Court of Hungary where he had been educated, the opinion began to filter into Italy, that a schismatic has no right to reign. Carlo filled the Court of his kinsman with the narration of his rights. Perhaps the King of Hungary was not sorry to be quit of this prosperous refugee; for Carlo was alert and popular, above all he was a man; and the Crown of Hungary descended

* 'Litteræ Bullatæ quibus Clemens Papa VII. Regnum Adriæ instituit ac Ludovico Duci Andegavensio tribuit.' (D'Achéry, 'Spicilegium.')

to

to a woman. In any case the King, having exacted from Carlo a vow to put forward no pretensions to the Hungarian throne, supplied him with an army, and despatched him into Italy. In the summer of 1380, Pope Urban proclaimed Carlo his candidate, crowned him King of Naples, and deposed Giovanna as schismatic. Civil war began. The Queen was not popular. There was no one in Italy to stand her friend—no one in Europe, saving the *soi-disant* Pope at Avignon. If Carlo failed, if Carlo were slain in battle, then the old trouble of succession would begin again. France and Hungary would dispute the crown which she must leave to some one, being childless. All she asked was a few years of quiet. But this Carlo denied her. In her perplexity she appealed to Clement.

The Pope at Avignon had a veritable inspiration, one that raised him immediately from the position of a contumacious priest to that of the first diplomatist in Europe. He knew that France desired to obtain the inheritance of Naples and Provence. He knew that Queen Giovanna desired no matter what champion, strong of arm and long of purse. He advised the Queen to disinherit Carlo della Pace, and to adopt in his stead—not the baby prince who had so nearly ousted her from her throne five years ago—but the King of France's brother, the Duke of Anjou.

On the 29th of June, 1380, the Queen took this decision; on the 21st of July the Letters of Adoption were confirmed at Avignon by Clement. On these letters of adoption, confirmed by an Antipope, repose those French claims to Naples which for 150 years to come should disturb the peace of Europe.

So soon as the letters arrived in France, preparations began for the departure of Anjou. The Queen was in the direst peril. There was no time to be lost. In France there were many eager to give the last good speed to Anjou—notably his younger brother, the Duke of Burgundy and his party, jealous of the influence of Anjou. Clement and his Cardinals were no less anxious to hasten him: the triumph of Anjou meant for them the ruin of the Urbanites. The French Pope heaped upon his defender the wealth of the Church, granting him the Peter's pence in all the countries that owned the allegiance of Avignon—that is to say, in France, Naples, Austria, Portugal, and Scotland—and half the ecclesiastical revenues of Castile. More than this; he engaged as surety for the expenses of his champion the very counties of Avignon and Venaissin, the core of the Clementine possessions. The levying of revenues, hiring of captains, furnishing of equipment, were in full train, when, on the 16th

of September, 1380—not two months after the formal adoption of the Duke—the King of France died, and left Anjou Regent of the kingdom.

The King was eleven years old. Anjou, Regent of France, was not his Governor. Charles V. had hoped to guarantee his kingdom against Anjou's immoderate love of money, and Burgundy's immoderate love of praise and power, by leaving the first merely Regent, the second merely guardian of the two little princes and their revenues: trusting thus the power to the miser, the money to the demagogue. He had hoped to secure for his country the advantage of Anjou's imperial scope of policy, and for his children a tutor, brave and stern, in Burgundy. But the people, who love a soldier and hate a miser, sided with Burgundy against the unpopular Regent.

For a year Anjou held out against his brother and against his subjects. But a final revolt proved the impossibility of the situation. In November 1381, the young King was crowned, to the great delight of the people of Paris. He was to reign, but a Council was to govern: a Council of which the Duke of Anjou remained perpetual president. Probably the Duke was not sorry to accept a situation which left him the place of honour while restoring him his liberty. At this moment, Carlo della Pace was besieging Naples. And from all the Clementines in Italy came instant appeals for succour.

At Avignon Clement himself was not less insistent, and implored the Duke to '*procéder virilment et non par allonges*.' But Anjou hesitated. He was no longer in the first flush of his desire; the crown of Sicily seemed less fair and farther off. The danger was great, success uncertain. And it was winter time. The Council itself gave forth no certain voice: 'The enterprise is perilous and doubtful; yet since Monseigneur is so far advanced in the matter, both by promises and otherwise, it is to be counselled that he go first to Avignon and make sure in that place of the Italians, the men of Provence, and others; and also of the Pope himself, as to the moneys that he can furnish.'*

The last sentence touches the real reasons for delay: Provence was nearer than Naples, and that portion of his promised heritage was dearest to the Duke; he wished to be secure of it before passing south. Moreover, despite the accusations of the people, Anjou was pressed for money. The kingdom had not

* '*Journal de Jean le Fèvre*,' Sunday, 5th January, 1382, p. 14.

yet recovered the dreadful days of John the Good. Anjou's Duchy, of which he had enjoyed the possession barely twenty years, had come to him reduced and impoverished, and the building of his enormous castle at Angers must have cost him more than half its revenue. The journal of Jean le Fèvre, through which we gain an inestimable insight into the reality of the Past, is as full of miserable shifts for gaining money as the quasi-official and less intimate chronicle of the Monk of St. Denis is adorned with splendid descriptions and comparisons. Often under their gilded armour the knights of the fourteenth century wore scanty clothing, and endured a fasting stomach. If such was the case with them, still more hungry were their dependants. Jean le Fèvre tells us that, of the hundred golden francs a year promised him by Anjou as the reward of his chancellorship, he received in two and a half years only 120 francs; and after the Duke's departure for Naples, not a sou. There were many in the same plight—the Duke himself was one! Continually he duns his mother-in-law, the old Duchess of Brittany, for the remainder of his wife's dowry. In order to pay his condottieri he was obliged to mortgage his possessions: the life-tenancy of Lunel to Montferrat; the county of Piedmont to a still greater captain of adventure, Amadeo, the Green Count of Savoy. These gifts are for help to be afforded in his campaign. To his brother of Berry, in return for an advance of ready money, the Duke pledges Achaia and Tarento, as yet ungained. His new subjects of Provence became alarmed, and the Bishop of Grasse expressly cautioned him not to bestow any of the cities of Provence on his Italian captains.

'Fusmes très-angoisseux sur faulte de finance,' writes le Fèvre. Yet, in the middle of this royal penury, the medieval vision of *Monarchia* arose before Anjou, more seductive than peace of mind, more necessary than the necessities of life. And yet the necessities of the present involved a diminution of the glory of that future. Lunel and Piedmont had gone to engage his captains; Achaia and Tarento for a sum of money down: and for a further sum still he was compelled to mortgage the hand of his elder son, the future King of Sicily, to forego the hope of a Royal alliance, and betroth him to the moneyed daughter of the millionaire of Milan.

Bernabò Visconti, Co-tyrant of Lombardy with his nephew Giangaleazzo, was not only a man of enormous wealth, but a military power in Italy; and sound policy inspired the future King of Sicily when he determined to ally himself with Milan. The Viscontis were rich untitled tyrants: their one hobby was

to

to wed their children into regal houses. Thirty years ago the elder, Galeazzo, had given in marriage his two children, the daughter to the son of the King of England, the son to the daughter of the King of France. So far, Bernabò Visconti had not rivalled the splendour of his elder brother. A Duke of Austria or Bavaria for his legitimate daughters, a Hawkwood or La Salle for the natural daughters, had hitherto contented him. But Bernabò was not without the ambition of his elder brother: and when in 1378 Galeazzo died, leaving one timid, pious, solitary youth as sole heir to his share of Lombardy, the old Visconti began to aim at eclipsing the young man, perhaps at suppressing him; certainly at affirming his own position by some Royal alliance. The Princess of France was dead, and the youthful Giangaleazzo, remarried to a daughter of Bernabò's, seemed no formidable antagonist. In 1381, Bernabò offered the hand of his girl, Lucia, to the King of England, '*cum inæstimabili auri summa oblata*.*' But Richard II. had preferred the sister of the Emperor. To the needy Duke of Anjou an inestimable sum of gold was less indifferent; and so it came to pass that in the spring of 1382, the infant son of Anjou was betrothed to Lucia Visconti.

Besides the dowry of the bride, all golden in the future, Visconti promised to furnish two thousand lances (a body considerably more numerous than two thousand men) for six months; to send his own son with the flag of Milan to defy Carlo at Naples; and to grant free passage to the troops of France.† The army was now sufficiently considerable; the winter well over, and some funds in hand. Moreover, Provence had finally submitted to the new allegiance. The Duke prepared to start for Naples.

So far the expenses of the army were not great: Savoy receiving Piedmont; Geneva and Montjoie being rewarded by mortgages on the kingdom of Naples; finally, Montferrat being paid by the Queen of Naples with, from Anjou, only the grant of the lifetenancy of Lunel. But the mercenary Captains exacted enormous sums for their services.

In the beginning of June (1382) the Duke was solemnly crowned King of Sicily at Avignon; and on the 13th he started south for Naples. The augurs and the prophets saw in the stars a presage of fabulous glory. The new King of Sicily was a handsome man — '*pontifical*,' said Christine de Pisan—

* Walsingham, '*Cronica Anglicana*,' ii. p. 46.

† Le Fèvre, p. 26.

square-shouldered, and rather tall. His fair hair, rather grizzled, fell on his shoulders: his fair beard streamed down upon his gilded armour: he moved with a singular majesty of mien. It were impossible (we have the authority of one who did not love him, the Monk of St. Denis) to imagine a more magnificent prince than he, as he rode solemnly out of Avignon, through his newly conquered county of Provence, at the head of his 1000 cross-bowmen, and his 3000 men-at-arms,* to join the further armies arranged in waiting on the other side of the Alps. 'One would have said the armies of Xerxes, for the Duke equalled Cræsus in riches,' writes the Monk of St. Denis. (But we remember that privy sigh of the Chancellor's: '*Fusmes très-angoisseux sur faulte de finance.*') However that may be, the army appeared rich and splendid, every man in burnished armour, mostly gold inlaid; aigrettes streaming from every helmet; cloaks and tunics and caparisons of cloth of gold, richest silks and deep brocades. In the rear came the beasts of burden, laden with their gold plate, their royal tents, their sumptuous baggage. The people of France, ever susceptible to magnificence and glory, applauded this unparalleled array—'for the nation of France believed that through this man the delicious odour of their lilies would widely and gloriously be diffused afar.'

But once across the Alps—probably at Milan—the Duke received disastrous news. Queen Giovanna had been strangled in prison, by the order of her nephew; and now the Champion of Urban ruled in Naples. Nevertheless, too late to save but not too late to avenge his adopted mother, the Duke marched southwards along the Adriatic. He met with no opposition, and on the 17th of July he entered the Abruzzi.

A single victory would have secured a triumph for the French. But Carlo della Pace, well aware of this, refused to meet his enemy in the open field. In vain the new king sent challenge after challenge to his rival. Carlo remained with his men in their strong places, leaving famine to fight the French. There had been no harvest that year in the Neapolitan provinces; a little black bread for holidays made a festival for the troops. Autumn drew on with its mists and its malaria. The very horses fell sick; the men died by scores of fever and dysentery; the Green Count himself, the hero of his age, succumbed on the

* This is the estimate of Walsingham, always singularly correct in French affairs: 1000 crossbow-men, 3000 men-at-arms. A man-at-arms, it will be remembered, was a varying quantity, usually from three to five persons: varlet, page, footman, &c., being included with the man-at-arms, always mounted himself. An Italian lance included three horsemen.

1st of March in 1383. As yet there had been no battles; the soldiers died in their beds of sickness, of starvation. The King had to sell all he had—only one silver cup remained of the royal plate. The crown itself went next—finally the golden-lined armour of the troops. No burnish now, no streaming feathers; ‘but under their rusty bucklers valorous hearts.’ In place of his mantle of cloth of gold, King Louis covered himself with a piece of woollen stuff roughly painted with yellow lilies. Vainly he sent north for further funds. Vainly the poor Queen of Sicily pleaded for her husband at the Court of Paris. A quarrel between Berry and Burgundy delayed affairs out of season. The traitor Pierre de Craon embezzled the moneys that he had gathered for his master. And the messengers finally sent southward by the Government arrived too late.

‘On the 26th October, 1384,’ wrote Jean le Fèvre, ‘hard by Angers, as I was riding thither, I fell in with Guillaume de Nades, who told me of the news of the death of my Lord King Louis, which came to pass at Bari on the 20th of September; and my Lord of Berri had sent him to the Council of my Lady bidding him hide it from her until he came. . . . On All Souls’ Day, after dinner, my Lady learned the truth. . . . And after deliberation we wrote to the Duke of Berri, and told him that my Lady knew it.’

There was need of Berry and his counsels; for the troops were masterless in Naples. And here, at home, the King of Sicily and Jerusalem, the Emperor of Constantinople, the Champion of the true Pope and Defender of the Faith, was a little child, seven years of age.

At this moment the future father-in-law of the child-king showed himself capable of generosity and decision. Visconti proposed that the Pope, the King of France, the Queen of Sicily, the Royal Dukes, and he should bear the expenses of the war together, deputing Enguerrand de Coucy to conduct the campaign. Bernabò offered for his share 200 lances, winter and summer alike. If the four other parties would do as much, a respectable army-corps could reinforce the troops in the south. ‘And as for me,’ said Visconti, ‘I am ready to play that game until there be but one King in Sicily, and one Pope in Rome.’ The decision of this man sent a thrill of hope through desolate Angers. And on the very heels of the Milanese embassy there alighted the Count of Potenza, that choleric Sicilian, hot from the field of battle and storming at delay.

Spurred on by Potenza, the Queen visited Avignon and consulted with Clement, put down a fresh rebellion in Provence, and pleaded long and patiently before the Council of Paris.

But

But she found the Court cold, and indeed pre-occupied with a revival of the old plan for giving Naples, with the King of Hungary's daughter, to the young brother of the King, Charles VI. Nevertheless, spite of rebellion, inaction, lack of funds, and the rumoured treachery, Queen Marie toiled on for her little son. She pledged Touraine to the Crown, half-promised Provence, and at last received a little money. In April 1385 she sent south 30,000 florins; and at the same time an embassy was despatched to Milan to fetch the bride and her dowry to Avignon.

Poor Queen! at that moment things looked brighter. At Avignon, with the Pope and her little son, she saw in hopeful tints the difficult future. For the Crown of France had granted some sort of consent at last; between Potenza, Coucy, and the resolute Bernabò, the war would be carried on. Thus they said and sang and fabled in the sanguine little Papal Court, when on the 13th of May a courier riding headlong from Lombardy brought the news that Bernabò was taken prisoner, his children disinherited, his throne occupied by another.

No more was said, of course, of the unhappy little child Lucia, abandoned by father and bridegroom in the self-same hour. In her prosperous middle life as Countess of Kent, these disasters of her infancy must have appeared to her as an evil dream.* And as a dream she passed out of the consideration of the Angevines, wholly occupied by their own share in this misfortune. The young man who had, by cunning and treachery, succeeded to Bernabò was no friend of theirs, although the cousin-german of their little king. He was an Urbanite. He had no interest in furthering the Angevines in Naples. No more gold and no more troops were to be had from Milan.

Gradually, piece by piece, the news came, and people learned how Giangaleazzo Visconti—the pious, the dreamy young Count of Vertus†—riding from Pavia to the shrine of Our Lady of Varese one morning in May, halted at the gates of Milan to greet his uncle. How, in the very embrace, the guards of Giangaleazzo took captive Bernabò; how the people of Milan, oppressed by their ancient tyrant and bribed by the promise of the pillage of his palaces, welcomed Giangaleazzo as a deliverer; how all the elder branch were banished from Lombardy; how in the end of the year Bernabò died in prison, none too myste-

* In 1407, being then nearly thirty years old, she married Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent. See British Museum MSS. 30,662, f. 176.

† The little county of Vertus, in Champagne, had come to Giangaleazzo with his first wife, Isabelle of France.

riously,

riously, one evening after supper, and how his grateful nephew raised to his memory a prodigious monument of marble.

It was useless to think any longer of the child of Bernabò. But, said the Duke of Berri—Giangaleazzo also has a daughter, and only one, a much greater heiress than her cousin Lucia. Why should we not betroth the little King of Sicily to Valentine Visconti?*

This idea, despite its worldly advantages, met with scant favour in Angers. It is difficult to convey to the modern reader the sense of horror, of indignation, of frustrated policy which the triumph of Giangaleazzo caused in all the little courts of France. Bernabò Visconti had been more than the Rothschild of his age. This mere Lombard commoner had amassed a wealth that made him the mate of kings. His children were prized by the scions of needy royal houses. The King of France himself, and the young princes of Burgundy, had taken in marriage his grandchildren of Bavaria. The proud Counts of Armagnac had given their only sister to his elder son. The little King of Sicily was betrothed to Lucia; and Elisabetta, her sister, had been talked of as a match for the young brother of the King of France. Another daughter was promised in Brittany. The great names of France, impoverished by the English war, sought to regild their damaged lustre with the gold of Milan.

And now who was to pay the troops in Naples? Who was to advance more funds to France? Who, now that Queen Giovanna and King Louis both were dead, was to uphold the cause of Clement in Italy? Where was the Lombard throne promised to Béatrix, 'la gaie Armagnageoise'? And who would have married a Visconti if he had guessed that her father would be ruined? And thus the fall of Bernabò aroused a clamour among the disenchanted bridegrooms of France, and an invasion was seriously talked of, in order to expel the usurper and to seat Carlo, son of Bernabò, upon his throne.

In this agitation the great expectations of the little Louis went under. He married neither Lucia nor Valentine. He remained a moneyless King of Adventure, and had no time to remember the vast policy of his father. Clement slowly recognized that here was no master-mind capable of infinite combination and resource. The Throne of France placed little faith in him. We have said that after the death of Anjou there had been a moment's question of marrying the young brother of the French King to the Queen of Hungary, and endowing him with Naples. It was this lad who gradually

* Le Fèvre, p. 142, July 1385.

superseded Anjou in the policy of France. Louis of France far more than Louis of Sicily remained the inheritor of Louis I. of Anjou. One by one, the old servants and counsellors of his dead uncle entered into the service of the little prince, and communicated to him the imperial visions of a vanished age. In his private council-chambers the dreams of Charles V. and the first Duke of Anjou came to life again, and awoke resonant echoes. It was here that Clement discovered his veritable defender. It was here that the foreign policy of the coming age drew its existence from the vain but puissant traditions of the past.

II. Louis of France, in 1386 the Duke of Touraine, in later days so famous as the Duke of Orleans, was from his childhood a leader of the Opposition. His uncle and tutor, Burgundy, absolute with the King, failed from the first to gain a living influence with the younger lad. Louis of France, at fourteen years old (in the year 1386), was old enough to feel the smart of poverty and insignificance. His father had left him the mere income of a gentleman—some 12,000 golden francs of revenue—the title of Count of Valois, and the promise of 40,000 francs at his majority. It will be seen at how great a disadvantage the little prince appeared by the side of his brother the King, by the side of his uncles of Burgundy or of Berry. But if Charles V., realizing that the danger of France lay in the greatness of her princes, had designed for his more brilliant son so insignificant a situation at home, it was because he had established him magnificently abroad. We have seen how Louis was affianced in 1375 to the King of Hungary's youngest daughter; how, on her death, the King had schemed for him an alliance with her elder sister, heiress of Hungary. But in the middle of these negotiations Charles V. had died; within a little while the King of Hungary followed him. The betrothal of the two children became as an old story, so dimly remembered, that in France there was a talk of plighting Louis to Elisabetta Visconti; while, in Hungary, Queen Mary herself was not sure if she were the betrothed of Louis of France or of Sigismund of Austria. When, in 1385, the French recalled the Hungarian match, and Burgundy himself began to see that if he would be dominant at home he must find a kingdom for his younger nephew abroad, it was too late. Sigismund of Austria was nearer Hungary. Without delay, he married the disputed Queen, and Hungary and the claims of the Hungarian Angevines were lost to Louis.

In his cradle Louis had been King of Naples. In his
playground

playground he had been King of Hungary. His boyhood over, he remained a gentleman in France. Then, again, some one—probably the Duke of Berry—put in the question: ‘Why not marry the lad to Valentine Visconti of Milan?’

Every day made Valentine Visconti a greater heiress. The rise of her father was rapid as a dream. The timid hermit of Pavia was proving himself the subtlest of living statesmen, the most irresistible of conquerors. He vanquished his enemies, not only with arms but with bread, and not with force alone, but with peace and order. ‘The Count,* the populace, and plenty!’ cried the famished Sienese, when the Florentines would have assisted them to withstand their victor. Verona, Padua, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Assisi, Bologna, Spoleto, fell before him during the first years of his sway; and what he gained by conquest he kept by a wise administration. ‘I am the only robber in all my provinces,’ cried the Count. What wonder if peaceful Republics of Italian merchants preferred the well-policed and orderly tyranny of this new Cæsar to such liberty as they had enjoyed of old, with the knife of a private enemy in ambush at every corner, or—established in brigandage on every lonely marsh or mountain spur—the *Fiorusciti*, the terror of the traveller? Giangaleazzo speedily became the most popular man in Italy. Poets saw in him a symbol of Italian Unity, even as the merchants saw in him a guarantee of prosperity and commerce. And while the one travelled in safety along his new-made roads, the others sang (with Antonio Loschi, of Vicenza), ‘O decor ingens Italiæ, vera Salus, verus Patriæ pater, in unum corpus colligere sua membra!’ or (with Saviozzo of Siena) hailed him as Cæsar, and bade him cover naked Rome with his mantle; or (with Vanozzo Padovano) cried, in profane enthusiasm:—

‘Italia ride, ed è giunto il Messia!’

The daughter of such a man was no mean match for the son of the King of France. The clamours of the Queen were vain; Pope Clement brought his weight to bear. Clement protected and believed in the Urbanite Count of Vertus, and hoped to gain him to his side, if not through the Countess (a firm Clementine), then through his daughter, if she married in France. In August 1386, a rough draft of the proposed marriage contract—drawn up by the Count of Vertus at Pavia in the past April—was accepted by the King, who at that moment was far from the Queen with his brother in Flanders. In this

* Giangaleazzo Visconti was generally known in Italy by his French title, the Count of Vertus.

first document* the bride was endowed merely with Asti, and its revenue of 30,000 golden florins, besides a dowry of 450,000 golden florins. But this, though less than the bride eventually brought—less by a century of warfare!—was a great fortune. Invested at the current rate of those times at ten per cent., her revenue would be something over 100,000 florins,† more than eight times the fortune of her husband; in addition to this considerable income, she was furnished with plate, jewels, and personal treasure to the value of over 70,000 florins, as well as with the prospective inheritance of that county of Vertus which her royal mother had brought to Milan.

But this was not enough. In January 1387 a new contract was drawn up by Clement at Avignon. All the earlier conditions were repeated, and a new clause was added of capital importance. If Giangaleazzo Visconti died without a son, or if a son be born,‡ and in later days his line become extinct, Valentine or her children should succeed him in all of his dominions.

But after Valentine had been married to Louis by proxy and by promise, after Pope Clement had ratified Deed of Transfer, and Contract and Dispensation—then, to the delight of Italy, to the disgust of France—a son was born to Giangaleazzo Visconti. The bride was still at Milan, and there she seemed likely to remain, for all the ancient hostility of the Queen's party awoke again, now that Louis would no longer become a sovereign prince, but, enriched and strengthened by the daughter of the odious usurper, remain at home to divide the power. The people of Lombardy, no less than the Court of France, were against the marriage; but the Count of Vertus had set his heart upon this alliance, which would affirm his position in the eyes of Italy and secure him from a French invasion.

Only thus could he neutralize the hostile influence of the Queen of France, constantly spurring her husband to avenge the death of Bernabò. The Queen of France was a beautiful young woman of seventeen. We who know her only as the miserable and frivolous Bellona of a later age, the unworthy mother-in-law of our gallant Henry V., the traitress and ruin of her kingdom—we can scarcely be just to this different and as yet unsullied Isabel. For already we see the qualities that will

* Archives Nationales de France, K 554, No. 1.

† We may reckon the florin as rather over the half-guinea of our times.

‡ Azzo Visconti, the brother of Valentine, had died in 1381. Giangaleazzo, who in 1380 had married his cousin Caterina, had as yet no child by her, after six years of marriage.

turn out so ill—the cunning, the tenacity of her mother's race. Already she appears redoubtable—this Isabella di Taddea Visconti—although there is nothing but a praiseworthy sense of justice in her antagonism to the marriage of Louis and Valentine.

Isabel of Bavaria was the granddaughter of Bernabò Visconti. She was but fifteen at the moment of his murder, but she had never forgotten it, and she meant still to avenge it. From the day of his *coup d'état* to the day of his death, her unflinching hatred pursued Giangaleazzo Visconti. Again and again she did not scruple to interrupt or counteract the policy of her husband's councillors. The Queen of France never became truly French; her family was dearer to her than her kingdom.

One circumstance made this hatred of the Queen's no private resentment, but a most active element in the policy of her times. The Florentines feared and hated Giangaleazzo Visconti with a hatred no less than her own. They feared the advancing tide of his conquests, they dreaded the absorption of the Tuscan Republics in a united kingdom of Italy. At every critical moment of the policy of France and Milan we shall find the Queen with the Florentines in ambush; and when for an instant the great allies relax their vigilance, this sleepless Penelope unravels all their doings and leaves them disgusted with their task.

In 1386,* the Florentines had sent an embassy to Paris, and had secured from Charles VI. a solemn promise to avenge the murder of Bernabò. Armed with this promise, the Queen continued to defer the hated nuptials. For two years Valentine Visconti bore the title of Duchess of Touraine in her father's house at Pavia. For two years after the ceremony which endowed him with a title, an appanage,† and a wealthy wife, Louis lived like a schoolboy in his brother's house, admitted to no serious affairs.

A formal wedding by proxy could easily be broken through. Every day that the Queen deferred the consummation of the marriage was a gain to her cause. But gradually she felt the pressure of another power than hers. The Duke was no longer a child: soldier, statesman, he was no less precocious than herself. On the eve of his formal marriage the King had given him the little Duchy of Touraine, and had constituted him the heir of the Dowager Duchess of Orleans. In August 1388 he

* Desjardins, '*Négociations de la France avec la Toscane*,' i. pp. 27-29.

† The Duchy of Touraine was given to Louis in 1386, to equip him for his marriage with the heiress of Milan.

gave him a house of his own—the Hôtel de Behaigne. In December a royal pension of 1000 francs a month* doubled his still scanty revenues. The King paid all his debts. In February 1389 he began to sit in the Royal Council. Isabel could not but remember how, during a temporary absence from her, two years ago in Flanders the King had given his consent to the formal marriage. The influence of Louis again obtained the upper hand. In July 1389, Philippe de Florigny was sent to Milan to fetch home the bride.

By an irony of Fate, Valentine Visconti had scarcely arrived at Court, when certain other guests came there also out of Italy. The ambassadors of Florence claimed the execution of the King's promise. If he would aid them to crush Giangaleazzo, they offered for their part an army of 1500 lances and 500 cross-bowmen to attack him on his Tuscan frontiers, while the French marched south from Asti. In return, the Florentines claimed nothing for themselves but safety. They offered the King† the wide triangle of country which spreads from the Alps to the Po, and from either to Pavia. But the moment was ill chosen. The object of attack was now the father of the King's 'dear sister.' It was impossible to make an enemy of the neighbour of the Count of Asti. Moreover, the Florentines held for Ladislas in Naples, and for Urban in Rome—nor was there any hope of winning them from their allegiance. The Florentine ambassadors were dismissed.

In February 1391 there began to be rumours of an invasion of Italy—rumours and counter-rumours, reports that the French were to interfere in favour of Milan, or, as others said, in favour of Florence. The Pope of Rome sent to England news that King Charles was about to instal the Antipope in Rome,‡ 'and in return the Antipope will crown the King Emperor, and give great things to the Duke of Burgundy—and to the Duke of Orleans a kingdom in the Papal States—and the crown of Lombardy and Tuscany to Another.'§ A great terror of France spread in the Roman Court. 'The Pope and the Cardinals, when they heard of the French King's coming into Italy to place the Antipope Clement on the throne of St. Peter's, held themselves ready to flee into Friulia or Germany.'|| In France, the King began to speak openly of his army—at the least 12,000

* The golden franc is equivalent to the modern ten-franc piece.

† Florence, Archives of the Uffizj. Sign. Carteg. MSS., Reg. i., Cancell. xix., fols. 22^{vo}, 29, 97^{vo}, and 225.

‡ Walsingham, 'Hist. Anglicana,' vol. ii. p. 201.

§ Giangaleazzo Visconti.

|| Testimony of a Roman Noble. Documents attached to the 'Kingdom of Adria.' By Paul Durrieu. P. 42.

lances—

lances—of its officers and its equipment. In February 1391 we have a Royal quittance, signed by no less a personage than Le Besgue de Villaines—‘To aid us to equip ourselves, and to put ourselves into condition to march with the Company of my said Lord into the regions of Lombardy, on the expedition that he intends to make.’* This was precise. But while the Pope at Rome shook in his shoes, the Duke of Brittany, better informed, laughed his hearty laugh: ‘Hark, what my Lord the King writes to me! he is going to ride to Rome, and, by force of arms, destroy Pope Boniface and all his Cardinals. So help me God and the Saints, he will do nothing of the sort! Soon enough he will find he has other wool to wind.’†

On the 5th of February, 1391, the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Orleans left Paris on an embassy to the Lord of Milan. On the 3rd of March they reached Pavia. They were there still on the 20th. What solemn treaties the three princes made together we cannot tell. All that we know is that they made those treaties. The inventory of the Deeds of the *Chambre des Comptes* at Blois, taken in the reign of Henri II., mentions a copy-book containing the treaties between the Count of Vertus, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke of Touraine, when they were in Lombardy. The date is, Pavia, 20th of March, 1391. Only this title remains to attest their counsels.

Nevertheless no great ingenuity is needed to imagine that their combinations were for a French invasion of Italy, to rid Giangaleazzo of the Florentines, and to place Pope Clement on the chair of St. Peter’s. Later on we shall find evidence to confirm this supposition. But while the princes were still in counsel, news came to Pavia that the French invasion was to take a strangely different form. The Florentines had heard in the end of February that the King of France had removed all difficulties from the path of Armagnac, and that the brother of Béatrix Visconti was on his way to avenge the murder of Bernabò. When the news filtered to Pavia, Giangaleazzo held himself ready to flee at any moment. Orleans and Burgundy rode back across the hills to France. It appeared only too likely that in their absence Queen Isabel had taken the upper hand again. There was no time to lose. Burgundy went to Avignon, where he concerted with the Pope and Berry a plan to bribe the troops of Armagnac, but managed no more than the desertion of about 500 lances. Orleans sped to Paris to implore his brother to close the passes of the Alps. But the mandate

* Bibliothèque Nationale: ‘*Titres scellés de Clairambault*,’ vol. 113, fol. 8821.

† Froissart, iv. chap. xix. One may credit Froissart when—as is the case more frequently than is supposed—his evidence is supported by documents.

arrived

arrived too late. Whether it were the Queen (as we believe), or whether it were the King of England, as we read in the 'Chronicle of the First Four Valois,' some enemy in their absence had turned the King against the Milanese alliance. Armagnac was already in the mountains, and in the end of June he descended into the wide plain around Turin.

Had he marched straight on Milan, Bernabò had been avenged. But he disregarded the instructions of the Florentines, and tarried to lay siege to Alexandria. There, on the 25th of July, in a little skirmish, he died of fatigue, of sun-stroke, of a draught of chill water inconsiderately quaffed in the heat of battle. He died, the hero, by no hero's spear. His death left his Company bewildered, truly headless. They fled back to the mountains like scattered sheep, and it was as beggars that they reached the plains of France. As they passed through the hamlets of Dauphiné begging alms, 'Go to!' laughed the peasants; 'go and seek for your Captain of Armagnac, who died of a glass of cold water at the siege of Alexandria!'

So ended the invasion of Armagnac, the most serious obstacle that had yet impeded the advance of Giangaleazzo. The French invasion had happened, after all. Yet, thanks to his policy, thanks to his daughter's marriage, it had happened so ineffectually, so blindly, as to afford him another cause of triumph. And now both Giangaleazzo and the French were free to dream again of a Clementine crusade: Rome, and Naples, and Adria, to the one, Tuscany and Lombardy to the other, beckoned with promises of a victorious future.

The Florentines celebrated the end of the invasion by a League of Peace, as it was called, signed at Bologna in August 1392. Giangaleazzo sent Spinelli, Count of Gioia, into France. The Florentines called the Count of Vertus the 'Count of Vices.' What would they have called the Count 'of Joy' had they read the Instructions which he bore to Charles VI., which M. de Circourt has lately rescued from the secular dust that covered them in the archives of the Loiret—which, after him, Monsieur Jarry has published at full length in his '*Pièces Justificatives*,'*

These Instructions are invaluable to the student of the policy of Visconti. They are equally precious to the student of the man. Here, as before, Giangaleazzo has not hesitated to bend realities to suit his conception of a case. He represented to the King of France that Boniface had implored Milan to enter the League—and that it was in fact a vast international League against the French. So far, out of a tender respect

* See '*Revue des Questions historiques*,' January 1889.

to Charles VI., Giangaleazzo asserted that he had withstood alike persuasion and menace. But it might become his duty to his States, it would certainly become necessary to his safety, to comply, unless the King of France could assure him the following terms:—

1. A perpetual alliance between France and Milan; France becoming guarantee for the Milanese possessions.

2. A promise on the behalf of France not to interfere between Giangaleazzo and the little Lords of Lombardy and the March—between the cat and the mouse.

3. A like promise as to the heirs of Bernabò, whom the King is to prevent from annoying the present Lord of Milan.

4. A permission to quarter the arms of France in the first and fourth.

5. Giangaleazzo, on his part, promises aid and free passage to the French troops whenever, and *for whatever cause*, they may wish to enter Italy.

6. He demands, in case the Empire devolve to the French King, or to a Prince of his lineage, that the Emperor concede him or his legitimate heirs of either sex,* whatsoever title he or his heirs may choose.

7. That 'Our Holy Father, Pope Clement,' or his heirs, should do as much, *Imperio vacante*.

It will be seen that the Count of Vertus, an Urbanite in Italy, was a Clementine in France. The last clause therefore runs: 'The Empire being vacant, the Pope is to bestow on me, Giangaleazzo Visconti, whatsoever title I may claim.'

The Count asked much—he promised little: and his request came untimely. The King was mad, for the first time, all that autumn: this would-be Emperor had forgotten his own name. Burgundy, deep in the English peace, had forgotten Milan. The Queen hated the usurper. The Ambassadors were dismissed.

But Giangaleazzo never took aim without two strings to his bow. The first had snapped. The second still held good. Spinelli was still in Paris, when a Nuncio came post-haste from Avignon, bidding the King, 'de par nostre Saint Père,' to make alliance with Milan. As it happened, in that month Charles VI. regained his reason—miraculously, as it was supposed—and he was more than ever bent upon a Clementine crusade. With some considerable abatement, the requests of the Count were granted. They were the preliminary to a more important affair.

* Important as regards the French claim to Milan.

In January 1393, the French King sent a return embassy to Milan to discuss the treaty, and also to confer about the kingdom of Adria. There is no mention of Adria in the official instructions of Milan: 'Toutefois,' run the French instructions, 'c'était-il vrai que les dits messagers l'avoient dit au Roi en la présence de nos seigneurs les Ducs et du Conseil.'* While the French proceeded to Milan, the Milanese ambassadors remained at Court. Spinelli, Count of Gioia, or some other Angevine of yesterday, had in some manner obtained a copy of the Adrian Bull: an imperfect copy—for the kingdom was less by Spoleto, Assisi, and Foligno, than in the original—but sufficient to serve his turn. So far the whole matter had been treated in a light, incoherent, yet secret fashion. Spinelli, *lingua lubrica* as the Florentines called him, knew how to stimulate the curiosity of the French, and was careful not to alarm them by any maladroît red-tapeism.

'Will Visconti make his subjects declare for the true Pope?' demands the King, ever pious, and never more pious than now, when, miraculously restored to reason, he was about to start on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the shrine of Mont St. Michel.

'Ah, if he dare,' reply the Milanese—and then there is a recollection of the Adrian project. 'If such a plan as that could be revived! Visconti is surrounded by schismatics; if he had a French neighbour in Bologna—if the Pope would bestow on your Majesty or "aucuns des seigneurs de son sang" the churchlands in Emilia and the March, then you and we would profess the True Pope hand in hand.' Naturally, these pleasing speculations were continued. Who, in the opinion of the Milanese, would be the most fitting prince?

The King would scarcely care for the enterprise—the Duke of Burgundy could scarce be spared—'Le Duc d'Orléans est joennes et peut bien travailler, et aussi le dit Comte de Vertuz, qui a grant puissance dans ce lieu, fera plus volontiers aide et secours que à nul autre, pour ce que il a espousé sa fille.'†

So the afternoon went by in pleasant chat that bound no one to anything. And the Council began to adopt the idea with enthusiasm: the King from motives of piety, and because the re-establishment of the True Pope in Rome was one of the few

* 'Instructions des Ambassadeurs du Roi.' (Circourt, *op. cit.*)

† Arch. Nat., Carton J, 495. Thanks to the journal of Maître Jehan de Sains, the whole of this affair is known in the greatest detail. We refer the student, in addition to the box of manuscripts in Paris, to the admirable study of M. Durrieu on the Kingdom of Adria; to the 'Instructions of the Royal Ambassadors to Milan,' published by M. Circourt in the 'Revue des Questions historiques' for January 1889; and to Champollion-Figeac's 'Dukes of Orleans.'

clear ideas that haunted his clouded brain ; Burgundy because in Italy Louis would at any rate be out of France ; and Orleans from a natural ambition, because here at last was that foreign kingdom he had been educated to expect, because he was fond of glory and adventure, and because he had not been allowed to fight in the crusade against Barbary. Behind him a whole party of middle-aged Angevine statesmen and soldiers greeted with enthusiasm the chimæra of their youth.

The Pope as yet had no inkling of the matter : Visconti was wise enough to see that the suggestion must come from France, and not from him. And so in May, an embassy, all Orleans' men, arrived in Avignon. On the 26th, the Bishop of Noyon explained their message. There was, he said, but one way to terminate the Schism : that was to instal by arms the True Pope in Rome. The mere residence in Rome of the Antipope gave him a dangerous prestige in Italy. The crusade must, therefore, be undertaken at once.

'Now,' went on the Bishop, 'when once our Holy Father is enthroned in the Vatican, shall the French retire and leave him unprotected ? No, his supporters must be left behind ! A Pope granted to Charles of Anjou the kingdom of Naples. Our Holy Father himself granted Adria to Louis of Anjou . . .'

Here the Pope beheld that ancient scheme of his youth arise from its obscurity. It was as ill-buried as Bernabò Visconti ! Clement was honestly dismayed. 'If I renewed that Bull,' he said, 'I should be remembered as the Dilapidator of the Inheritance of the Church !'

No discussion could shake him from his position that the Bull of 1379 was illegal, since a Pope could not sign away, without consent of the College, that which was the possession of Pope and College alike. He required that the matter should be discussed in conclave. Here the Ambassadors objected that there were several Italian Cardinals in the College, and that in this way a most secret matter might come to the hearing of Boniface, who would not improbably create an Italian King of Adria out of some strong Condottiere difficult to deal with. Finally, it was agreed that Clement should discuss the matter with the three Cardinals deepest in his counsels : Amiens, Albano, and Turin.

Meanwhile Burgundy began to withdraw ; it was known that he protected the University, which was for deposing either Pope and electing a third by a General Council. Orleans himself was no longer so impetuous, engrossed by other schemes in Italy ; and the King, continually relapsing into madness, took less and less part in the government. Clement began to realize that,
unless

unless he seized the occasion, a crusade on his behalf might soon appear impossible and antiquated. In September 1397 he despatched the Ambassadors with the project of a plan granting Adria to Orleans in return for a three years' campaign. But the Pope had scarcely dismissed his messengers before he fell down dead, stricken by apoplexy. And now that Clement was dead, the prestige of Avignon was perceived to be dead also.

But Italy still engrossed the French. In 1392 Lomellini, Flisco, and other nobles of Genoa had offered the suzerainty of their Republic to the King of France.* Nothing had come of this suggestion; but a little later certain Genoese nobles of the faction least opposed to Milan informed the Duke of Orleans that the Duchy of Genoa desired a French prince, and that he, as son-in-law of Giangaleazzo, appeared designed to occupy the throne.† This message arrived from Genoa in the middle of the Adrian negotiations, and from that moment the interest of Orleans in the Adrian project began to fade. In 1393, no doubt, the conquest of Genoa had merely appeared a first step towards the kingdom of Adria; but gradually the growing indifference of the French to Clement and to his successor gained upon Orleans himself. When the successor of Clement revived for a moment the Adrian plan, Louis merely smiled in his beard and said nothing. That scheme had gone into the background of his mind: it was not to be thought of until Genoa was safe.‡

The first step of Orleans was to strengthen himself in Asti. On the 17th of November, 1394, his troops entered Savona. On the 27th of December Giangaleazzo Visconti concluded with Orleans' Captain-General a League which practically divided Italy between the two princes.§

At this moment the Duke of Orleans considered himself certain of Genoa; but affairs were to take an unexpected turn. In March 1395 the King of France, influenced in all probability by the Queen and by the Duke of Burgundy, ceased to support his brother in his enterprise, and began to think of winning Genoa for himself. In October Genoa was united to the Crown of France; and in December Charles VI. purchased his brother's rights in the two Ligurian cities.

III. The Italian prestige of Orleans never entirely recovered

* Arch. Nat., J 497, No. 15.

† Froissart, edit. Kervyn de Lettenhove, t. xv. p. 97.

‡ For the whole of the important and intricate affair, *vide* the admirable article of the Comte de Circourt in the 'Revue des Questions historiques' for July 1889.

§ 'Nuovi Documenti Viscontei,' No. VI., Articles XI and XII.

the loss of Genoa, and, with the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1402, he lost the ally who might have made his fortune. But, for a while, it appeared as if the King himself had come, with the possession of Genoa, into possession of the Italian dreams of Orleans. There was much talk of an invasion of Lombardy, to be undertaken by Florence, England, and the French King together.

But in 1402 Giangaleazzo Visconti died. His death removed the obstacle between Orleans and the Queen. Their political conjunction rendered Orleans so great in France that he had little time to spare for Italy. The King's health had considerably weakened; he was seldom sane now for more than a week or two at a time; neither the King nor Orleans could leave the kingdom; so the first soldier in France, Jehan Le Meingre, *dit* Boucicaut, Marshal of the Kingdom, was sent to Genoa.

Boucicaut was not only a soldier, but a Crusader, fired with the religious idea, penetrated with enthusiasm for the cause of the True Pope at Avignon. He was no rude captain. A great elevation of ideas marked his conduct; in private matters he was, it may be, something of a martinet: pure, even rigid, in his life, precise and neat in his dress, scrupulous in his dealings, save when that which appeared to him the necessary obedience to a higher law induced him to actions which scandalized the sense of honour of more worldly persons. So far his career had been glorious, chiefly spent in combating the heathen, and not without its glimmer of martyrdom; for Boucicaut had been a captive at Nicopolis. His expeditions into the wonderful and distant countries of the East had enhanced, not only his reputation, but his character; he had returned to France with the unworldliness of the explorer, the faith of a Crusader, and that firm belief in his own country which it is perhaps impossible to keep intact at Court. In 1393 he had married Antoinette de Turenne; his passionate love for her had prevailed on her father to prefer him to the Prince of Tarento, another suitor for her hand. His exclusive devotion to her was one reason for sending him to Genoa: the Genoese having risen in revolt against their Governor, who avowed a Gallic preference for the wives of others. There was, indeed, much in Boucicaut to recommend him to an Italian signory: a nobility and gravity of manner, a seriousness and state, a frank and liberal address, all of which qualities they valued, and found too often lacking in the French. His new subjects were flattered at the King's choice of so eminent a Governor; and yet they were disappointed, for they had required the Duke of Orleans.

That was impossible. The Duke was occupied in France,
and

and the policy of Orleans was not the policy which at that moment the French intended to pursue in Italy. Boucicaut went to Genoa as the friend of the Florentines. He hated Milan with the hatred of a man who had witnessed the massacres of Nicopolis, and who considered that the French had been betrayed by Visconti. Almost his first act at Genoa was to concert with the Florentines a plan for wresting two of her northern cities from the grasp of Milan. Piece by piece to gain the States of Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, Padua, Verona, Lucca, Florence, Alexandria, and Milan, to the obedience of Pope Benedict and the suzerainty of the King of France: this was the task which Boucicaut beheld before him in the immediate future.

But that which would have been possible, perhaps, even yet, for the King to accomplish, was certainly futile in the hands of a single soldier, representing no vigorous national party, and not wholly in sympathy with the Court. Moreover, Boucicaut, hero as he was, had defects that were unheroic: he was fussy, restless, quarrelsome, meddlesome. He had, indeed, a genius for organizing traffic and regulating commercial matters: but he was not content to be wise alone. He preached a species of Free Trade to the little Tuscan Republics, and pestered them to carry out his theories; he tried to make Pisa, Florence, and Siena, open their roads and exchange their merchandise, and could not understand how, one after the other, each of these cities, hampered by innumerable petty treaties, rights of way, entrance dues, &c., in respect of each other, indignantly refused the boon. 'It is an unjust and violent thing, and one out of all reason,' cried the Florentines, 'that the Pisans, who obtain their goods cheaply, living at a sea-port, and who are foreigners, should make a larger profit than our own merchants in Florence, who have greater expenses to procure their stock.'* Pisans and Sieneese objected no less. But Boucicaut, once persuaded of the truth of a matter, had no idea of patience or compromise. If a city did not agree with him, he threw such of the merchants of that city as were in Genoa into prison for a while, or sequestered their stock, or took as hostage a galley, if such happened to ride at anchor in the port. In this way he exasperated the Tuscans, the Lombards, and, above all, the Venetians.†

But though Boucicaut became odious to the more powerful States (and in a great degree this unpopularity was the effect of his success), he soon became a power in Italy; in a great

* Florence Archives, Diece di Balìa, ii. class. x. distinzione 111, numero 2, 23rd June, 1404.

† See in the Venetian Archives, 'Deliberazioni,' Ser. i. Reg. 2, 130.

degree he filled the place left empty by the death of the Duke of Milan.* The prosperity of Genoa under Boucicaut was such as to draw towards him all the smaller States. The Guelphs of Alexandria sent to him for aid; the Lord of Padua came to Genoa to do homage to France for Padua and Verona. The Lady of Pisa and her sons negotiated with him. He had not been a year in Genoa before he was at open war with the two Visconti of Milan.

Of the three sons of the dead Giangaleazzo, the elder, illegitimate, had succeeded to Pisa. The two younger lads, with their mother, the Duchess Catherine, ruled in Lombardy; the elder, Giovanni-Maria, a lad of fifteen, a handsome young Nero, passionate, inept, and cruel, was Duke of Milan.† His brother, Filippo-Maria Visconti, at this time Count of Pavia, a mere child, appeared to possess only the excessive timidity, the shrinking duplicity, that had characterized his father's youth. In 1402, when Boucicaut came to Genoa, the great territory inherited by these children was going to pieces like a ship struck on a rock. City after city rebelled and asserted its ancient independence. Their more powerful neighbours, and among them Boucicaut, declared war in order to seize a share of the spoil. The Venetians began to consider the advantage of possessing a Tuscan sea-port; the Florentines forestalled them, and declared war on Gabriele-Maria Visconti. At this moment the unhappy *Tiranetto*, following the example of the Alexandrians and other distressed Italian communes, determined to appeal to Boucicaut. At this moment also the Duke of Orleans, having engaged Bernardin de Serres and Bernard of Armagnac, marched with a troop of men towards the Italian passes.

The Duke of Orleans meant to make sure of Pisa. He could not suppose that Boucicaut would be the man to thwart him in his claim upon the city. The Marshal and he were old companions. Many a night of their youth had they spent together writing ballads (they were both distinguished poets in their day), and many a time had the generous Louis paid the debts of Boucicaut when he himself was so out-at-elbows that he was forced to borrow the hat and mantle of some worthy citizen. But old acquaintance, however well remembered, counts for little with the pure enthusiast. Boucicaut was a man with a mission. He burned to secure the north of Italy for the King of France and for the King of Kings. The Lord of Pisa, an

* Giangaleazzo Visconti had obtained this title from the Emperor in 1395.

† Arch. Nat. Carton K 55, No. 11 bis.

elegant and subtle youth, speedily took the measure of the Marshal. Even while Orleans was marching south he fled to Genoa, and expressed to Boucicaut his earnest desire to become a French vassal, '*l'homme du Roy*.' Without a qualm, the good Marshal received him. Yet all this while the King's brother was marching towards the Alps, and the Florentines, Boucicaut's allies, were laying siege to Pisa.

The anger of the Florentines was great: '*Questa*,' they cried, '*non è honesta cosa!*' and from this moment they entertained a salutary suspicion of the man with an idea. They could easily have reduced Pisa; but now, as the King's allies, they could do nothing against the vassal of the King. If the situation was exasperating to them, it was no less so to Orleans. He marched back immediately to Paris, where he made his cause appear so good that, on the 24th May (1404), the King transferred to him all the Royal rights in Pisa,* 'since through our beloved sister Valentine, his wife, daughter of the late Duke of Milan, the suzerainty of the said city of Pisa and its appurtenances, together with town-lands and signories in the countries of Italy and Lombardy, appertain to our aforesaid dearly beloved brother, Louis, Duke of Orleans.' Henceforth Louis, not the King, was suzerain of Messer Gabriele-Maria, and his intermediate was no longer the Governor of Genoa, but the Governor of Asti. Boucicaut, therefore, had no longer any right to interfere in the affairs of Pisa.

Meanwhile, one day in 1405, while Gabriele-Maria Visconti was on a visit to the Governor at Genoa, the Pisans—who, not without reason, suspected their tyrant of a plan to sell them to Florence—rose in rebellion, stabbed his mother to the heart, and declared themselves for ever quit of the Visconti. At this news Messer Gabriele-Maria repaired to the Marshal, and besought him, as the representative of his liege Lord, to come to the aid of a vassal in distress. Boucicaut was sorely puzzled. He had certainly taken the oath of Gabriele; but, since then, the suzerainty of Pisa had been transferred to Orleans. It would have been wisest to send the bereaved *Tiranetto* to the Governor of Asti; but that was not the way of Boucicaut, who was a hero of the restless and interfering kind. After several fruitless endeavours to win the Pisans back to the allegiance of Messer Gabriele, he permitted this young man to sell Pisa to the Florentines.

Now, in Paris, at this very moment Orleans and Burgundy together were accepting the homage of the Pisans for their city.

* Arch. Nat. Carton K 55, No. 11, piece 8, 27th July, 1406.

The deed granting Pisa to Burgundy and Orleans was signed by the Council (the King being mad), and the Dukes sent a messenger to Boucicaut, informing him of their new acquisition, and commanding him to assist the Pisans against the Florentines. But meanwhile the Pisans trusted in the Royal Dukes. Finding that no succour came from Genoa, they smuggled out a messenger to Asti. But the Florentines captured him and drowned him in the sea; and on the 10th of October a Florentine army marched into Pisa.

There was great anger in Paris. Orleans and Burgundy alike declared that they had been cheated out of the possession of one of the fairest cities in Italy by the disobedience of Boucicaut. In vain the Marshal tried to make amends by an unsuccessful expedition against the Ghibellines of Alexandria. In January (1407) the Florentine Signory sent an embassy to the French Court with letters to the King, Orleans, and Burgundy, justifying the purchase of Pisa and the siege. Orleans seized the Ambassadors, despoiled them, and cast them into prison.

Orleans had not yet given up the intention of asserting his suzerainty over Pisa. But in November 1407, one frosty night, as he was riding home down the Rue Vieille du Temple, the assassins of Burgundy lay in wait for him, and ended then and there the chances of his future.* His death left Burgundy supreme in France; it left Boucicaut unrivalled in Italy.

Almost immediately the Marshal returned to his design of a vast Franco-Italian province, not conquered by a regular invasion, but persuaded into the obedience of the French King and the French Pope. In 1409 he sent to the King and asked for a battalion of a thousand men, to be paid out of the revenues of Genoa. He hoped to gain for France the Protectorate of Lombardy, divided grievously by Guelph and Ghibelline. Filippo-Maria, Count of Pavia, together with the Marquis of Montferrat and other Ghibelline nobles, had revolted against the Duke, and the two parties were at civil war. In this extremity the Duke listened to the advice of the Torriani party: he sent for Boucicaut to Milan, offering him the post of Governor, and volunteering to become the vassal of the King. Boucicaut quitted Genoa in haste, and entered Milan on the 29th of August (1409), at the head of several thousand horse.

Boucicaut rode into Milan with solemnity and fervour. The hour so long dreamed of had arrived. In the north of Italy a vast stretch of territory, from Piedmont to the Tuscan frontier, from the Ligurian coast to the further edge of Lom-

* For the murder of the Duke of Orleans, and the French claim to Milan, see Mme. Darmesteter, 'End of the Middle Ages.'

bardy,

bardly, acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of France. The Marshal took his new position very seriously; before he had been a week in the town he began his work of reform. He persuaded the rebel garrison of the Castello to receive the Duke. He minted a new piece of money, of which three go to the penny: 'Faceva assai novità,' says Corio, 'secondo il suo costume'—he enacted many new things according to his custom. But while he had been establishing the Guelphs in Milan, the Ghibellines had taken their revenge in Genoa. On the 5th of September, a Friday, about sunset, the Marquis of Montferrat was 'with great joy and festivity' introduced into the city. Chazeron, the Lieutenant of Boucicaut, was cut in pieces; the whole of the French garrison shared his fate. As for the other Frenchmen in the town, some were massacred, others plundered and outcast. It was the Sicilian Vespers done in little.

The same day, the Ghibelline force marched to Novi, and, occupying that place, laid siege to the citadel. Next day, the 6th of September, the news of this advance came to Boucicaut, and at the same time he heard of the loss of Genoa. He and his men were in great dismay. They knew they were in Milan only on sufferance, by favour of the Duke and the Torriani party; but the Malatesta party of the Guelphs and all the Ghibellines were dead against them. Let it once be known that Genoa was no longer French, but in the hands of Ghibelline Montferrat, their prestige would be gone; and it was indeed most likely that the Milanese would rise and slaughter them, even as their countrymen had been slain in Genoa. All that night the French rode about in the streets of Milan, keeping watch and ward that no new messengers should enter the city. For their one chance of safety was to acknowledge the siege of Novi, and ride to the relief of that town before the loss of Genoa was known in Milan. This they did on the morrow morning. But Boucicaut did not withdraw his troops until he had solemnly admonished the young Duke that he held his Duchy from the Crown of France, and must act as the true vassal and obedient kinsman of the King.

But, as had been foreseen, no sooner was the loss of Genoa made public, than Milan revolted from the French allegiance, and the few ill-starred Frenchmen who had dared to stay in the city were thrown by the Duke to the hounds of his kennel.*

* 'Incontinent le Duc de Millan les fit prendre et manger à ses chiens' (Chartier's Chronicle). These unhappy Frenchmen were not alone in their fate, nor the first to suffer it. The hounds of Giovanni-Maria Visconti replaced the lions of a Roman amphitheatre.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile Boucicaut and his 6000 horse essayed in vain to regain either Novi or Genoa. They could not even approach the latter city, well defended by the cunning dykes and earthworks of Facino Cane. For some months they lingered on the Riviera, retreating gradually into Piedmont. Early in 1410 they had to acknowledge that the game was up; they crossed the Alps, and rode home to France, sadly enough, for, through their indiscretion, King Charles had lost not only Liguria and Lombardy, but many ports and settlements of the Genoese in Asia. Both as a means for extending their commerce, as a source of revenue, and as a guarantee for the security of other French possessions south of the Alps, the French possessed no city equivalent to Genoa.

The French continued to nourish the memory of their Ligurian Protectorate, and hoped to regain it, while every Italian Power in every difficulty continued to promise the recovery of Genoa as the reward of French interference.

Meanwhile the affairs of the Church continued to serve the French. The Council of Pisa, in 1409, deposed alike Gregory and Benedict in favour of Alexander; but Ladislas of Naples remained faithful to Gregory. When, therefore, Louis II. of Anjou marched into Southern Italy, he was sustained not only by Florence—a staunch partisan of the candidate who was to close the Schism, and at that moment an avowed enemy of Ladislas—but by the Pope himself. Thus supported, Louis gained an important victory at Rocca Secca in 1411. But he did not know how to follow up his triumph; and Ladislas, who had by this time made peace with Florence and abandoned Gregory, remained the master of the field.

Louis of Anjou was forced to return to France. He had not yet abandoned his pretensions to Naples, any more than the King had renounced his claims to Genoa; but the home affairs of France were so distracted and so intricate, that the moment was not favourable for a great Italian expedition. Louis of Anjou succeeded at the Court of France to the position which thirty or forty years ago his father had held in opposition to the elder Burgundy. So long as Louis of Orleans lived, there had been no room on that scene for a lesser presence; but, Orleans dead, Anjou and Armagnac joined themselves with his young son to carry on his tradition. Louis of Anjou enjoyed at last an eminent, a preponderant position in the affairs of France. He married his young daughter to that third son of the King who afterwards became the Dauphin, and, in due course of time, Charles VII. Thus the duties and embarrassments of the titular
King

King of Sicily at the Court of France were scarcely less than they had been in the case of his father.

But Louis had not forgotten Naples; the Crown had not forgotten Genoa. In 1412 Montferrat was driven out of the Ligurian Republic; in 1414 Ladislas died. The moment had certainly come for a great French invasion, which should secure at one time the North and the South of the Peninsula. And doubtless this expedition would have taken place but for another, a fatal battle, fought nearer home. On the 25th October, 1415, the Battle of Agincourt decided the fate of France for the next thirty years. Eleven thousand Frenchmen were left dead upon the field; a hundred and twenty-seven of them princes or great nobles. And among those who did not die, the goodliest went into captivity: Marshal Boucicaut and his son, the young Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Piedmont, with fifteen hundred other persons of importance, passed, with the hopes and the ambitions of France, into the keeping of the English.

The terms were changed: there was no longer a question of Italy for the French, but rather of France for England; so for a while the ambition of France lay dormant. Seventy-four years later, the magnificent ephemeral cavalcade of Charles VIII. across the astounded Peninsula appeared to realize that ambition. And for a while the sovereigns of Europe paled again before that 'second Charlemagne,' and rumours spread of the new Pope whom he meant to seat upon the throne of St. Peter's and of the deposing of the Emperor in his favour. But Charles, who aimed at the empire of the East, who, it may be, aspired to the suzerainty of Turkey, was no less incapable than his ancestors of that weighty *Monarchia*. The wars of Louis XII. and Francis I. ended, as we know, in utter failure, and the long triumph of the Spanish Hapsburgs.

But for one moment, in a future very distant then, the ancient desire of *Monarchia* should actually be accomplished. Yet we may be sure that the great Napoleon, least ancestral, least traditional of monarchs, little knew how long-standing and oft-attempted an ambition of his country he should for a moment convert into reality. But the rule of the French in Italy or Germany brought their country no new provinces across the Alps, beyond the Rhine. The spirit of that rule was strangely vivifying; and the dream that the subject-countries dreamed for an hour in French, they awoke to utter in German—in Italian.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning*.
16 vols. London, 1889.
2. *Asolando*. By Robert Browning. 1 vol. London, 1889.

IF Browning's poetic force were allied with a corresponding feeling for poetic form,—if his poetic susceptibility were paired with an equal endowment of poetic sense,—he would have been beyond dispute the greatest poet England has possessed for many generations. Whether his work is classed as prose or poetry, it towers above the low level of ordinary literature. Those who have traversed the rocks which are confusedly hurled together like fragments of an earlier world, and climbed the rugged heights which sentinel the road, bring back glowing reports of an enchanted land. The wind blows hard in their teeth; the path is uphill all the way; but the summit is a shining table-land of ideal beauty, commanding a wide survey of human life, and breathing a bracing and invigorating atmosphere.

No poet has enjoyed more ardent admirers; no poet has had fewer casual acquaintances. Defects of manner and of form—so real that they cannot be explained away, so patent that they cannot be ignored—repel the advances of would-be readers. Yet these superficial obstacles have perhaps militated less against his popularity than his matter. And here the fault lies at least as much with the reader as with the poet. Browning's poetry is peculiarly needed by the present generation. It is a counter-irritant to that poison of subjectivity which impels poets to shut themselves up in the maze of their own personal experiences, and to humanize Nature because they cannot dramatise Man. When, day by day, originality grows more rare, when eccentricity masquerades as independence, when men's minds are more and more cast in uniform moulds, and when forty poets write like one, it is something that Browning reversed the conventional value of expression above substance, refused to turn the handle of a music-box, disdained the shower of similes which displayed the ingenious fancy of the pyrotechnic artist. His very ruggedness is a protest against that creamy smoothness which emasculates religion, enervates literature, and robs character of its virility. The poet is popular who expresses the sentiments of the age with the most graceful tenderness. But Browning never, or rarely, echoes the thoughts of others. He constrains them to think with him. His poetry cannot be read by the man who runs. It demands study; it cannot be skimmed. And here again

again he opposed the tendency of the day. Modern education and modern haste encourage snatchy habits of thought and reading. Our minds are built to resemble modern houses in which all is imitation and show, and in which stucco does duty for stone and veneer for oak. We resent continuous effort. We refuse pearls, if we ourselves have to dive for them.

Yet, in spite of these and other obstacles to popularity, the opinion is gaining ground that Browning is our greatest modern seer. It is a less debatable position to say that in bulk his work has never been surpassed, and that his seventeen volumes are crammed to congestion with condensed thought, imagination, suggestion, characterization, and dramatic situation. His themes are not more varied than his treatment. In both his versatility is phenomenal. He appeals to his readers by the catholicity of his poetic gifts, by intellectual strength, refinement, swiftness and sustained energy of thought, imaginative power, broad realistic humour, spiritual passion, the capacity to conceive, and express, the subtlest complexities of the human mind. He accepts and enjoys the world without losing sight of its unseen realities. He possesses a profound knowledge of human nature in all its infinite gradations; yet he confronts with steady courage the problems of life and destiny. He is a valiant soldier of humanity, chanting his *sursum corda* to the world, not in ecstatic hope but in calm conviction, indulging in no humanitarian extravagances, never lapsing into despondency or philosophical morbidity. He presents life to us as at once serious and joyous—a boon to be enjoyed, a means to be used. He explores its mazes, feeling where he cannot see. Keenly alive to the questionings of doubt, he yet says his say on the side of faith with emphatic earnestness, and urges with unrivalled force the moral arguments for the working idea of Christianity. His spiritual influence has been as wide as it has also proved stimulating. His firm courage rings in such lines as those which were Gordon's favourite passage:—

‘I go to prove my soul
I see my way as birds their trackless way.
I shall arrive! What time, what circuit first,
I ask not; but unless God send His hail
Or blinding fireballs, sleet or stifling snow,
In some time, His good time, I shall arrive;
He guides me and the bird. In His good time!’

Born at Camberwell in 1812, Browning fell under the influence in his early years of the survivors of the Revolutionary

tionary period. They were men who, if they dared to hope at all, had hoped with unexampled vehemence. They had trusted that the new birth with which the world travailed would be wholly good,—that almost in a day, like a Russian spring, the snow would melt, the ice dissolve, and the earth be clothed with a sudden rush of verdure. Byron, Keats, Shelley, and Wordsworth, left their impressions upon a mind which was singularly precocious in its maturity. Byron's force and energy, but not his fierce scorn of the world, swayed for a moment the youthful Browning. His first compositions were in the Byronic vein. More permanent was the influence of Keats, whose joy in beauty and rich sensuous equipment evoked ready response from the artistic sympathies of the boy. It is probable that Keats first attracted Browning to the study of Greek literature, and Medieval and Renaissance art, though he never echoed his prayer for the 'clear calm vision of Hellenic eyes,' or his sigh for Robin Hood. But strongest of all was the influence of Shelley. 'Popularity' shows that Browning recognized the genius of Keats; 'Pauline' proves how early in life he had stood beside 'the naked Swift-footed,' and 'bound his forehead with Proserpine's hair.' But Shelley is the Sun-Treader of 'Paracelsus,' and the figure of Aprile is an embodiment of his strength and weakness; the lyric emotion of descriptive passages of 'Pauline' again and again recalls 'Alastor'; the man who had once seen Shelley plain is transfigured in the eyes of the young poetic disciple; Shelley's 'pure face' is seen among the spectral audience of Sordello who listen to that tangled tale of medieval Italy; 'Memorabilia' speaks the praise of the poet, and, in the prose essay which he prefixed to the spurious letters, Browning states his critical appreciation of Shelley's work. In Shelley's struggle to reach heights unattainable on earth, in his divine discontent with the conditions of human life, in his insistence upon the passions that are outlaws of time and space, in his effort to present the correspondencies of the real to the ideal, of the natural to the spiritual, of the universe to the Deity, lie the elemental spirit and the constant aim of Browning. Later and less apparent was the influence of Wordsworth. Browning is the complement of the older poet, the Wordsworth of Man. He finds in the spiritual struggles of individual souls the revelation of God which Wordsworth detected in Nature. Both poets are alike in their stress on the simple discharge of duty, in their insistence upon the supremacy of love over knowledge, in the intensity of their faith, in their subjection of all things temporal to that in which they see affinities to the heavenly and eternal.

Browning

Browning carried with him something of Byron's energy, Keats' artistic joy, Shelley's ideal passion, and Wordsworth's transcendentalism, into the orderly scientific age which succeeded the romantic period. In 1830 the atmosphere had visibly cooled. The search for ideal principles is at an end; their limited application in practical life begins. Political changes are useful, not exciting; evolution, not cataclysm, is the parent of social advance. Natural science was the Gospel of the new era. A sensational philosophy dethroned idealism from its seat. Physics claimed the sovereignty of the mind; its methods of investigation were applied to every department of mental activity; they coloured art; they embraced history and religion. Facts, positive ideas, exact knowledge, strict reasoning, physical conceptions, energetic realism, the free search for truth, guided the current of thought. At no previous period were thinkers more occupied with problems of human life; but they sought the solution in the discovery of laws, in nature, and in society. A world exclusively dominated by the scientific spirit offered little scope for passion, enthusiasm, religious rapture. The sense of the order and the principle which are manifested in the regularity of natural processes obliterated the idea of the Will or Love of a Personal God. Humanity claimed a broader field in thought and interests; but it was mankind not men, the race not the individual, the species not the person, which exercised the fascination. Human progress ceased to depend on personal effort or single struggles. It rested on accumulated precedents, widening knowledge, uniform evolution. The attitude of wisdom grew to be submission not aspiration, philosophic calm instead of a struggle. The ideal of character was self-government, self-repression, self-control. 'Nothing is that errs from law.'

Those poets gained most immediate popularity, who expressed the prevailing currents of thought, interpreted their meaning to the world, served as the connecting links between ordinary men and the pioneers of science. Those poets who attempt to stem the tide can only hope for posthumous rewards. They are the contemporaries of their ancestors or of posterity. They cannot hope for cordial recognition from an age with which they are out of sympathy. Till within the last fifteen years of his life Browning swam against the stream. From first to last, he insisted upon the relativity of scientific knowledge, its inadequacy to satisfy the whole needs of man, its subordinate action in crises of moral growth. He protested against the all-embracing realism of physical science, advocated an enlarged idealism, which is born of the depths of spiritual

passion yet borrows strength and solidity from experience, and claimed to find in emotion, faith, and imagination, clues to the nature and destiny of man which were furnished neither by facts nor laws. He upheld the existence of an inner, as well as an outer, world. With Napoleon, he exclaimed, 'Je sens en moi l'infini.' He denied that experience could verify all beliefs, or resolve all questions which it can state. He found in thought an ultimate fact of existence behind which mortals cannot pierce. The existence of God and the Soul he accepts as primary facts; the meaning of the latter, and its relations with the former, are the goal of his research, and the burden of all his poetry. Like physical scientists, he considered man to be the main object of all knowledge, and, like them, reasons from consciousness. But while science recognizes no starting-point outside, or beyond, the human mind, Browning acknowledges a conscious external First Cause. Science tracks the impulse of life downwards to blind, inorganic forces; Browning, relying on the mysterious facts of his existence, and satisfied with the revelations which they seem to convey to him, traces the source of life upwards to the summit of creation. He appealed to spiritual, not scientific, experience, to imaginative, not logical, reason as illuminating the dark places of life. By investigating human thoughts, beliefs, ideas, passions, and feelings, he endeavours to discover a passage through the visible events of the world to the unseen universe beyond. But while his aim is ideal, he institutes his search in the spirit of scientific realism. His guides are not guesses but observation, not intuitions but experiences, not abstractions but living men and women. His method is dramatic and not typical. His perception of the reality of the world of ideas was not stronger than his grasp of the world of facts. He strove to reach the ideal through the real, to illuminate limited experience by revealing its infinite significance, to transfigure finite interests by insisting upon their unconditioned bearings, to interpret the human mind by a just reading of its spiritual scope and meaning. It is his firm grasp upon the two worlds of mind and matter which gives to his dramatic studies their suggestive depth.

The lifelong opposition of Browning to prevailing currents of thought, and his refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of physical science, explains some portion of the neglect which was for many years his fate. A more significant question is suggested by the reaction in his favour, which has gathered strength during the last fifteen years. Is there a change in literary fashion? Has the worship of a handful of votaries forced

forced him upon the nation? Or is the reaction a sign that the tide has turned against the despotism of science, an expression of the feeling that physical knowledge is inadequate sustenance, a revolt against a narrow culture, a demand for more potent dynamic forces than a negative philosophy or a destructive criticism can supply, a search for some more life-giving interpretation of the world than laws or general principles can furnish? Physical science has played a noble part in destroying mischievous delusions and superstitions, in strengthening the foundations of mental growth, in widening the sphere of human knowledge. But the hope that it would solve the mystery of the world or lift the burden of life, has for many minds faded and fled. The disappointment is the secret of the despair and melancholy which is expressed in so much of our literature. All who feel the pathetic sense of bereavement, or sigh regretfully for the old beliefs which science has shaken or dispelled, are more in sympathy with Browning than they were when they believed in another Gospel. The increased appreciation of Browning's poetry, the spread of Browning societies, the growth of a Browning literature, the multiplied sale of his works, are, in our opinion, significant signs of the reaction. Some portion at least of the tide is flowing back to the point where fifty-six years ago Browning took his stand, and where, with sturdy independence and resolute tenacity, he remained till his death. Neglect was his reward, and it not only marred his powers and exaggerated his faults, but cut him to the quick. But if the tide has in truth turned in his direction, the fact suggests a number of questions which must necessarily give to the study of his poetry a fresh impulse and new meaning.

Even if the bulk and the variety did not forbid the attempt, little profit would be derived from a chronological study or classification of Browning's works. His mind, though never stagnant and always expanding, was as stable as it was precocious. His mental principles remained the same throughout the whole of his long poetic career. Nor can any continuous growth be traced in his art. His most characteristic method, and favourite instrument, were the choice of early manhood. The same stability is conspicuous in his ethical teaching. It scarcely varied from 1832 to 1889. Where, as in the case of Browning, the ordinary processes, by which criticism expresses itself, cannot be applied, it is sometimes well to imitate the poet's own method. If Browning's process could be applied with Browning's power to his own writings, the result would be a dramatic embodiment of the working of the poet's mind, an

embodiment which would be all the more valuable as he never or rarely speaks in his own person. Such a task is impossible. Our own course is humbler in scope. We propose to ask, and attempt to answer, three questions, careless whether, or no, they are those on which Browning himself would have insisted. First, what were Browning's characteristic theme, distinctive method, and favourite instrument? Secondly, what was the kernel of his ethical teaching, and how does he apply its principles to Life, Religion, Art, and Love? Thirdly, what are his chief merits and defects as a Poet? If these three questions could be fully answered, the result would be an estimate of Browning's poetic genius.

Browning's characteristic theme is the scope and meaning of the human soul, the interior life and its laws. Spiritual dynamics are his passion. He explores the shadowy region in which ideas, feelings, motives, are generated by elusive impalpable elements. He notes everything which moves or reveals the soul, in order that he may disclose its mental machinery. He is the Columbus of a new continent, and both the voyage and the country itself are strange to us. His aim is to seize the unacted, unspoken impulses of a character, for he is convinced that speech or conduct imperfectly expresses real motives. Action does not translate thought truthfully or idiomatically. In the working of the mind upon itself, in the rise and growth of particular moods, in the inward conflict of feeling, is laid bare the soul's conception of itself. So it is that Browning prizes particular crises and particular characters. On the one hand he values those moments of intense passion which make their own laws, those sudden crises which lift men off their feet or catch them off their guard, those strange conjunctures which break down barriers, stifle prudence, and sweep away conventionality. Such lightning-flashes light up the very essence of human nature, and reveal the soul to itself. On the other hand, he is, on similar grounds, attracted to strong passionate characters, who alone are capable of the requisite intensity and energy of feeling. It is not the laws of life which he esteems but the exceptions.

So far we have seen Browning only as a metaphysical poet. Had he been a less emotional thinker and a more systematic reasoner, he might have exercised his mind upon the problem of thought. That, however, he takes for granted as an ultimate fact of existence. The barrier is recognized, and his mental energies escape in another direction. It is not thought only, but life and thought which arrest his attention. To him both are equally realities. He does not separate them, and attempt to deal exclusively either as a Seer with thought, or as a Maker with

with life. He welds the two together in a compacted whole. In other words, he is not metaphysical only, but also dramatic. This unity of treatment is his distinctive method. It is a fresh department in literature; it first pulls to pieces, and then reconstructs; it is analytic in process and synthetic in presentation. Browning claims for the word 'drama' a new and extended meaning, a meaning which may be critically imperfect but which must be tested by its own results. The stage is the fitting vehicle for exhibiting character in action; it is ill-adapted to express action in character. The ordinary drama reveals the results, rather than the processes, of character. All the subtler motives, thoughts, and feelings, which generate speech or conduct, lie concealed. It is life, not thought, which is exhibited. Browning wished to exhibit both together. He demanded greater latitude, greater intimacy, more inward truth, than the drama permitted. For several years he wrote acting plays, which are, in our opinion, failures as dramas of action. He abandoned the stage because he wished to touch points which he could not hope to shape into complete plays, to portray dramas of mental conflict that could not be shown on the stage of action, to trace the tragedies and farces of the intellectual world which are witnessed only by God and His angels. For these purposes a new literary form was required; a form that was primarily inward, abstract, analytical, and secondarily outward, concrete, synthetic; a treatment which was both subjective and objective; a method which offered scope for a genius at once metaphysical and dramatic. This new form he found in the introspective drama of thought.

The scope and meaning of the soul is Browning's most characteristic theme; the introspective drama his distinctive method. His favourite instrument is the monologue. It is the only instrument appropriate to his purpose. Where the interest of a play depends upon action, it is produced by the grouping of a number of characters who each assist in producing the required result. Their speech as well as conduct promote the crisis or heighten its effect. But the interest of the introspective drama depends upon the formation of an individual character. To this object all else is subordinate; upon it everything is concentrated. No instrument can so fitly exhibit the speaker's own soul as his own speech. In a pure or slightly modified form of monologue all Browning's most characteristic work is done.

Theme, method, and instrument, are to some extent new. Browning dispenses with all

'The simulation of the painted scene,
Boards, actors, prompters, gaslights, and costumes.'

He

He exhibits character in feelings, motives, thought. If drama is confined to that which is enacted, his dramatic power may be reasonably disputed. His acting plays contain many noble passages, many effective situations, many finely-conceived characters. But they remain brilliant failures. The minor developments which prepare catastrophes are neglected, so that the action is hurried, and the outline indistinct: the story is not unfolded with straightforward ease; the action interests neither author nor audience; the situations, though individually effective, are disconnected. Even in the introspective drama, which is his own chosen field, he is not in one sense dramatic. He does not merge himself in his characters, but always speaks with his vizor raised. His thought is vividly embodied in real men and women; but the embodiment is often permeated with his own strong personality. He enters into the hearts and minds of his creations, lodges himself there, scrutinises their experiences, analyses their motives, and presents them and their case in the light of his own mental habits. On the other hand, no dramatist except Shakspeare has created so vast a variety of human characters, each distinctively individualized, each surrounded by circumstances of his own appropriate world, set in a frame which is drawn with infinite detail and unfailing sympathy. His abstractions are always translated into terms of real life, and his thought is always presented in living characters. Browning himself is repeated; but the vitality of no one creation is impaired; each figure is complete and distinct in itself. The poet is present indeed; but he gives us no models twisted into a fitting pose, through whose mouths he utters his own opinions or appropriate meditations. Here is no simulation of life more ghastly than original death, no play of limb and feature reflected from the individuality of the artist. On the contrary, Browning has produced a varied range of characters, drawn from every scale of humanity, every age and every clime, men and women throbbing with life and passion, intense in the expression of emotions which they intensely feel. It is true that he relies upon the quick apprehensions of his readers, that he requires them to meet him half-way with their energies fully awake, and that his character-pieces are presented without aid from actors, stage direction, or action. His scenery is laid in the chambers of thought; his persons are feelings, his situations transitions of emotion, his crises moments in the growth of moods, his catastrophes the moods themselves. The mental vicissitudes which he traces are embodied and individualized, not by the actions which interpret formed characters, but by the impulses which reveal characters in process of formation.

formation. But, in spite of these difficulties, he has reanimated dead minds and given them voice to proclaim their inmost secrets, because he has fused his live soul with the inert mass by the sympathetic action of a vivid imagination. And in so doing he has created a new form of dramatic literature, and taken

‘for a nobler stage the soul itself,
Its shifting fancies and celestial lights,
With all its grand orchestral silences,
To keep the pauses of the rhythmic sounds.’

The definition of Browning's theme, method, and instrument, prepares us for his peculiar teaching, though the currents of his thought are too conflicting, and their results perhaps too hybrid, to be acceptable to logical minds. It is the individual and all that constitutes his individuality, which fascinate his attention. Instances not laws, particulars not generals, are his interest. He studies complexity rather than unity. The fullest realization of each man's individuality is the core of his philosophy, and the progressive desire of each individual is the dynamic force of human life. Filled with a sense of human personality, vividly impressed with his own independent existence, intensely convinced of the individuality of thought, his imagination treasures the idea of each separate human spirit in all its transcendent mystery. Masses of men, general movements, currents of thought, exercise over him no spell. This doctrine of individuality is the basis of his art, the core of his philosophy, the key to his religion. It dictates the theme, the method, and the instrument, of his dramatic work. Whether men act alike or differently, their motives are never the same; until the forces which generate conduct are revealed, the actor is a riddle. Each man is to be judged by the use he makes of his life's probation, by his truth to his own perceptions of right or wrong, to his own conceptions of his soul; in a word, to his own individual nature. Success or failure are inadequate tests, even as good or bad actions are imperfect standards. No man, again, is great or small, for each separate life is the centre of creation. Circumstances are moulded for the needs of every individual soul. Thus individuality becomes the parent of his buoyant optimism. He tolerates evil and suffering because they bring into play personal compensations. To the same source may be traced his belief in the relativity of all knowledge, his rejection of universal revelation, his protest against dogmatic belief. All thought is personal to the brain that thinks it. Even moral truth evades systematic definition. The same
sense

sense of individuality inspires his love of all that is unusual, his hatred of all conventionality, his insistence upon the emotional side of human nature. It aids his faith in the manifestation of the Deity in Humanity; it forms part of the ground on which he bases his belief in Immortality; it helps him to his recognition of a Personal God. It is the secret of his casuistry, his eccentricity in choice of subjects, his neglect of received canons of poetic composition. It is the key to some of his most irritating mannerisms; it is also the magic of his poetic charm.

This belief in individuality necessarily opposed Browning to much of the thought of his own day. He rejects the scientific spirit which recognizes God, if at all, in the cosmic order of the Universe, or finds evidence of a Personal Will in the preconceived ends towards which Nature works. He renounces the generalizations which rest faith in progress upon the immanence of law, the broadening pursuit of precedents, the slow evolution of more perfect types of humanity. He repudiates the classifying methods which discover general principles in the actions of men's minds, concentrate attention upon the race, and find a common goal in the Golden Age of the Federation of the World, and the Parliament of Man. Regarding life as a test of the individual character of each separate human being, he seizes with peculiar force on the idea of a Personal God. He supports his faith, not by the stress which he lays upon the obedience of natural processes to the operation of Divine laws, but upon the Will, Power, and Love, which are evidenced in every form of life throughout the everlasting minute of creation. His firm grasp of the individuality of man, and of the Personality of God, gives a peculiarity to his treatment of Nature. God is not manifested to Man in the physical or moral Order of the Universe; it is through human emotions that the Deity is apprehended. Consequently Browning allows Nature to play no part in the Divine revelation; he never treats her as a grand meditative symbol. He does not impute to her his own moods, or, like Wordsworth, surrender himself to her teaching. His need is always the 'world of men,' and he derides the tendency to adore Nature, at the expense of humanity:—

"O Littleness of man!" deplores the bard;
And then, for fear the Powers should punish him,
"O grandeur of the visible Universe
Our human littleness contrasts withal;
O sun, O moon, ye mountains, and thou sea,
Thou emblem of immensity, thou this,

That

That and the other,—what impatience
 In man to eat and drink and walk about,
 And have his little notions of his own,
 The while some wave sheds foam upon the shore.”

His belief in men, and his faith in human progress, are supported by the stress which he lays on the separate lives of individual men. He does not look forward to the destiny of the race, or to the ‘statelier Eden’ of a regenerated world, but trusts in the heaven which each may attain for himself. And in the discipline and spiritual struggles of single souls, in the unsatisfied longings of men, in their revolt from the limitations of the world, in their rebellion against conditions of time and space, in their unmeasured hunger for absolute love or infinite knowledge,—in a word, in their progressive desires, he finds his hope of spiritual advance and sees the evidence of a future life. He does not ask to be hidden from his deep emotion. On the contrary, he considers the rush of passion and the play of fierce feeling to be the grand factors in human existence. To the powerlessness of the individual will and to the absorption of the unit in the aggregate, he opposes personal freedom of volition and the fullest realization of each distinctive personality. Against self-restraint, submission, and the defensive side of morality, he asserts the value of impulses, passions, and discontent, as the allies and not the enemies of human progress. In contrast to orderly evolution, racial development, or philosophic calm, he emphasises the separate struggles of individuals, the crises which break the torpor of life, the lightning flashes that reveal the blasted plain of quiescent passivity.

Individuality, then, is Browning’s most characteristic Gospel. The fascination which it exercises over him dictates his poetic theme, method, and instrument. It governs his attitude towards Nature. It gives him his absorbing interest in men. How does he apply its lessons to Life, Religion, Art, and Love?

To attempt an exhaustive summary of Browning’s philosophy of life would be too great a task for limited space. The points which best serve our present purpose are his views of the use of life, the law of life, the blessing of life, the entirety and the continuity of life. Life is a school of probation in which each individual man fits himself for a higher sphere, an education in love of truth and abhorrence of falsehood, a ripening of faith for sight. Its end is spiritual progress, the advancement of the soul. And seeing that spiritual growth is thus the use and end of life, it follows that religious experiences cannot be final. If truths of religion were clear, there would be no scope for progress.

Hence

Hence it is that each age and each individual work out religious problems in their own way. And this universal law is not evil but good. Perfect knowledge is unattainable. But it is the attempt to make the best of ourselves as we are that constitutes real life. The restriction of our powers, the greatness of our task, the brevity of our lives, the rudeness of our tools, must not deter us from the effort to execute our purpose. The work will necessarily prove ill-fashioned. But if perfect knowledge, or full resources, waited on our will, there would be no room for praise. It is better to strive towards making, however uncouth the product, than to repose on anything which we find made. Every man falls short of his ideal; all feel their opportunities shackled; all compare the petty done with the vast undone; all contrast the present with the hopeful past. We are but half men; hand and brain are never paired; act never fully responds to thought. Aspiration is achievement. In this life we are blessed by our unsatisfied yearnings for impossible ideals rather than by the complete realization of limited desires. The true law of life is not submission, but endless aspiration,

‘ With still a flying point of bliss remote,
A happiness in store afar, a sphere
Of distant glory in full view.’

Or, as Browning has expressed the same predominant faith in his latest volume,—

‘ . . . Life is—to wake not sleep,
Rise and not rest, but press
From earth’s level where blindly creep
Things perfected, more or less,
To the heaven’s height, far and steep.’

The use of life is spiritual growth, its law is progressive desire. What is its blessing and its curse? The simple discharge of duty is the blessing, sluggish contentment the curse. Progressive desire rebukes inert submission. But, rightly understood, it does not create restlessness with circumstances or foster a craving for great opportunities. All service ranks the same with God. Every soul is spiritually equal in His sight; each is the centre and the epitome of creation; there is no greater or less. Each individual helps forward the Divine order by doing his duty in his allotted place. Theocrite gained the Papal tiara only to find that his lowly task of craftsman was more acceptable and indispensable to God. Pippa, the silk-winder of Asolo, was happier and more useful than her more enviable neighbours. Life is not the creature of circumstances.

stances. Its value and meaning to each individual is measured, not by success or achievement, but by the passion, intensity, and sincerity, with which it is lived. To be nothing, whether for good or evil, that is the curse. Sluggish contentment is the one great curse of existence.

'Let a man contend to the uttermost
For his life's set prize, be it what it will!

* * * *

And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin.'

Without strenuous endeavour, we are

'left in God's contempt apart,
With ghastly smooth life, dead at heart.'

Though the use of life is spiritual growth, and its law progressive desire, men must submit to the terms of life, accept and utilise its conditions and limitations. Those who refuse to do so, miss the secret, and violate the natural laws, of the fulness or entirety of life. Contentment with perishable joys as final is not more fatal to true growth than the resentment of limited opportunities which dissipates noble powers. The acceptance of earthly aims as sufficient excluded the speaker in Easter Day from the Heavenly Eden. The pursuit of absolute knowledge, the thirst for infinite love, the energy of unlimited will, made shipwreck of Paracelsus, Aprile, and Sordello. Unless intellect, and heart, and will, obey the conditions of this limited existence, they find no scope, violate the laws of life, and end in enervation. If they attempt in this world to do the work of eternity, to gain infinite consciousness from finite powers, they fail. A Cleon finds that the possession of all that is highest in material civilization does not bring happiness, because the desire for joy always transcends the capacity for enjoyment. Equally a Lazarus, to whom Heaven is opened while he is yet a sojourner upon Earth, regards all fleeting objects as too trivial to repay the struggle, and sinks into passivity from the premature preponderance of the spirit. Men cannot ignore the finite or the infinite. The fulness of life consists in the balance between the flesh and the spirit, each of which has its allotted sphere. The mind cannot spurn the body, or the imagination the reality. In this life the spiritual is bound up in the material. And of this great lesson the Incarnation is the highest manifestation.

Life in its entirety, life in both its material and spiritual aspects, affords the only sphere for that spiritual growth which is the distinctive mark of humanity, and for obedience to that
progressive

progressive desire which is the law of human existence. Life cannot be lived except as a whole. It cannot be taken in parts. Its purpose is the education of the soul. Becoming, not doing, is the standard of progress, and the test lies in the intimate recesses of each individual heart. Every stage of life has its fitting lessons, every element in nature its office to discharge. Youth and age have each its appropriate work. The first part of life is made for the last; the best lies beyond:

‘Our times are in His hand
Who said, “A whole I planned.”

Youth shows but half; trust God; see all, nor be afraid.’

Age robs us of many treasures, but it ripens faith for sight; it prepares our eyes for the breaking of another morning:

‘How else would’st thou retire apart
With the hoarded memories of thy heart,
And gather all to the very least
Of the fragments of life’s earlier feast,
Let fall thro’ eagerness to find
The crowning dainties yet behind.’

Pain is hard to bear, but it is the fount of gain. Seal the source, and the stream is stopped. Discords lend new joys to harmony; mutability forbids us to furl the wings of our souls; obstacles are tests whether we shall creep or climb, stepping-stones or stumbling-blocks; temptations are the occasions for achieving the mastery. Trials come that they may be met and trampled underfoot. Dangers threaten the purity of our souls. But the true servant of God will rather pray to be vouchsafed the opportunity of victory than plead to be spared the struggle. Doubt, fear, and sorrow, are necessities of the true spiritual life, which neither is calm nor indifference. Doubt breaks the torpor of assurance, and he who knows most doubts most. Without fear there could be no hope. Sorrow is spiritual force and swiftness; he who subdues its petulance and chains it to his car, defeats the slow safe steer, and wins the coveted palm. Full-orbed success is unattainable upon earth, and therefore, on the one hand, success is not a goal but a starting-point, and, on the other, failures have greater potency than achievements. Every enjoyment that brings with it a sense of finality is so far a negation of progress. Our very joys should be three parts pain.

Life must be taken as a whole in yet another sense. Our earthly existence is not all. Life has a continuity elsewhere. Aspirations, imperfections, failures, are intimations of future attainment. The unsatisfied desire for joy gives an earnest of
unlimited

unlimited capacity. Passing glimpses of unattainable happiness are hints of latent possibilities. August anticipations 'of a dim splendour ever on before,' Pisgah-sights, transient but glowing, of distant glory, are promises of a future sphere. The discipline of unused powers for uncompleted tasks suggests a full scope hereafter. Unspent stores of accumulated learning prophesy their employment in eternity. Our rough-hewn faultiness implies further time for more perfect growth. Partial victories are the first-fruits, not the fulness, of final triumph; defeats foretell future success. All are promises of the continuity of personal life beyond the grave. Thus time and eternity are not thrown together like separate blocks which encumber what they cannot fertilize, but are interspersed so that one is the complement of the other. Guilt triumphs over innocence. The triumph is of little value, even if it endures throughout the whole of an earthly life. Wait the explanation of the mystery, when existence has passed beyond its finite limits. Intellectual powers or moral feelings may be disciplined here without finding scope in Time. The scholar's self-sacrifice for unaccomplished tasks is not wasted.

'Earn the means first—God will surely contrive
Use for our earning.'

The self-devotion of the lover, if here it is unrequited, does not pass without reward.

'No, indeed! for God above
Is great to grant, as mighty to make,
And creates the love to reward the love;
I claim you still, for my own love's sake!
Delayed it may be for more lives yet,
Through worlds I shall traverse, not a few;
Much is to learn, much to forget,
Ere the time be come for taking you.'

Browning's idea of the continuity of personal existence may be pushed too far. But his philosophy of life is strong, hopeful, and invigorating, based as it is upon an intense realization of a future sphere, and of a loving God who gathers up the broken threads of our earthly existence, looking to effort rather than to result, and valuing us for all we tried, but failed, to be. At least it taught Browning to face death without a thought of fear. Familiar though the lines of 'Prospice' are to all lovers of the poet, they yet repay quotation:—

'Fear death? to feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,
When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,

The

The power of the night, the press of the storm,
 The post of the foe ;
 Where he stands, the Arch Fear in visible form,
 Yet the strong man must go :
 For the journey is done and the summit attained,
 And the barriers fall,
 Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
 The reward of it all.
 I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
 The best and the last !
 I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
 And bade me creep past.
 No ! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
 The heroes of old,
 Bear the brunt, in a moment pay glad life's arrears
 Of pain, darkness and cold.
 For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
 The black minute's at end,
 And the element's rage, the fiend voices that rave,
 Shall dwindle, shall blend,
 Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
 Then a light, then thy breast,
 O thou soul of my soul ! I shall clasp thee again,
 And with God be the rest.'

Age did not dim the splendour of his faith. He died, as he lived,—to quote from his last published lines, the Epilogue to 'Asolando,'—

'One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
 Never doubted clouds would break,
 Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
 Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
 Sleep to wake.'

As facts in the mental history, as products of human thought, as clues to the meaning of the soul, religious ideas fascinate Browning. It is their human aspect to which he turns. He examines them critically, and exhibits them dramatically, in their most general bearing on human life. Many poets put religion to literary uses. Without caring for its truth or falsehood, they cultivate its manifestations for artistic purposes. Other poets enforce special spiritual ideas with a pietistic narrowness, which lessens the literary influence of religious poetry. The attitude of Browning differs essentially from both. On the one side, his strong conviction of the elemental truth of great religious ideas gives fire to his utterances upon the central thought of a Personal God and His relations to men. On the other side, he rejects dogmatic creeds or universal revelation.

lation. Belief is, in his opinion, individual, personal, relative. Each individual must discover for himself what is true in his own case. No man can deny the truth of another's creed, or force upon another his own belief. Wherever there is love, Browning sees the figure of Christ in the midst, whether in the dome of St. Peter's, the homely chapel, or the lecture-room of the German rationalist.

It is not as a creed, still less as a body of religious opinion, that Christianity attracts Browning. It is as a living experience that its spell is potent. He finds in himself, and in other men, inner depths which science cannot explore, and materialism cannot explain; he is conscious of unsatisfied passions, and a sense of infinitude in the midst of finite conditions. For the light which it throws upon these obscurities, Browning values religion, and especially the Christian religion. Christianity has best interpreted, as he believed, our twofold nature. It has created the purest ideal of life, conceived the highest idea of man, asserted the existence of his soul, attached the deepest meaning of his powers, suggested the most intelligible view of the problem of his existence, offered eternity itself for the explanation of mysteries insoluble in time. The doctrine of the Incarnation gives to Browning the most perfect working idea of God, because it has satisfied, as no other creed has satisfied, the double requirement of human faith—the belief in some transcendent Power above all human thought, and trust in the tender humanity of the Creator and Sustainer of all flesh. The Incarnation engrafts weakness upon strength, binds up the spiritual in the material, and manifests the human in the Divine. In the supreme height of its love and self-sacrifice, it reveals, and realizes, the highest type of personality. Thus, though Browning approaches religion from its human side, and though he rejects revelation, he is a powerful witness to the human truth of Christianity. By their intense humanity, their vital influence on conduct, their freshness as living experiences, by the sanctity which faith in them gains from their relative and personal aspect, by their aspiration towards all that is purest within and whatever is highest without, Christian ideas will always, as Browning believes, retain their hold upon the world of human thought. He applies to the teaching of Christianity the spirit of modern criticism; he is blind to its corporate power; he rejects its divine credentials. And yet every poem so thrills and throbs with Christian sympathies, that Browning is the greatest Christian poet we have ever known.

Art, like religion, struggles to interpret the soul of man, and guarantees, even when it fails to express, his relation to God.

Hence

Hence Browning holds that mere beauty or mere technical mastery cannot compensate the absence of deeper value. Spiritual ideas are the soul both of painting and music. Yet Browning's æsthetic and artistic sympathies were deep. A rare sensuous equipment, trained and cultivated by long residence in Italy and familiarity with the works of great masters, a keen enjoyment of the beauty of nature, a mastery of the technique and history both of painting and music, seemed to designate him as a champion of Art for art's sake. But his human interests, ethical teaching, and dramatic instincts, impelled him to adopt the deeper treatment. He rejected the theory of the moral indifference of Art, and upheld the transcendental view that all beauty adumbrates the character of the Eternal One. Intent upon the study of the human soul, he seizes upon the intuitions of painters, which transcend their capacity of expression, or upon the instincts of musicians, which can be felt and suggested by sound, but which can neither be thought nor spoken, as clues to its scope and meaning. And in Art, as in thought or religious ideas, his special task is to trace the emotions which generate, or respond to, artistic work, to track out its springs, to investigate the source and the mission of painting, sculpture, poetry, and music.

In 'Old Pictures,' 'Fra Lippo,' and 'Andrea del Sarto,' he brings out the lessons, that the law of painting, as of life, is growth, not stagnation; and that art, like life, misses the fulness of truth when it neglects unity for either the spirit or the flesh. In spite of its technical faultiness, Christian art stands on a higher plane than the perfection of Greek art. The ideal is spiritual: it refuses to recognize the finality of earthly perfection; it counsels aspiration not submission. It failed, because in its struggle for the unseen it ignored the visible; it neglected the unity of life, and forgot Earth to pursue Heaven. In 'Fra Lippo' is illustrated the turning-point of the Renaissance. The unsaintly Frate, metamorphosed by the irony of fate into a monk, embodies the new motives of art, its delight in the joy of life, its desire for truth, its revolt against a false asceticism. But what art gained in one direction, it lost in another. Increased skill and freedom stifled the old impulse, silenced the testimony of the artistic soul to the reality of the ideal, blinded its insight into the spiritual essence of fleshly things. The true artist, striving to attain eternity, rich in the aspirations of progress, grasping at unattainable ideas, dwindled. An Andrea del Sarto, with all his technical mastery, could not emulate Raphael, because he had lost the spiritual impulse. His theme is small and lies within his grasp; his hands can execute all that

that his mind imagines; his conceptions are bounded by his attainments.

The same teaching, which Browning enforces in religion and painting, he applies to music. He reads the soul of music from within, as the art of arts, and as the highest interpreter of the passion and intuitions of the human mind. Different grades of music suggest various forms of life, and reveal different qualities of the human heart. A light 'Toccata of Galuppi' hints the gay *insouciance* of Venice; the fugue of 'Master Hugues' the futility of a life without meaning. But the soul of music and of life is revealed in the stately palace of sound, which the high emotion of Abt Vogler rears towards the sky, when Earth aspires to Heaven, and Heaven stoops downwards to raise its splendour to itself. The music dies away with all its suggestions of transcendental harmonies and revelations of mysterious analogies between the transient and eternal. The enchanted structure disappears beyond recall; but the value remains. Music, in its highest inspiration, transcends language and even thought. It can only be felt, and its feeling expressed in sound. Such emotions are like the passion of unfulfilled aspirations, or the moral yearnings of mankind, or the artist's intuitions which surpass his powers of expression. They are not merely intimations of human possibilities, but pledges of human achievement, and promises of the reality of all ideal good.

Religious and artistic thought or feeling are facts of the human soul, which Browning loves to investigate from his peculiar standpoint. They are windows through which he peers within the mind. They reveal to him, by their aspirations rather than by their attainments, the bent, scope, and destiny, of human nature. Their manifestations suggest the potentialities, as speech or conduct indicates the actualities, of life. But as thought is above knowledge, so love is greater than either, because it is the spirit of both. It is in the higher range of emotions that the depth and fulness of the soul is best realized; and the most powerful of the human passions is love in its mystical, ideal, spiritual fervour. Beauty of form, mind, or character, may inspire love of a certain kind. But in its most elemental type, love is the passion of soul for soul, an exchange of ideals, a response of depth to depth of human life. It is that impulse of being towards something external to itself, which is the Alpha and Omega of creation.

On this high plane Browning treats love. The serene confidence of his general view of life has not hardened his tenderness. But it is the soul of love, the forces by which it is generated, not the effects which it produces, on which he dwells.

And he handles his theme with a versatility, which includes a wide range of subtly differentiated feeling, in each case vividly and dramatically illustrated. His touch is always singularly refined. His sentiment never verges on hysteria; his warmth never strays towards coarseness. From the first he is saved by his virility, from the second by his idealism. Love is to Browning one of those supreme indomitable passions which upset the nice balance of prudential motives, reveal nature to itself, and raise us above the earth upon the wings of self-sacrifice. He treats it as a spark of the Life Divine, the vital influence of the soul, and the predestined test of its quality. It is life's highest prize and one enduring reality. Though unrequited, it brings its own reward. Those who have loved are better for the revelation, even if others win the prizes for which they contended. Love for love's sake enriches and perfects human existence, and blesses the lover to his life's end. It is the highest realization of personality, and without love life is imperfect. In its disinterestedness, it approaches the ideal of Divine Love manifested in the flesh. By learning love, men learn God, and love in life prepares them for a life of love. The higher the ideal, the more perfectly is this work fulfilled. Nor does it end in wedded life. The two souls become one: but the union, while it supplies each with fresh powers, deepens to both the meaning of life, and exercises a quickening influence which reveals new treasures of the Divine. The ideal may never be found. Yet, even then, its creation—unless life is a shadow and the soul deceit—is a prevision of the infinite, a promise of ultimate fruition, an intimation of eternity. So long as love exists, the most debased criminal has not passed beyond hope. At the last moment, like the flash of lightning riving the clouds, bursts the cry from a Guido Franceschini—

‘Pompilia, will you let them murder me?’

It would be easy to trace Browning's philosophy of life under further headings. But space is limited, and other questions demand attention. His characteristic theme has been described as the scope and meaning of the human soul, his distinctive method as introspective drama, his favourite instrument as dramatic monologue, his special teaching as the assertion of individuality. If these leading features are correctly described, they should assist us to form a general estimate of his poetic genius.

A considerable section of Browning's early poetry, and the greater part of his later verse, offend against received principles of poetic composition. His mind revolted, from many different quarters,

quarters, against fixed standards or universal laws. The magic of his best work lies in his insistence on all that is personal as distinguished from whatever is general. He treated human life and thought from a new standpoint and by a new literary method. One part of the poet's mission, as he interpreted it, was to uphold the highest verities of the facts of existence, the other to promote the fullest and freest development of human personality. He valued truth before beauty, preferred substance to expression, esteemed the laws of the art of poetry as means, not as ends in themselves. He claimed and exercised his liberty to select, and treat, his subjects according to the natural instincts of his individual genius. The protest, which his mind thus made against custom and conventionality, was re-echoed in his revolt against the letter of the poetic art. He is intolerant of platitude and rhetoric; he has little taste for the laboured point of epigram or antithesis; he disdains effectiveness, is careless of graceful facility, and spurns effeminate fastidiousness. By turns abrupt, quaint, ingenious, ironical, involved, he perplexes dulness and startles timidity. His aberrations of style are not affectations; they are the natural expression of a strongly-marked individuality. But they have done him a double disservice. On the one hand, they have raised up a host of champions, who adduce them as proofs of originality, or claim that the value of the poet's matter exonerates him from obedience to laws of form. On the other hand, they interpose between the poet and the public a mass of prejudice, which tests his work by preconceived standards, and condemns him unheard. Either extreme is equally unreasoning. Thought is essential to the highest poetry, but thought alone does not constitute the poet; the laws of the art of poetry are not so rigid as to exclude the possibility of revision and enlargement.

The most common charges against Browning may be classified into three groups: first, obscurity; secondly, roughness of style, ruggedness of metre, neglect of harmony, lack of repose, want of colour, preference for repulsive subjects, predilection for the grotesque; thirdly, a preponderance of intellect over poetic emotion, a defective sense of art and beauty, a deficiency in the moral quality of reticence. In the first case, obscurity of subject or treatment must be distinguished from obscurity which arises from slovenliness of thought or expression. In the second group the irregularities which aid his purpose should be discriminated from those which are ugly excrescences. To the third group belongs a number of fundamental questions, which involve the laws of Art and poetic form.

Is Browning obscure? The greater part of Browning's
2 K 2 alleged

alleged obscurity arises from the complexity, rapidity, or dramatic expression, of his thought. The burden of his poetry is the interpretation of those high instincts, 'which, be they what they may, are yet the fountain-light of all our day.' To use his own phrase, he 'brews stiff drink.' Strength, not sweetness, is the characteristic of the wine which he distils from earth's vineyard of 'man's thoughts, loves, and hates.' Pagan perfection is impossible for modern poetry which deals with the deeper aspects of life:—

'To-day's brief passion limits their range;
It seethes with the morrow for us, and more.'

It is always difficult to follow the operations of thought in its higher ranges; it is especially difficult when the guiding mind moves with the elusive rapidity of an electric current, darting out on every side hints, suggestions, details, transitions, like the continuous repetition of galvanic shocks. The dramatic mode of treatment greatly accentuates the difficulty. The form demands a personal knowledge of the supposed speaker, an intense realization of the imagined character at the imagined crisis of the situation. Another difficulty arises from Browning's perception of the relativity of truth, his analytic subtlety, his delight in knotty problems of mental conflict, his passion for realistic detail; in a word, from his insistence on individuality. Every poem has a central idea. But it is often hard to catch the leading inspiration. He does not deal with familiar states of mind, stock passions, great actions, or large, clear characters. He does not seek to express common thoughts or to assimilate himself to others. On the contrary, he endeavours to represent moments of feeling that are peculiar to particular individuals at one supreme crisis of their lives. The states of mind which he delights to exhibit are unfamiliar, and the characters complex and exceptional. Neither does he treat his figures in the mass, with broad, simple touches. To Browning truth is a question of circumstances. The simplest facts are for him complex, capable of new relations, productive of fresh results, varying with each individual character. Detail, and difference, are therefore of the essence of his work. All the circumstances are often painted with a pre-Raphaelite fidelity, which obscures the central idea, but enhances the effect when once the inspiration is perceived. Thus in complexity of subject, rapidity of thought, and dramatic treatment, Browning is indisputably obscure. Sustained attention, and continuous mental alertness, are required. Has poetry, it is often asked, the right to make this demand? The question brings its own answer. No new work
of

of art of any depth can be fathomed at first sight, and there is always an element of strangeness in the highest beauty. The real question is, Does the reward repay the labour? Does the unlocked casket reveal a gem? In most cases the answer is in the affirmative. The reader rises the richer for his study, with his inward sense gladdened by a new and abiding picture of human life.

Other forms of obscurity appear in his work, for which the poet alone is responsible, and which constitute serious defects. Without deficiencies in the sense of beauty and of Art, they could not occur. Browning's style, when at its best, is rapid, simple, strong. At its worst, it is abrupt, harsh, elliptical—a sort of mental shorthand. Sometimes his meaning is obscure from excess of condensation, or from incompleteness of expression. Brevity does not demand confusion of parts of speech, nor does abstruse thought require elision of intermediate links of its conclusions. But Browning is not only unintelligible from complexity of psychological argument, or remoteness of allusions, or the attempt to pack a 'big and bouncing thought' in one small line. He is needlessly obscure from impatience to hurry forward, or from neglect of form for substance. His long similes and parentheses introduce into English the suspended animation of the German who is waiting for his verb. His language often fails to attain that simplicity which is the first step of nature and the last of art. Thus Browning's thoughts often fail to strike us, as great thoughts should do, with the clearness of a beam of light. Words, and especially little words, seem a barrier to his ideas. Like a mist round the moon, his language enlarges the seeming size of the thought while it diminishes the force of the ray.

The second group of charges against Browning include almost all the mannerisms which make his poetry at first sight unattractive. A large portion of his literary gymnastics are indisputably blemishes. But these outbreaks of moral and intellectual temerity are rather the frolic of an affluent genius than the affectations of literary vanity. As medieval illuminators luxuriated in flowery margins, so Browning takes genuine delight in grotesque combinations of words, and intricate whimsicalities of rhyme. Another class of his breaches of the law stands on a different footing. A distinction should be drawn between those irregularities which are really inseparable from the individuality, realism, and dramatic form, of his writing, and those real defects which are ugly excrescences, due to a deficient sense of art and beauty. Every poem is carefully designed to execute a definite purpose. In this sense, each is a work of art. Browning writes

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in character, and his intention must be mastered before the critic is qualified to condemn the result. He employs language and metrical movement as instruments of dramatic impression. Uncouthness may therefore form part of the effect which the poet desires to produce. The Hudibrastic doggerel, coinage of strange words, odd nicknames, unusual metaphors, ruggedness of style, harshness of metre, and abrupt descents from the heights of poetry to the depths of ludicrous prose, may prove repellent. But the question should be asked, whether they serve to sharpen and define the outlines of the imagined mind or crisis on which the poet is engaged, and about which he is determined to say precisely what he means. To draw out this distinction in detail would be a protracted task. One illustration must suffice. It is often alleged that Browning is unmusical. It is forgotten that his dramatic lyrics cannot be criticised on the same ground as the melodies of Moore. They are not the simple expression of personal feeling; they are the utterances of imaginary persons. They are dramatic in principle, though lyric in expression. Metrical movement is used as an embodiment of the situation or the character. Melody is less his object than meaning. The sound assists the dramatic presentment. It is consistent with Browning's defective poetic sense that he abuses this principle. In 'Through the Metidja to Abd-el-Kadr' the monotony of the rhyme is intended to convey a sense of the dizzying sameness of the desert. The experiment fails, because the effort is extra-artistic, if not inartistic. The same may be said of some of the movements which are intended to produce impressions of character. Sometimes sound is skillfully and legitimately wedded to sense. Thus, for instance, the meditative pathos of Andrea del Sarto's frustrated hopes is attuned to the metrical structure of the poem, and the versification of 'My Last Duchess' is modulated to the supple fluency, patrician ease, and low-voiced suavity of the Italian noble. But the principle is abused when, as in the 'Soliloquy in the Spanish Cloister,' the harsh, guttural movement expresses the dogged, unreasoning, splenetic malevolence of the Spanish Friar. Here it approaches a bastard realism.

In numerous cases no plea of dramatic propriety can be pleaded in defence of Browning's violations of the self-respect of art. But a distinction should be maintained between those defects which are meaningless, and those irregularities which serve a definite, if mistaken, purpose. No excuse can be urged for the former. The justification of his intentional breaches of the laws of poetic composition, like the defence of obscurities which arise from the complexity, rapidity, or dramatic presentation

tion of his thought, depends upon considerations involved in the third group of charges.

Browning did not subordinate his intellectual powers to the purposes of his art. If he possessed the artistic conscience, he often suffered its supremacy to be usurped. He allowed the exercise of the intellect to become an independent object of interest, and gratified to excess, and out of reason, his casuistry, metaphysical subtlety, and analytical skill. The use of these powers gave freshness, breadth, originality, to his many-sided assertion of human individuality. Their abuse betrayed him into his cardinal defects. It undermined his moral sense, so that he is rather a religious, than a moral, poet. It lured him to select subjects in which failure was inevitable. Such compositions as 'Mr. Sludge the Medium' display intellectual gifts of the highest order; but no stretch of the term can class them as poetic. They are thought out in prose and then translated into verse. They miss the essence though they possess the form of poetry. They offer no scope for the transfusion of the intellect with feeling. Though they inspire admiration of the poet's cleverness, they produce no thrill of sympathy. The same preponderance of intellect over heart led Browning to ignore the difficulties, under which he himself worked, or which hindered others in pursuit of his meaning. Exulting in his power of tracing the devious workings of the human mind, he delighted in abnormal subjects, and lost in the pursuit of their complications his sense of the point where artistic sufficiency is attained. Not content to explore, he must also exhaust, the mysteries of human nature. Stimulated by the desire to be true to the personality which he sought to present, he assigned to his characters a mass of mental or verbal gabble and garbage without considering whether poetic artists are justified in such crudities. The same abuse of intellectual strength led him to forget that Art is essentially representative, not reflective. Instead of selecting the class of feelings or thoughts which most powerfully illustrated his subject, he dissipated his force by endeavouring to crowd into his lines the whole mass of impressions to which his keenly susceptible nature was alive.

It is an ungrateful task to dwell upon the faults which mar the work of one of the greatest minds of the century. His poetic gifts, though they were, in our opinion, unduly stunted by his speculative interests, were many and great. His satire was keen, but never cynical; his humour could touch the whole range from pathos to the pure grotesque; his irony could sting as well as smile. Seen at his best, passion, ardour, impulse, burn in his lines, and kindle into flame the pregnant reflections,

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acute comments, and concentrated wisdom which give substance to his verse. When the poetic fire has laid firm hold upon him, it becomes, from the mass on which it feeds, no mere crackling of the thorns, but a mighty conflagration radiating far and wide its vital warmth. His imaginative power transfigures his realism. His colour is broad and strong, his wealth of imagery copious; he scatters similes with the prodigality of one who thinks in images, and whose vocabulary is hieroglyphic. He had a power of observation at once wide and microscopical, an intense enjoyment of life combined with remarkable gifts of rich illustration and graphic presentment, dramatic qualities which in their own direction have never been rivalled, faculties of thought that were at once rapid, penetrating, and trenchant. But as the essence of his philosophical teaching is an insistence upon individuality, so the strongest impression left by his poetry is an abiding, ever-present sense of the robust, substantial, personality of the poet. There is a mind conscious of its strength and rejoicing in the swiftness of its movement,—a temper full of courage, manly, sincere, and resolute,—a sympathy frank, impartial, comprehensive,—a tenderness which is passionate, yet tranquil in the repose of strength,—a speech direct, animated, forcible, coming straight from the man. The whole work leaves behind it the sense of health, reality, and greatness. Had he illuminated his book of life with more common traits of human character, had he chosen his examples from more ordinary types, or eschewed the dark nooks of nature and the desert places of the past for the broad frequented highways of life, he would have doubled and trebled his influence. He can never become a popular poet with the simple as well as the learned. His lines will not pass into household words, for his strength lies not in single stanzas but in totality of impression. Yet the value of his influence can never be destroyed. His hopefulness and spiritual energy were alike indomitable. His optimism was not facile. Without closing his eyes to the reality of evil, he still could say:—

‘God’s in His heaven,
All’s right with the world.’

The wail of pain, doubt, or despair, is the keynote of much of the highest poetry. Browning’s serene confidence robbed him of this pathos. But,

‘If precious be the soul of man to man,’

it is this very faith in God and trust in man which will make his work immortal.

ART.

- ART. IX.—1. *Speech by the Right Honourable J. P. B. Robertson, Lord Advocate of Scotland, at Inverness, 11th October, 1889.*
 2. *Parliamentary Debates, Session 1889.*
 3. *Debate in the House of Commons on Home Rule in Scotland, 19th February, 1890.*

THE Parliamentary position of Scotland is a matter which affects not that portion of the Empire alone. Neither in the interests of the Imperial Constitution, nor in those of Scotland herself, can it be suffered to be the sport of self-advertising cliques, or the instrument of unscrupulous politicians. Any attempt to alter or disturb its present settlement is a serious menace to the common welfare; and any symptom of weakness, which its present condition may show, and which might tempt scheming doctrinaires to tamper with it, is a source of weakness to the Empire. We do not, therefore, think it necessary to offer any apology for calling earnest attention to certain unsound and dangerous proposals which have lately been put forth; to the fallacies upon which these proposals are based; to the encouragement which they have received from the unscrupulous policy of certain party leaders; and to the actual weaknesses in Scottish parliamentary representation by means of which alone these newly-invented schemes are enabled to gain any little influence which they can claim.

At this time of day, to insist upon the advantages of the Union between England and Scotland might well seem a work of supererogation. But it appears that a doubt of these advantages may at least be insinuated, if not directly stated. The Lord Advocate, whose very notable speech at Inverness during the recess we have cited at the head of this article, and whose Parliamentary career, short as it has been, is a striking example of the high type of Parliamentary oratory and of administrative ability which Scotland can contribute to the Imperial Legislature, made a reference to this during a recent debate, to the incidents of which we shall subsequently allude. He spoke of the duty incumbent upon all public men, of putting a stop to this mischievous notion of Home Rule, which would be regarded by all who had the highest interests of their country at stake—‘as a step backwards towards the darkness from which the country was withdrawn by the Union.’ For this he was taken to task by Mr. Gladstone. To Mr. Gladstone’s mind this apparent truism was ‘the most extravagant statement he had ever heard from the mouth of any representative of the Government in this House.’ In words studiously vague, he proceeded to compare the Ante-union Parliament of Scotland with Scottish administration

administration in the eighteenth century, to the advantage of the former. 'The action of the Scottish Parliament in the seventeenth century did much for the liberty, and therefore the advancement of Scotland.' It would be interesting to learn from Mr. Gladstone some particulars of this action. Has he ever studied the course pursued by the Scottish Parliament in the seventeenth century? Does he think that history is made by vague references to a period as to the incidents of which he knows the minds of his audience to be a blank? We can hardly conceive that Mr. Gladstone is so ignorant of Scottish history as to think that the seventeenth century marks the advance of Scotland in any policy even remotely intended to advance freedom either of thought or action. But Mr. Gladstone had an authority for his verdict far stronger than the facts of history. He had, so he stated, appealed to Scottish audiences for a cheer by praising the Union. But these audiences had disappointed him: they had failed to dance to his piping. Those palates, which he has tickled with more highly seasoned food, are not, it appears, to be tempted by provender so wholesome as the historical facts of their country's progress. Mr. Gladstone has, therefore, been forced to discard the appeal, and presumably to change the opinion upon which that appeal was founded. Facts are to be set aside, and conclusions remodelled, because they do not please Mr. Gladstone's audiences. Was there ever a more flagrant confession of the depths to which political profligacy can descend?

But the most reckless of dreamers cannot seriously venture to deny, that to the Union is due, in largest measure, the prosperity which both countries, and Scotland more especially, have enjoyed for nearly two centuries. These two centuries have, on the whole, presented a career of almost unbroken material prosperity. Other causes have, indeed, contributed to swell this tide of commercial success; but however much weight we may be disposed to assign to them, it is certain that without the Union much of the wealth, which has flowed in upon both countries, must have been carried to other lands. With almost unexampled rapidity, the forebodings of that great majority of the Scottish nation, which presaged nothing but evil from the measure, were falsified so completely, that even faction and sentiment were silenced by the universal acceptance of the new order of things. For the first century after the Union, Scottish administration remained upon a narrow basis. It was in few, but able, hands; and although it did not avoid serious errors, and serious abuses, those errors and those abuses were certainly not caused by ignorance of Scottish affairs, but rather from
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the fact, that Scottish administration was entrusted blindly to those who were too closely linked with certain Scottish cliques. With the triumph of the Whigs, culminating in the Reform Bill, Scottish affairs sank into the background; and under the administration of men, who were partisans first, and Scotsmen only second, and who were little likely to appreciate the old-world sentiment of Scottish nationality, a plentiful seed of discontent was sown. No set of men contributed to increase this discontent more notably than the political doctrinaires of the last generation. To these men their theories were as chosen idols, at whose shrine they were quite ready to sacrifice what they deemed to be the antiquated fancies of nationality and tradition. As constituencies became enlarged, there was less and less room in the representation for those whose position, birth, and influence, gave them the right to speak in the name of Scotland, and the opportunity of studying her necessities. Scottish representation became more and more the chosen sphere of the political adventurer, who, with little knowledge of the country, and equally small share in her real interests, yet was obliged to compensate his deficiency in real sympathy by a bountiful encouragement of a specious patriotism, which consisted chiefly in exaggerating all tendencies to provincialism, and chafing every little local irritation into a virulent sore. Such men as these have by degrees dominated Scottish politics; and it is owing to their influence, that Scotland has been held bound to the wheel of a Juggernaut car of Radicalism, with which in her deeper mood she has scarcely any sympathy, and which is opposed to every tradition which her history has impressed upon her. In such a case, the nation is naturally ill at ease; and those, to whom the irksomeness of the situation is chiefly due, have found a means of buttressing their own tottering influence, by preaching, of late, a new phase of faction, which threatens to give serious trouble in the domain of Imperial politics, and which, if not checked, will undoubtedly bring disaster to one portion, at least, of the United Kingdom. It may seem to many to be a waste of time and labour to employ the instrument of serious discussion, in order to meet a movement which is characterized by little except fantastic absurdity, and whose nominal supporters would probably find it difficult to supply any definition of their aims. Even the little clique of busybodies who, with that brainless habit of imitation which threatens to play so large a part in modern politics, have borrowed from Ireland a rallying cry by which they hope to attain a little notoriety for themselves, would doubtless feel surprised were they to be treated as serious politicians. We
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hasten to reassure both them and our own readers. We have no intention of treating them with any such consideration. We intend to deal with them, not as reasonable political opponents, but only as themselves the symptom of a disease in the body politic. But an agitation may be none the less dangerous because it is irrational and absurd; and it would be an act of culpable folly to neglect the beginnings of a movement which may lead to irreparable disaster, because its supporters appeal only to the claptrap of political discussion. If we watch its progress, even so far, we shall find how clearly it illustrates the small part which reason plays in contemporary faction fights, and the recklessness with which an almost meaningless cry may be made to serve the purposes of unscrupulous politicians, who find their profit in encouraging an agitation the hollowness of which none can discern more clearly than they.

We feel it incumbent upon us, then, to dissect this Home Rule movement, to trace its growth, to point out the fallacies upon which it rests, and to draw attention to the dangers which, for all its emptiness, it involves. We do not believe for one moment that it will lead to any modification of our Constitution. But it may engender aims and desires which will have to be checked with a severe hand; it may entail national antipathies of the most baneful kind; it may breed an ugly progeny of jealousies and suspicions from which the whole kingdom, and Scotland above all, would suffer for more than one generation. It seeks to cloak itself in vague, but respectable, traditions. It would fain assume for itself the support of dignified names. It has an attraction for the thoughtless, who neither can nor will analyse its meaning. It has been fanned by the encouragement of those leaders of party, whose straits have forced them to bid farewell to scruples. Ridicule and indifference will not, therefore, meet the case. We must strip this imposture of its borrowed robes. We must separate it from all those historical and national traditions with which it falsely seeks to associate itself. We must show how little it has in common with any sound patriotism or national pride, and how mean and contemptible are the motives to which it appeals. We must anticipate the effects which it would produce, were any political contingency to make it convenient for party leaders to push it into the domain of practical politics. We must have no leniency for those mountebanks of the platform who occasionally catch a passing cheer by employing the ravings of spurious patriotism, and the extravagancies of a theatrical antiquarianism, as elements in the serious discussion of political problems, with all their far-reaching issues of good and evil.

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We are well aware that amongst those who, for various purposes of their own, are fomenting an agitation which is based on anything rather than on reason, there is little agreement as to the meaning which they would attach to this vague aspiration. But this very absence of any well-defined aim, which renders it all the more serviceable for political juggling, renders the task of dissecting and exposing its fallacies only the more necessary. Vague, purposeless, and indefinite as the agitation is, wanting, as it does, even the vulgar merit of inventive cleverness, it may yet serve all the better the purposes of the political demagogue.

First, then, let us examine the sorry basis of sentiment upon which the agitation seeks to rest. We do not wish to depreciate the value, as a political factor, of a patriotic sentiment, or of an enthusiastic attachment to national tradition. It would be no less foolish, than idle, to decry such a feeling. But sentiment, by its very nature, does not readily lend itself to strict self-examination. Once roused, it is apt to feed its appetite, without much discrimination, upon the first thing thrown to it, whether it be chaff or solid grain. A nation, like a man, may not be unable to detect in others the point where sentiment passes into vapouring; but it is absolutely unconscious of this happening in its own case. This would not be so dangerous, if vapouring were a mere efflorescence of sentiment; but unfortunately the vapouring is most often in inverse proportion to the depth and reality of the feeling. The vapourings of the loungeur of the Parisian Boulevards are often much more exalted than the stern feeling which makes the hard-trying soldier of France set his teeth amid the realities of the battlefield; and it may be that many Scotchmen will join in a song of national independence with a convivial throb of patriotism warmer than ever beat in the heart of a Wallace or a Bruce. It behoves us, then, to take note, in cold blood, of the origin and value of each patriotic sentiment; and, while we cherish those that are respectable, to discard those that are ridiculous. If we do so, we shall be disposed, even in the name of outraged patriotism, to treat as the veriest impudence of charlatans, that trickery of the demagogue which dresses unscrupulous recklessness in the guise of national sentiment.

There is one name which, as we have noticed with indignation, is often invoked to give weight to the agitation. No patriotism was ever purer than that of Sir Walter Scott. It is easy to detach phrases from their context, to forget surrounding circumstances, to transfer poetical aspirations into the domain of political reasoning, and so to make Scott serve the purposes

purposes of an advocate of separation. No sophistry could be more baseless and profoundly unjust. Scott's patriotism had no tinge of provincialism; it needed no belittling of the imperial idea in order to satisfy its ardour. No man endeavoured more earnestly than he to make Scotland share in all the glories of the Empire; no man was more impatient of provincial narrowness. His pride in his country was far too great to let him think that her national spirit was unsafe unless hemmed in by artificial restrictions. Dwelling with enthusiastic devotion over the memory of her past, he yet realized to the full the path upon which her future greatness lay. Nor was there the slightest inconsistency between the romantic memories of the poet, and the clear judgment of the man. But it was inevitable that feelings which Scott could harmonize to himself, should have occasionally prompted expressions which, misread by the light of a feebler judgment, or a more prosaic nature, may have appeared to exaggerate the practical influence of a page of history which was finally closed. In his account of the Treaty of Union both currents of feeling may be seen running clearly side by side, but his judgment is never for one moment distorted as to the main issues. He assists, as it were, with the calm and solemn mien of an interested and sympathetic spectator, at the obsequies of the separate history of Scotland. In her past he feels not only interest, but pride; and he is conscious that her future place in the Empire is built upon the monuments of that past. He is impatient of any levity that would mar the solemnity of the closing scene, and is saddened by the sordid motives that surrounded the august end of a romantic history. But as to the future, which was to spring from the dead past, he speaks with no uncertain voice. He sees the 'incalculable benefits which the Union has realized'— 'the change from discord to friendship; from war to peace; from poverty and distress to national prosperity:' he recognizes the final result as one which he can only compare to the attainment, by the Jews, of the blessings of the promised land. Such is his deliberate verdict on the historical event which determined, once for all, the place of Scotland in the British Empire. At certain periods in his life, it is true, he was tempted to an almost passionate assertion of the traditions of Scottish nationality. In 1806 he was stung into anger by the factious extravagances of the Whigs, and by the impeachment of Melville, which he was perhaps too much inclined to lay to the account of party rancour. For the first time he took an active part in political struggles, and it was only natural that to a man of his temperament that struggle should bear the appearance

appearance of a defence of Scottish traditions. At a meeting of the Faculty of Advocates in that year, he spoke with what even his friends considered to be exaggerated bitterness of certain projects of Reform. What followed is best described in the words of Lockhart:—

‘When the meeting broke up, he walked across the Mound on his way to Castle Street, between Mr. Jeffrey and another of his reforming friends, who complimented him on the rhetorical powers he had been displaying, and would willingly have treated the subject-matter of the discussion playfully. But his feelings had been moved to an extent far beyond their apprehension; he exclaimed, “No, no—’tis no laughing matter: little by little, whatever your wishes may be, you will destroy and undermine until nothing of what makes Scotland Scotland, shall remain.” And so saying, he turned round to conceal his agitation—but not until Mr. Jeffrey saw tears gushing down his cheek—resting his head until he recovered himself on the wall of the Mound. Seldom, if ever, in his more advanced age, did any feelings obtain such mastery.’

It is easy to see that to Scott, the real object of detestation was any tampering with the Constitution. To him that Constitution was linked with the past of Scotland, and its disturbance he resented chiefly as an insult and an outrage to that past. But the notion that her pride was to be preserved by turning back to a closed page of history, and by reviving what had once been, and might easily be again, an occasion and incentive to international jealousy, was too preposterous to find lodging for one moment in a brain so sane as his. On another occasion indeed, when little but a wreck of himself, Scott was roused to virulent controversy, in the ‘Malagrowther Letters,’ on certain projects of the English Government affecting the privileges of the Scottish Banks. This was in 1825, when the shadow of calamity had fallen darkly on his life. ‘It need not be doubted,’ says Lockhart, ‘that the *splendida bilis* which his own misfortunes had engendered demanded some safety-valve.’ But even then, it was no scheme of separation that entered into Scott’s design. His hatred was for Radicalism, and for that alone. He objects to the schemes of the English Parliament because they are ‘making Scotland a *tabula rasa* for bold innovation’—‘because it will be universally turned to democracy.’ Such as it was, his fervour was of no long duration. His letters to his friends show how speedily his anger was spent. ‘I had better, perhaps,’ he says, ‘have saved my breath to cool my porridge. I have only the prospect of being a sort of Highland Cassandra; but even Cassandra tired of her predictions, I suppose.’ No passage is more symptomatic of Scott’s

Scott's feeling at his prime, than the words he puts into the mouth of Baillie Nicol Jarvie in 'Rob Roy.' '(Andrew Fair-service) chose to impute the accident (of one of the horses casting his shoe) to the deteriorating influence of the Union. "Whisht, sir, whisht!" said the Baillie, "it's ill-scraped tongues like yours that make mischief atween neighbourhoods and nations. . . . Now, since St. Mungo caught herrings in the Clyde, what was ever like to gar us flourish like the sugar and tobacco trade? Will anybody tell me that, and grumble at the Treaty that opened us a road west awa' yonder?"'

When Scott made himself the chief organizer of the magnificent reception given to George IV. by Scotland, his aim was to make his nation play her part with honour in the welcome accorded to the first Hanoverian sovereign, the first representative of a completely united Constitution, who had ever set foot in the country. With this object, he enlisted at once all that the romance of the Highlands, all that the prosperity of the Lowlands could contribute, in a combined pageant which (as his own sense of humour told him) even his genius could not prevent from being at times ludicrously incongruous. Indeed, as we read some of the grotesque incidents of that visit, august as were its displays, and enthusiastic as was the loyalty it aroused, we are reminded most vividly of some of the circumstances which render so absurd any attempts to press too far the theory of a separate and independent nationality for all that part of Britain which lies north of the Tweed. Lowlander and Highlander met together to do honour to a sovereign of a foreign race, although they had never accepted in the same spirit the authority of the royal race that ruled at Holyrood. George IV. appeared in a dress, distinctive of the most troublesome enemies of the Lowland Scots, which less than eighty years before had been proscribed as the badge of lawlessness and rebellion. Scott describes the arduous task which fell upon him as master of the ceremonies, in regulating the mutual relations of the descendants of the Highland chieftains, and the aristocracy of the south. His troubles suggest to us the question, What, after all, are the points in common in the historical past, the inherited feelings, or the actual characteristics of Lowland and Highland Scotland? The facts are so plain and notorious, that it would be almost absurd to insist upon them, were they not so frequently ignored. It matters very little that the delusion of national unity should add an element of the ludicrous to a state-pageant, as it did when George IV. visited Edinburgh in a kilt, and Scott acted as stage manager for the Highland host: but it is of some moment that no such fiction should shape our politics, and that

that the real facts of the case should not be forgotten when the conditions of our constitutional existence are at stake. To speak of the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland as forming, either historically, congenitally, or actually, one homogeneous whole, is nothing else than a flagrant and palpable absurdity. For nearly a century after the Union, the Highlands of Scotland were scarcely more known to the citizens of Glasgow than were the backwoods of Canada, and their inhabitants were certainly not regarded with more of love and brotherhood than were the Red Indians. Men were still living who could easily remember when no Lowland farmer could count his stock safe from their plundering forays, and when it would have been the height of rashness for any peaceable citizen to trust himself in their mountain fastnesses. When their passes had been explored, it had been with no view of constant and familiar intercourse. Even at the beginning of the present century, the difference of language was an absolute bar to any such relations. But when the Union was passed, and for more than a generation afterwards, the Highlands scarcely formed part of the Scottish nation. The administration of the capital did not extend over one-half of the extent of Scotland: and the writs of the Scottish law courts were practically inoperative in the Highland glens. The Celtic people who inhabited these glens were sundered from their southern neighbours by distinctions of race, of language, of law, of custom, of religion, as wide as it is possible to conceive; and all these differences were accentuated by historical traditions which inspired the most bitter antipathy. On the other hand, between the Lowland Scot and the inhabitant of the Cumberland dales, or of the Yorkshire moors, there was not only a community of race and language, but a close similarity in mental and physical peculiarities, and a habit of long association, strengthened by periods of political union. It is true that the dwellers above and below the Border were engaged in a sort of chronic warfare: but such warfare was the result of nothing but the artificial line of demarcation between the two governments which, with an inefficient system of police, made enemies of those who would naturally have been friends. Even the ever-recurring Border forays, however, did not prevent much genial intercourse, and a rough-and-ready sympathy, which made the men of Annandale and Grasmere look upon themselves as sympathetic rivals, settling their disputes by the ordeal of the cudgel or the blunderbuss, and ready afterwards to sit down together by the fireside of the roadside inn. If the Lowland Scot was proud to be independent of his brother Englishman, it was certainly with no

idea of associating himself in that independence with the savage Highlander, of whom he knew nothing but the uncouth dress and language, the barbarous customs, and the vengeful and treacherous cruelty.

Complete as has been the transformation of Scotland during the last century and a half, this broad line of distinction is as clearly marked as ever. The farmers of Dumfriesshire and Cumberland, of Berwickshire and Northumberland, scarcely know themselves to be of different nations: and it would be strange if, with a unity of race, of dialect, and of custom, they were to maintain a distinction which is for the most part purely artificial. It is hard to say whether the Scottish element is strongest in the Exchange of Glasgow or of Manchester: and the two cities are linked together by common interests, social as well as commercial, infinitely more important than any that bind Glasgow to Aberdeen or Inverness. But on the other hand the Highlander, changed as his condition is, still represents a type sundered by every possible peculiarity from the Lowland Scot. The distinction of language is no doubt passing away: but it leaves behind it peculiarities of accent, intonation, and expression, which discover the Celtic origin in every phrase. The physical type is as strongly marked as ever. The habits of life present a contrast so wide, that, even in the larger towns, the Highland immigrants live as a race apart. The Roman Catholic religion still lives in many Highland glens: and even when the Highlander has ranged himself in the ranks of Scottish Dissent, he gives a colour to his new creed, which distinguishes it very clearly from the Dissent of the Lowland artisan, and which leaves him, in the view of those who regard the inner meaning, rather than the outward organization, of religious denominations, a far closer ally of the Ultramontane Catholic than of the Presbyterian Dissenter of Lowland Scotland. The modern Radical may gain his formal support by specious promises: but in reality the Highland Celt cares nothing whatever for our political fights, and his verdict on them, did he take the trouble to master their meaning, would differ widely enough from that of his Radical friends. He would settle most problems by an appeal to an almost Judaic theocracy, the practical dictates of which would be expounded by himself, in the light of his own most cherished prejudices. These dictates would probably include a method of dealing with the Liberationist Society considerably more summary than any which the most extreme member of the Church Protection Association would venture to propose. To him the Lowlander is still the representative of an alien race: and whether that representative come from the north or the
south

south of the Tweed, is a matter, to him, of utter insignificance. If this new panacea of provincial, instead of Imperial, administration is to have its way, at least let it be based on some recognizable distinction of race, language, tradition, religious and political idea : and in that case let the new member of the Heph-tarchy have its limits fixed by the natural boundaries of her mountains. In little more than one generation, the enthusiasts for the preservation of peculiarities of race and custom would no doubt be gratified by the complete return of that savagedom from which the Highlands have so recently emerged.

It appears, then, that between the different parts of Scotland there is no such homogeneity as would suffice to form a separate nationality, if a nationality is to be based on similarity of language or of race, or on sympathy in tradition, in custom, or in creed. Let us see, on the other hand, where these distinctions are to be found between Northern and Southern Britain, which, it is asserted, render expedient a further and more formal constitutional separation of Scotland from England.

In the first place there prevails, in each country, a separate system of law. The growth of statute law, based upon those ideas that are, we trust, common to both countries, must, of course, tend to diminish the distinction, and to leave it one of procedure rather than of positive enactment. On the whole, however, we are fully prepared to admit that the distinction is for the common advantage. Each country contributes necessarily to mould those legal principles that must prevail in the common Court of ultimate Appeal ; and it cannot be doubted that it is for the advantage, as well of England as of Scotland, that both systems should be laid under contribution by such a supreme tribunal. The distinctions in the two systems as regards land tenure must inevitably become, in a few years, matters of history rather than of contemporary fact, unless the whole tendency of recent land legislation is suddenly arrested. The distinction in the marriage laws has probably been preserved longer than public convenience would have suggested, had not reform been retarded partly by difference of opinion as to the balance of advantage, and partly by national sentiment on a subject in regard to which national sentiment may not unreasonably be allowed considerable weight. Of the distinctions in criminal procedure, some serve the useful purpose of supplying a model in one country for reforms in the other ; and others have owed their survival rather to their interest as antiquarian curiosities than anything else. On the whole, however, it may be allowed to be a public advantage that, under a united Court of Appeal, there should be, not one, but two, powerful

fraternities of the Bar, each proud of its traditions and jealous of its independence, and each contributing to the common legal inheritance much for which the other is ready to admit itself indebted. But no change in the relation of the two countries is necessary in order to bring about an advantage which already exists, and which no one dreams of assailing.

Each country, again, has a separate ecclesiastical tradition, which has been shaped by its history, and by the prevailing national taste. It is a somewhat curious fact that the standards of the Scottish Church were drafted by an Assembly at Westminster, in which Scotsmen played no conspicuous part, and that in its origin, at least, the distinction was not the result of national exclusiveness. But the divergent tendencies in ecclesiastical taste are by no means conterminous with national distinctions: Episcopacy and Presbyterianism represent two types of individual idiosyncrasy, which must at all times prevail, and which are satisfied by the opposite ideals of English and Scottish Ecclesiastical forms and traditions. The politician must recognize the independent co-existence of these two types to be a public advantage. But there is no danger which threatens their continuance, except from that section of the Radical party who would fain destroy both.

So much for two leading features of English and Scottish polity, which require no reconstruction of our Constitution to ensure their security. But those who would readily promote further separation, even at the risk of exciting international irritation, appeal rather to vague aspirations than to facts. It does not content them that Scotland should have her distinctive laws, and her independent Church. They pretend to aspire to a separate literature, and would doubtless be glad to create a wider gulf between the possibilities of social and commercial intercourse, and to see in a scheme of Home Rule some hope of realizing such an aim. Political folly never conceived a purpose more fatuous. The tide of time and progress is too strong for such day-dreams. Is it not the case that the distinctions between Scotchmen and Englishmen are becoming every day more faint? Are there not hundreds of business men in Edinburgh and Glasgow who look upon London or Manchester as their place of business for some part of every month if not of every week? Is there any prominent merchant in Scotland who is not almost as much at home in the Exchanges of England as in those of his own country, and who does not study their variations with as much care? Is there not a mingling of education between England and Scotland, with the best results for both? How many Englishmen resort to the Scottish Universities

Universities for the quicker and more economical advantages they afford, and how many Scotsmen leave their own Universities to seek higher distinction in those of England? Can the most fanciful dreamer imagine that his political reconstruction will be allowed to curb personal ambition, or to interfere with personal convenience? Is there, at this moment, anything approaching to a separate Scottish literature, or is it either possible, or desirable, that there should be? Such a literature must depend upon a separate public prepared to accept it, and preserve for it the first place in its affection. Could such a public exist, or could it be, by any conceivable process, brought into being? Of our recent men of literature, who is more distinctively Scottish in all his characteristics than Carlyle? And yet in what page of his works does Carlyle attempt to speak to a separate Scottish audience, or seek to retard by one moment the increasing assimilation of the two countries? And do these political pigmies, who appeal to sentiment in order to give some colour to their own petty schemes, think that any Home Rule plan of their devising could have affected for one hour Carlyle's choice of residence, or modified the aim and scope of his work? Are not the conditions precisely the same in the world of art, and in that of science? It is well that both should have their official and representative associations in each country. They afford opportunities for the encouragement of younger talent, and a means of securing the attention of each community. But does any sane man fancy that the highest talent or ambition, or the widest achievement of science, will limit itself to the narrower space, and will not inevitably use that as a stepping-stone to the larger arena? If the associations of the smaller country were to pride themselves on being self-sufficient, and assume to themselves the function of embracing all that is eminent in Scottish art or science, they would not retain one additional adherent, but would only force the more able and ambitious Scotchmen to break completely the tie which now binds them to their native country, and to transfer to England the first-fruits, as well as the fully ripened grain, of their garner.

There is another aspect of the question, to which we almost disdain to refer. But it is so frequently brought forward by the more vulgar style of platform or after-dinner orator, and it is so likely, with an unthinking audience, to gain some attention, that it would be unwise to pass it over entirely in silence. That inevitable tide that bears Scotchmen to England, which brings them as recruits to her Universities, her public service, and her bar, is frequently made the occasion for a little satire upon

upon what is called the 'Anglicized Scot.' Those eminent patriots, who despise all that is not aggressively Scottish, assert that such Scotchmen are drawn to England by what they term a pursuit of gentility and a snobbishness which would conceal their origin by an absence of all pride in the past of their own country. It is perhaps idle to suppose that such fatuous satire ever stops to ask itself its own meaning, otherwise we might assume that Scottish patriotism, to be perfect, must be accompanied by the use of that undiluted vernacular which was usual in Scottish circles two or three generations back, and by the ill-bred self-consciousness which leads its possessor to push his own obtrusive personality upon all companies. We might further infer that no credit is to be gained for Scotland by adding to her reputation beyond her own boundaries, and that to increase her weight in imperial affairs is a more ignoble task than to be the centre of her local struggles. We might fancy that the limits within which a Scotchman's duty could be performed were confined to the Scottish border, and that he was a renegade who ventured to consider himself a citizen of the Empire. But such cheap tirades are probably not meant to be the basis of any logical deductions, and it would therefore be waste of time to pursue them. We would only remind those who indulge in such ribaldry, of the insult which they inflict upon their own country, in assuming that a higher tone of society, or a greater refinement of manners, must be sought beyond her borders, and that those Scotchmen, who find their sphere of work outside Scotland, must necessarily have been tempted to choose their residence from the desire of social advantages which she does not provide.

We owe our readers some apology for dwelling even thus shortly over such methods of political argument as these. Our excuse must be the not inconsiderable part they play in fomenting an agitation of which the exponents find no better weapons to their hand. The same vapid sarcasms, the same tedious resuscitation of forgotten grounds of grievance, are served up to us with unwearying assiduity. It would often seem, to listen to such patriots of the dining-table, that the mispronunciation by an English lawyer of some obscure phrase of Scottish legal nomenclature was a wrong for which no study of Scottish legal principles could make amends, and an insult which could only be wiped out by the blood of another Bannockburn.

Passing, however, from the common-places of a vamped-up sentiment which only apes patriotism, from misrepresentation, and from the feeblest efforts of paltry and provincial satire, let

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us see what solid ground there is for this agitation. If there is any grievance which calls for redress, and which brings such a remedy as the division of the Empire into the domain of practical politics, let us see in what it consists and who are chiefly responsible for it.

We have already shown that such countenance as Scott gave to the scheme of partial Scottish autonomy was prompted much more largely by his political antipathy to the Whig ideals of the day, than by any desire on his part to encourage provincialism. The long domination of Toryism undoubtedly provoked in Scotland a reaction, under the influence of which, much to Scott's disgust, she was carried far on the flood of Radical advance. But she never felt herself at ease in the company of those who were carried onwards by that flood, and we question whether she does so even yet. In obedience to the dictates of that party to which she had bound herself, Scotland turned her back upon many of her traditions; but ardent as has been the support she has given to that party, she has never herself been absorbed in it. No doubt the wire-pullers of politics, those who are trained in the school of the caucus, and who have learned the lower methods of their calling from the adepts of England, profess and cultivate a profound belief in the Radical party. But Scotland at first adhered to that party only under the impulse of rebellion against a long-standing tyranny, and the nation as a whole has never learned the shibboleths which the party manager holds so dear. We refuse to believe that Scotland is Radical at heart. She has striven to maintain her fidelity to that party, but it has often been at the expense of a severe strain upon her own characteristic sympathies. That blind and unreasoning acceptance of Mr. Gladstone's authority, as sufficient to give credit to any scheme however fantastic, which has made Scotland swell the number of those who would surrender every principle which she has long held dearest, at the behest of those who are her bitterest enemies, and which forces her to turn a deaf ear to the remonstrances of that province of Ulster which is linked to her by the strongest ties that can bind nation to nation, is best to be explained as the result of an obstinate determination to find some ground for not deserting the party to which she believes herself obliged to cling. It is a feeling which, in certain aspects, is not undeserving of respect, and which at least illustrates that tenacity of purpose which has ever been a Scottish characteristic. But we are none the less convinced that it has cost her much. Her alliance with the Radicals is a matter depending far more upon personal predilection and political fidelity

fideliity than upon sympathy or conviction. It has inevitably bred a fretful discontent. Her political allies are those who have had least regard for her national traditions. To the exponents of the Manchester School, to the self-satisfied clique of doctrinaires, to the demagogic Radical of to-day,—to each and all of these, Scottish nationality and Scottish traditions are in truth matter of absolute insignificance and even of contempt. They have been content if Scotland contributed her numerical contingent to their ranks, and have neither sought to consult her idiosyncrasies, nor cared to analyse the motives which impelled her to a formal alliance with their party. From none has Scotland received more contemptuous treatment than from the English caucus-monger; and it is to this treatment, and to the irksomeness of a political alliance to which she is bound by no real ties of sympathy, that we believe we have to impute much of the discontent which seeks an outlet in schemes of Home Rule.

What are the actual facts as to the Parliamentary representation of Scotland, which are the result of her political alliances of the last fifty years, and how far do these facts support our theory as to the origin and ground of discontent? Let us repeat once more that we maintain the discontent, where it exists, to be due, not to any desire on the part of Scotchmen to play a smaller or more isolated part in Imperial affairs, but mainly to their conviction, often unavowed and perhaps unconscious, that her more recent political alliances have degraded her representation, and left her at the mercy of men who neither know nor can represent her higher interests. Some very simple facts show at least that Scotland does not hope that salvation is to be found in a more complete separation from England, or in confining her choice of representatives solely to those whose lives have been spent and whose interests are centred in the country north of the Tweed. Amongst the Scottish representatives there are at least twenty-two, or nearly one-third of the whole, who have no connexion whatever, either of residence, property, or business, with the country they represent. There are others whose connexion is only of that meagre sort which is implied by an occasional summer residence. But on the other hand there are at least nineteen Scotchmen, who are bound by ties of the closest kind to Scotland, and who have found seats as representatives of English constituencies. Are men of this class—amongst whom we may name, to go no further, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Sir Lyon Playfair, the late Colonel Duncan, Sir James Fergusson, Sir Charles Dalrymple,—those who give least attention to Scottish affairs in Parliament, or who contribute least weight to their discussion?

discussion? So far, then, as the choice of representatives goes, it is clear that Scotland does not look only to her own members to make her requirements felt, and that, in regard to these members, she does not feel herself impelled to base her selection upon any ground of local knowledge or local interest. Her avoidance of any such principle of selection indeed carries her sometimes to extremes of parliamentary altruism which might appear overstrained. For a seat recently vacant in Fifeshire, the successful candidate was a London barrister of literary tastes, whose studies, whose associations, and whose occupations, were probably as widely separated from any, even the remotest, connexion with Scotland as it would have been possible to combine in any conceivable aspirant to the privilege of being a Scottish representative. In prompt obedience to the dictates of the caucus, one of the divisions of Edinburgh accepted as their member a respectable official Radical in the person of Mr. Childers, whose warmest admirers would not ascribe to him any profound knowledge of Scottish affairs. Sir George Trevelyan has for many years represented a Scottish constituency; and when one failed him, another was ready to open its doors to his repentance, although the idea of a sympathetic bond between the inhabitants of Bridgeton and their representative provokes only a smile. Most recently of all, the chosen representative of Radicalism in the Ayr Burghs was a London publisher, a member of the London County Council, and typical of that form of Radicalism which is most aggressive in its Cockneyism; and though the constituency preferred one who had some knowledge of Scottish needs, as well as sounder political principles, yet the Radical choice remained none the less inconsistent with their new-found creed of Home Rule. A Radical representative of one of the Highland constituencies lately proved his ardent attachment to the country which had chosen him by seeking and obtaining a well-paid appointment, as Coroner in the East of London. Some others of these representatives evince their faithful attachment to the cause of their constituents by abundant attention to the promotion of speculative companies; and for these operations it is interesting to observe that the chosen field is rather the London than the Scottish Stock Exchanges. It would be a curious phenomenon, but we fear that there is some reason to believe that it is not an unauthenticated one, were Scotland more ready to entrust her political interests than her money to some of her representatives in Parliament, and if it were on this account that these gentlemen find the Exchange of the metropolis a more promising sphere than those of Scotland.

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We do not wish to dwell unduly upon certain aspects of Scottish representation, which must cause grave disquietude even to English observers, and to which we would fain hope that before long the attention of Scottish constituencies will be sternly aroused. That a nation proud above all others, keen in its logic and discriminating in its judgment of character, should long submit to that travesty of representation which is now forced upon her at the behests of a party to which she believes herself to be under some binding obligation, we refuse to believe. Before Scotland demands a separate Parliament she would surely do well to ask herself, very gravely, how she has of late discharged the duty which she owes to the Empire, and whether she is ready to accept the men she has now chosen as worthy representatives, on the whole, of the best fibre of her citizens, as men who can lead Scotland by virtue of commercial probity, administrative energy, or judicial weight. The answer of her conscience must be disquieting enough. But if Scotland is responsible for her choice, she may fairly lay upon her delegates the responsibility for their conduct in Parliament. We would only ask the Scottish constituencies to take note of that conduct, and to judge dispassionately whether it is not often such as they would not tolerate in the pettiest village vestry, and such as injures the reputation of Scotland before the world. Has she sent representatives to promote obstruction, as many do, by weary reiteration, and to deliver tedious and ungrammatical harangues over grievances which they fancy to exist only because they have given no attention to facts? If she cannot enforce upon her representatives respect, we do not say for Parliamentary dignity, but for the ordinary courtesies of life, by what right does she complain that English members exercise their prerogative of voting upon questions submitted to them, without subjecting themselves to the maddening torture of hours of flatulent, disjointed, and illogical garrulence, lighted by no spark or glimmer of even ill-directed humour? We do not seek to institute any comparison between the Scottish and the Irish members. The latter fight across a barricade, and to speak to them of the decencies of Parliamentary warfare would be absurd. But the wildest exaggerations of the most cockney of Scottish representatives cannot assert that in the past history of Scotland there is the ghost of a grievance which might serve even as a pretext for the virulence of Parliamentary rancour. Is Scotland then satisfied that, even without the pretence of an excuse, her members should inflict upon their English colleagues a torture which, in its contrast with that of Irish debates, can
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be likened only to the dreary dulness of a November fog as compared with the lurid gloom that breaks in an equatorial storm?

If Scotland, then, is ill at ease in her present position, she must look to it, and set her house in order. Let her assert her own independence of the dictation of a party whose ends are widely asunder from her own. Let her see that those whom she chooses to represent her, to whatever political party they belong, are men who bring to Parliament, not only full sympathy with and knowledge of Scottish needs, but weight and power sufficient to make those needs felt and understood. Let her not believe that the maintenance of her nationality and all that is of value in it can be secured only by certain artificial contrivances, whether of delegation or of devolution. Let her hold fast to the landmarks of her history, and to the institutions which have grown with her growth, and which bear in their very fibre the marks of their origin. If—as for our own part we do not believe—the predominant and main current of Scottish feeling desires a series of Radical changes, by all means let these changes come. But let Scotland, at least, select her own type of Radicalism, and shape the course which her advance is to follow: do not let her bind herself to the chariot wheel of an exotic Radicalism, which recks nothing of her needs, which pushes its own behests with aggressive insolence, and which regards all reverence for national traditions, all attachment to national glory, all distinctions of national character, as so many obstacles in the levelling and deadening process to which it would subject all human development.

But let her not for a moment suppose that she will liberate herself from this harassing alliance by echoing the cry of Home Rule. We have no fear that, left to itself, any appreciable weight of Scottish feeling would lend itself to such a scheme. The danger may arise in quite another way. We have shown ground amply sufficient for any vague uneasiness as to her position which Scotland may feel. That uneasiness is used for their own purposes by the very men whose conduct has been its chief cause. But it is not often that a movement, insidious in its progress, fraught with disaster if not checked, can be traced so clearly as is, fortunately, the case with this; and it is by so tracing it that we may best guard against its dangers.

First, a very small clique of men, whose importance is so infinitesimal that their actions escape notice, band themselves together in what they call a Home Rule Association. The phrase has no definite meaning; and the absence of meaning

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serves their purposes admirably. They manage to get their proceedings reported in the press; and presently they are joined by a few harebrained fanatics, who believe themselves to be apostles of patriotic sentiment, and who find the theme to be one which furnishes an easy topic for discourse. The next step is to approach Members of Parliament, who answer according to the direction of their local agent, or invent some convenient method of temporizing. Perhaps one or two members see their opportunity in putting themselves at the head of the movement; while the rest feel resentment at the precipitancy of their colleagues, begin from emulation to see advantages in the scheme, but show their superior intelligence by demonstrating how it requires some very insignificant adjustment before their previous scruples can be removed. The party leaders are then appealed to; and in the first instance they probably express themselves with some indignation at this officious complication of an already embarrassing political position by the addition of new schemes, when the burden of those schemes that are on hand is already too much to bear. But political leaders may be coerced; and they are given to understand that Irish Home Rule will be a drug in the market if it is not associated with Home Rule for Scotland. The burrowings of the obscure busybodies have now thrown up a heap of dust; and, with however bad a grace, the leaders of the party are compelled first to cease their ridicule, then to temporize, and lastly to discover a virtue in the new panacea. It is only one step more until it becomes a cardinal article of political faith; and he who has the boldness to resist it soon becomes the object of ridicule and objugation, as purblind, unpatriotic, dishonest, and reactionary.

Such is now the well-ascertained process in the genesis of a Radical dogma. But it is not often that we have an opportunity of tracing its various steps so clearly as in the present case; and fortunately we can now tell exactly the stage in its development which it has reached. Any boldness of front which some of the Scottish Radical members at first showed in their treatment of the novel agitation is rapidly disappearing. At present the leaders are inclined to compromise matters by bargaining only for the priority of Irish Home Rule. But the Scottish Home Rulers, who in their inmost souls do not perhaps feel the confidence which their leaders profess as to the speedy realization of the prescribed preliminary, have grumbled, to some purpose, at the proposal; and it has been necessary to throw some sop to soothe their irritation and assuage their appetite. Compromises, which are the more dangerous because
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they pretend to be moderate, are submitted for consideration; and some episodes of last Session, to which perhaps sufficient attention has scarcely yet been given, and on which a curious light is thrown by certain incidents of the present Session, serve to show how far the followers could coerce the leaders, and how far the leaders were prepared to go in order to secure support for that one scheme of partition upon which they have now risked their political existence.

At an early period of last Session, the resolution involving the principle of Home Rule for Scotland was proposed by one of the Scottish Radical members. That resolution did not meet with direct opposition from the front Opposition bench, whose enfeebled condition scarcely warranted the exercise of any authority over a party which it has ceased to lead. But a motion such as this, involving issues of the gravest moment for the Empire, proclaiming to the world how speedily a malign infection spreads, and how strong is the attraction of political debauchery for those whose scruples are in a state of atrophy, was met by the Radical leaders—how? By a cordial acceptance of a principle which carried out the central articles of their early proclaimed faith? By a firm repudiation of proposals which supplied, if any such were necessary, a travesty and caricature of the panacea which they had proclaimed for Ireland? Neither by acceptance nor by repudiation. With a cynicism which can hardly be paralleled in the annals of party contests, the front Opposition bench, at Mr. Gladstone's leading, refused to take part in the division. On a question so momentous as this they had no opinion to give. Home Rule might be that gospel of reconciliation for Scotland which they had proclaimed it from every platform to be for Ireland; they had no votes to give in its favour. It might be such an exaggeration of their own schemes of separation as to require from them, more than from any men, the sharpest repudiation; they had not the courage to protest. Upon the issue whether Great Britain was to be a United Kingdom or not they had no opinion to offer.

But as the Session moved onwards, another phase of the comedy appeared. Their Radical supporters resented the very moderate independence which their leaders ventured to assert, and their resentment was not lessened by the fact that it was accompanied by contempt for their pusillanimity. The leaders were very unceremoniously given to understand, that they must come to terms, and that they must eat the leek before the whole House. A motion was placed upon the paper, to the effect, that the Scotch Local Government Bill should be referred to a Committee

Committee of the Scotch members. The proposal was one which carried its condemnation on its face. A Government measure of the first importance was, forsooth, to be handed over to a Committee in which the Government supporters would be in a hopeless minority, and every one of whose decisions on disputed questions would have to be reversed by the House. The evident motive of the scheme was so clearly that of making a United Parliament impossible, that it was an insult to the House even to cloak that intention. But the Radicals insisted upon the submission of their leaders, and refused to allow them even to abstain from this barefaced burlesque of Parliamentary debate. Matters were threatening; weakness had bred contempt; and those who knew their power were determined to exercise it. At this juncture 'an old Parliamentary hand' was called in to patch up a *modus vivendi*. Irish Home Rule must be maintained at all hazards as the mainstay of his party; but Irish Home Rule, as he was given very plainly to understand, must find its parallel elsewhere. Abstention would not again suffice to stay open revolt. In the emergency, a contrivance worthy of its inventor was finally adopted. The motion was watered down, and the proposal was so modified as to include thirty non-Scottish members, along with all the Scottish members, on the Committee of Reference. The design was a singularly cunning one. The Government could not have maintained their lead, even in the enlarged Committee, except by breaking down, in regard to the thirty non-Scottish members, the immemorial habit of selection by which the relative proportions of parties in the House are carefully reflected in all Committees. Such a breach of custom as that to which the Government must have resorted, would only have been possible by a separate vote of the whole House on each individual member; and the Scottish separatists would have thus found themselves in full sympathy with all who are jealous of the usages of the House. The Government, however, would have found themselves compelled to choose between the alternatives of resigning the conduct of their own measure and submitting to the Queen a Bill of which they disapproved, or of maintaining their hold upon that measure by placing on the Committee thirty non-Scottish members all of their own shade of opinion. Upon such a sorry and insincere compromise the imminent breach in the party was averted. The mover and seconder of the new motion did their work with a display of ill-humour which there was no attempt to conceal. Their speeches were in support of the motion as it had previously stood; and it was clear to every listener

listener that they, at least, had resisted, as far as they could, the compromise which had been forced upon them. Seldom has a more one-sided debate been heard. At last Mr. Gladstone intervened, and rose to support the motion. 'The arguments for it were not without weight : ' 'It was a moderate demand : ' 'It was devised, with unexampled generosity, in the interests of the Government'—such was the effect of his speech. It was easy to see that the reminiscences of political responsibility were checking even his capacious faculty of inventing specious arguments. Some six or seven minutes were left for Mr. A. J. Balfour to close the debate. With consummate skill, he touched lightly upon arguments already stated against the scheme ; and in the closing sentences of his speech he achieved one of the happiest of recent victories in Parliamentary debate, by the telling force with which he pressed home upon Mr. Gladstone the probable effect upon himself, in office, of a reference of all his English Bills to an English Committee. 'Never, since 1868, had Mr. Gladstone found himself master of an English majority. Would he, then, be willing to hand his English legislation to those who, freed from the dictation of a Radicalism recruited by the Scotch and Irish contingents, would have soon mangled his schemes out of all recognition ? ' The effect of the rejoinder upon Mr. Gladstone was too great to escape the remark of those who were the spectators of a dramatic parliamentary scene. Every sentence reached its mark ; and it was almost with a gesture of defeat that Mr. Gladstone muttered the reply, 'To a certain extent,' to the challenge thrown to him to say how far he would himself follow the course which he denounced the Government for rejecting.

But since last Session the position of the Radical leaders has further developed. In the Elgin election, Home Rule was one only of a long list of absurdities which the official candidate of the Radicals accepted, without one word of protest from the leaders. Success attended his extravagances, and rendered the leaders all the more compliant to any fantastic scheme. The Home Rule motion was again placed upon the paper this Session ; and when it secured a favourable place, as first on the list for the 19th of February, all seemed to look well for its final adoption by the Radical leaders. Meanwhile, a change came over the spirit of the dream. The official candidate at Partick had also adopted the panacea of Home Rule. But the hard-headed workmen and prudent business men of Partick were not to be caught by a bait so flagitiously offered. They would have none of the Radical candidate, or his newly swallowed nostrum. Immediately, the order was given

given by the leaders for a strategic movement to the rear. The Radical Whip refused any support to the Home Rule motion; and with the awkward, though unwilling, candour of a tyro in debate, he displayed, with almost indecent want of reserve, the grounds of hesitation, and the entire absence of any political principle from the elements which determined the action of his party. The debate was closed by a speech in which Mr. Gladstone minimized the arguments in favour of the Union, and, while he voted against the motion, showed how ready he was to listen to arguments of self-interest in favour of any future change of front.

We have recalled these Parliamentary episodes, partly because they are an illustration of the dangers to which a demoralized and undisciplined Opposition may expose the country, and partly because they show the steps in advance which this mischievous agitation has been able to make. It has still failed to make a single convert whose political judgment deserves weight, or whose influence is considerable. Its promoters are still occasionally met by rebuffs even from those craven politicians whose support they somewhat imperiously claim. Some Radicals still seek to patch their meagre shreds of political morality by professing much steadfastness in their resistance to the scheme. But we attach no importance whatever to their protests, and we repose no trust whatever in their fidelity to any constitutional maxim, or in any regard which they may profess for Imperial power or safety. We care little whether they discard or no the last rag of political judgment which is left to them, in their refusal to join, outwardly at least, in an agitation, of the utter baselessness of which, except as a rallying cry for the *gobemouches* of politics, they can entertain little doubt. Our trust depends rather upon the sound judgment of the United Kingdom, and upon its ultimate condemnation, in no uncertain terms, of those schemes, which in various forms all involve the same doctrine of dismemberment, and all point to the same inevitable frittering away of our inheritance of Empire. We trust also to the good sense of the Scottish nation, when she recognizes, as she inevitably must, that her true welfare lies, not in an alliance with latter-day Radicalism, with every phase of which she is at heart profoundly out of sympathy, but in a steadfast advance upon her own proper path of constitutional progress, illustrated by undying pride in her own historic past, enlightened by her characteristic genius, broadened by a brotherhood of Empire in which her own place is too assured to require such aid as may be rendered by the self-seeking schemes of obscure and hare-brained crotchet-mongers.

ART.

- ART. X.—1. *Problems of Greater Britain.* By the Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart. London, 1890.
2. *Thirty Years of Colonial Government.* A Selection from the Despatches and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G. Edited by Stanley Lane-Poole. London, 1889.

AS the nineteenth century enters upon its last decade, at a moment when the greatness of the British Empire and the destiny of the English race command the attention of all the peoples of the world, it is interesting to look backwards a hundred years to see what was the position of England on the face of the globe at the corresponding period of the last century.

In 1790, Great Britain was only beginning to recover from a blow so severe, that it would have destroyed the vitality of any other nation as a colonizing Power. When France lost Canada on the Plains of Abraham, a term was put for ever to her colonial enterprise; the earth's surface is still dotted at rare intervals with her possessions, but they are conquered dependencies and are only in official sense colonies. When Spain lost her Empire in the Western Hemisphere, she had fallen hopelessly into decadence. But the loss of her American Colonies seems only to have stimulated the expansive energy of England. Her remaining possessions, though vast in extent, gave little promise, even to the most sanguine patriot, of becoming the nucleus of the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen. On the American Continent the French settlements around Quebec, which the revolted colonists had helped us to win, remained under the British flag; and United Empire Loyalists, from New England and from New York, were rearing new homes in the Acadian territory of Nova Scotia or among the Indian tribes on the shores of Ontario. The outlying island of Newfoundland was ours, as were the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Barbados. At the other end of the world the first step had just been taken towards the consolidation of the Indian Empire by the establishment of the Board of Control, and the first Governor-General under the new constitution was Lord Cornwallis, whose surrender at Yorktown had made the United States an independent nation. The Dutch were still the masters of Ceylon as they were of the Cape of Good Hope, and the only English stations in Africa were on the swamps of the Western Coast.

Such were the British possessions outside Europe a hundred
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years ago; but two events had just occurred which were destined to add to the Empire territories vaster than those which had been secured by the arms of Clive or of Wolfe, and as rich as the regions over which the thirteen revolted Colonies were in time to extend their sway. The French Revolution had commenced, and the European strife it roused was not to be stilled until powers and dynasties were upset, out of the wreck of which England was fated to take spoils in every quarter of the globe; islands like Trinidad, Ceylon, Malta, and Mauritius, became subject to the British Crown; and in South Africa the Anglo-Saxon race obtained its first foothold on a continent which, after many vicissitudes, it now seems likely to dominate as far as the Equatorial Lakes. The other event was peaceful, yet not less momentous. Little more than a year before the fall of the Bastille there landed at Botany Bay a shipload of English people who had forfeited their rights of citizenship, and from this deportation of convicts to a newly-discovered land there has grown in a century the great Australasian Dominion.

At the present time 'the British Empire, with its protectorates, and even without counting its less defined spheres of influence, has an area of some nine million square miles, or, very roughly speaking, of nearly three Europes; revenues amounting to some two hundred and ten millions sterling, and half the sea-borne commerce of the world. This empire lying in all latitudes, produces every requirement of life and trade. . . . More than a hundred million people speak English as their chief tongue, and vastly more than that number as one of two languages; while four hundred millions of people are more or less directly under English rule.' These words are quoted from the opening sentence of Sir Charles Dilke's new treatise upon the 'Problems of Greater Britain,' and their significance makes most opportune the appearance of this exhaustive review of the position and prospects of the British Empire, which, after a hundred years of progressive prosperity and increase, seems now to be approaching a crisis in its history which will probably be reached before the new century dawns.

The volumes which we have before us are the work of two public men, whose combined knowledge of the affairs of our Colonial Empire probably exceeds that of any other two living Englishmen. Sir Charles Dilke has often been spoken of as a statesman possessing a more thorough acquaintance with the 'Problems of Greater Britain' than any other of his time, and the remarkable book to which he has given this title justifies his reputation. Sir George Bowen belongs to an earlier generation,

tion, and his distinguished career has endowed him with greater experience in the government of dependencies than has fallen to the lot of any of his contemporaries, with the exception of Sir Hercules Robinson. Under his administration the vast territory of Queensland was established as an independent colony; New Zealand was brought safely to the end of troublous years of conflict with the Maori race; and Victoria passed through a period of political crisis of extraordinary difficulty. We have referred to 'Thirty Years of Colonial Government' as the work of Sir George Bowen, and we regret that this description of the book is not strictly accurate. We wish that the veteran 'proconsul,' as he likes to style himself, had put forth his volumes in the form of an autobiography, and had dispensed with the services of an editor. The vivacity of Sir George Bowen's narrative, whether in an official despatch to Lord Kimberley, or in a friendly letter written under the shadow of the Wall of China to Mrs. Gladstone, makes it evident that an account of his life and works in the Colonies from his own pen would have been highly entertaining. In one volume, three entire pages are taken up with a long quotation from 'Oceana,' describing Victorian life, and in the other there are three long excerpts from the original edition of 'Greater Britain' referring to New Zealand. Valuable as are the impressions of a keen observer like Sir Charles Dilke, or of a master of the English language like Mr. Froude, every one interested in Colonial questions is familiar with their well-known works, and every one who reads the record of Sir George Bowen's career would prefer to have the benefit of the opinions and descriptions of this experienced Vicegerent of the Crown.

It would be impossible within reasonable limits to discuss critically even the chief subjects treated of in these two books. The one is nothing less than a complete digest of the social and political questions of greatest actual import to the communities of Greater Britain, while the other throws a light upon some of the problems thus set forth, in its chronicle of certain passages in the history of several important Colonies. We propose, therefore, to take a rapid view of the present position of the English-speaking countries of the world and of the dependencies of the British Crown, and to be guided in our survey by the eminent authors of these volumes, though in places we may feel bound to differ from their opinions or conclusions.

The nearest to the British Islands of the dependencies of the Crown outside Europe is the oldest of England's Colonies. Newfoundland, although only a strip of its small area is inhabited, presents a remarkable number of peculiarities in

its economy. It contains a larger proportion of population of Irish extraction than any other British possession, yet it is loyal to the Imperial connexion, and the only grievance, which ever makes its people contemplate the possibility of union with the United States, is the supineness which they lay to the charge of the mother-country in not protecting their interests against the aggressions of the fishermen of France. It is indeed an extraordinary anomaly that a British Colony should not possess full rights over its own soil, since by frequently ratified treaties a large stretch of the coast is reserved for the use of the subjects of France, who chiefly inhabit the neighbouring islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and on 'the French shore' no Newfoundlanders is permitted to erect a permanent habitation. The French Government is tenacious of its rights, which can only be peaceably maintained on their part and suffered on ours by the exercise of great tact on both sides, and it is not likely that a permanent settlement will be effected until after an international re-arrangement which may be come to as a result of a European war.

A striking feature in the island is the prevalence of the truck system among the people engaged in the cod-fishing industry, which is the chief occupation of the inhabitants. Newfoundland possesses a coinage of its own, but although the British currency is the circulating medium in the alien Dutch territories of South Africa, and the rupee bearing the Queen's effigy is current in the Portuguese province of Mozambique, our fellow-subjects, who endure a life of toilsome servitude around the fog-hidden banks, are rarely reminded of their allegiance to the Crown by the sight of it stamped on gold or on silver. Nevertheless these hardy toilers may console themselves that they enjoy an extended electoral franchise, the like of which is not found elsewhere in the British Empire, manhood suffrage having been granted last year to all persons over the age of twenty-five. This peculiar limitation, which exists also in Japan and in Spain, is said to have been made from fear lest the restless youth of the Colony should vote for federation with Canada. How long that arrangement will be delayed it is impossible to predict. The merchants of St. John's, who form the most influential portion of the community, are against it, as they dislike the prospect of a disarrangement of the tariff, which would have to be adjusted to that of the Dominion; but at the recent election the mercantile party was defeated, and Sir William Whiteway has become Premier once more: consequently, as that able lawyer belongs to a profession which might reap advantage from union with Canada, the question of federation

federation may be brought out of the abeyance into which it had fallen, though at the late election both sides emphatically repudiated all sympathy with the idea.

If the foggy channel between Newfoundland and Cape Breton could be bridged, not only would the outpost of the North American Continent be more closely united with the Dominion, but the Atlantic voyage between England and Canada might be reduced to three and a half days, St. John's being little more than 1700 miles from Queenstown. It is to be feared that the proposed establishment of a steam-ferry between the nearest points of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland is, by reason of the prevalence of fogs, tempests, and icebergs, as visionary as the building of a bridge over the straits. Halifax consequently must remain the port chiefly to be depended upon for direct communication between England and her great dependency on the North American Continent. The capital of Acadia must always be a spot of great interest to all who have at heart the fortunes of the British Empire. Its streets of wooden houses, traversed with countless electric wires, have to Englishmen, who make it their first landing-place on the mainland, an unfamiliar appearance; yet, after travel and sojourn in the United States, Halifax revisited seems to bear the stamp of the old country. Hither a hundred years ago came a number of Loyalist settlers, refugees from the revolted Colonies, and here the flag of England must continue to fly, whatever destiny is in store for the rest of the Canadian Dominion, as in the case of Canada ever throwing off its allegiance to the British Crown, England would still adhere to Halifax as a naval and military station. We shall presently return to this question, but we mention it here, as Halifax is the only spot on the American Continent where the red coats of the British Army are seen. Scarlet uniforms indeed are met with often on the passage over English ground from the Atlantic to the Pacific: the Queen's ships bring up as far as Quebec and Montreal their complements of Royal Marines: at Ottawa the Governor-General's Guards are dressed after the pattern of the Household Infantry at home: in the North-West the smart patrols of mounted police resemble our heavy Dragoons in undress: and at Vancouver Island the Marines on the fleet are once more encountered: but in a voyage round the world, after Halifax is left behind, the next military garrison of Imperial troops is found in distant Hong-Kong.

The railway journey over the Intercolonial Road from the Maritime Provinces into Canada proper, with its lengthy detour to the North, makes the English traveller regret that the State of Maine is not included in British territory, as
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the greater part of it might have been had it not been for the unnatural boundary line drawn by the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, which Sir Charles Dilke justly describes as 'a monument of that ignorance and neglect of national interest which have often unfortunately characterized the action of our Imperial representatives.' Sir George Bowen cannot have had a very vivid recollection of his brief visit to Quebec when he wrote, 'If Englishmen of the present day desire to forecast what England will probably be politically fifty years hence, they should study what Australasia and Canada now are,' inasmuch as the *habitants* of Lower Canada are Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, and not Anglo-Saxons of the twentieth. There are villages, close to the frontier of the most advanced country in the world, which are little bits of old France of the reign of Louis XV., and the city of Quebec itself is in many respects a magnificent relic of the ancient régime. Throughout this fair province the Catholic Church is all powerful. Many of the public holidays are ecclesiastical feasts not usually recognized in the British Empire; and on these occasions, when the host is elevated at high mass in the metropolitan basilica, it is to the thunder of the artillery of the Colonial forces. The parochial system constitutes a religious establishment on a basis unknown in any other country, although in Lower Canada there is nominally a separation between Church and State. Perhaps the most significant sign of the strength of the Church is, that the secular clergy and the Jesuits do little to dissimulate their mutual animosity. The most conspicuous figure in the Province is Cardinal Taschereau, a courtly prelate of the *grand siècle*, austere to such a point that the diversions of playgoing, novel-reading, and dancing, are by him inhibited for the faithful. The modern movement, which is sweeping on beyond the frontier lines of the United States and of Ontario, comes not within his ken. It was at his instance that the Holy See banned the Knights of Labour; and when Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore moved the Sacred Congregation to raise the inhibition, it was with the Archbishop of Quebec that he made the voyage to Rome, whither they had both been summoned to be invested with their scarlet hats. Cardinal Taschereau is an honest man withal, and the Protestant community of Montreal, who look with distrust upon the use made of the Church by Provincial politicians for party purposes, sometimes express a wish, that representative institutions might be abolished in Quebec, and the administration of the Government vested in the hands of the Cardinal Archbishop.

The commercial prosperity, which the superior energy of the

the British population of Montreal has diverted from Quebec, has been further drawn up the stream of the St. Lawrence by the deepening of the channel of the noble river which flows beneath the Plains of Abraham. Montreal being now at the head of the summer navigation, as well as the chief terminus of the Trans-continental railway, holds the proud rank of the first city of the Dominion, though Toronto is a vigorous and rapidly-growing rival. The importance of Montreal from an Imperial point of view is, that here is found the chief friction between English and French; here the question of religion is most acute. The opulent mercantile community of Mount Royal, many of whom are of Scottish origin and of Presbyterian persuasion, rebel against the geographical accident which has placed them within the boundaries of the Province of Quebec. 'Sic vos non vobis,' they say to one another, or in less classical phrase they declare that Montreal is the milch-cow of Lower Canada, and they submit resentfully to the necessity of providing supplies for and being governed by the French majority, which extreme Protestants among them characterize as bigoted, priest-ridden, and retrograde. The French population is found in large numbers in the counties of the adjacent province nearest the frontier, but in the capital of Ontario there is no trace whatever of the French Canadians. Quebec, piled on the heights commanding the St. Lawrence, is without doubt the most picturesque city on the North American Continent, and Montreal has good claim to be considered the most sumptuous; but Toronto, built on the flat lake-shore, is as unlovely as New York or Philadelphia. It is a commercial city, humanized by a University, just as Ottawa is an official village, tempered by lumber-mills.

The Dominion capital has the population of a small English country town, but its handsome cluster of Parliament buildings, seen from a distance, seems to rise out of the boundless forest. Here Sir John Macdonald, the incarnation of Federated Canada, presides over his strangely assorted Cabinet, in which the French *habitant*, the British settler from Ontario, the Irish Nationalist, and the Presbyterian Orangeman, sit side by side in peaceful subjection to the old Parliamentary hand of Greater Britain. The Disraeli cast of features of Sir John Macdonald is well known; but the Canadian Premier, while he possesses some share of Lord Beaconsfield's adroitness, has nothing of his sphinx-like impassiveness, and indeed, in his expansive vitality and gift of perpetual youth, bears more resemblance to Mr. Gladstone. In Dominion politics there are two great parties, of which the Ministerial majority is in semi-official language comprehensively called Liberal-Conservative, while the Op-
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position are known as the Grits; but in reality the only cleavage is between those who wish to keep Macdonald in and those who wish to turn Macdonald out. The camp of the latter is not a favourable resort for the office-seeker, inasmuch as 'John A.' as the great Opportunist leader is familiarly called, is practically the perpetual Prime Minister of the Dominion; during the twenty-three years since he completed the Federation of British North America, there has been only one short interval of five years in which he has ceased to preside over the Privy Council. There has been no more striking instance of Sir John Macdonald's Parliamentary management than last year, when he was called upon by some of his staunchest supporters to apply the Governor-General's power of veto to the Jesuits' Estates Bill of the Quebec Legislature. That enactment, it will be remembered, provided for a subsidy of 400,000*l.* of public money to the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada, in compensation for the property of the Society of Jesus escheated to the Crown after the dissolution of the Order in the last century, a smaller grant being made simultaneously to the Protestant bodies of the Province. An agitation was commenced by the powerful Orange Lodges of Ontario, which represent an aggressive Protestantism only found in the neighbourhood of dominant Catholicism; but the foremost of our Colonial statesmen—himself an Orangeman—knew well that to thwart the constitutional will of French Canada might mean the disruption of the Dominion; and the overwhelming majority, which he combined to defeat the proposition, included not only the Protestants and Catholics of his own following, but the whole strength of the Opposition, only thirteen members in a full house voting in favour of the veto.

The most conspicuous monument of the Macdonald Administration is the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is not our purpose to enter into the controversial history of that enterprise: we prefer to look at the grand result which has united the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Pacific Ocean by a road which runs from start to finish over British ground. The chief danger, from an Imperial point of view, to which the Canadian North-West has been liable, is its commercial connexion with the adjacent territory of the United States, and Manitoba seemed likely to become an appanage of Minnesota and Dakota. The traveller can now, sixty hours after leaving Montreal, reach Winnipeg, which is certain to become the capital of the North-West, standing as it does just half-way between Montreal and Vancouver. The city is at present in a condition which, in the expressive terminology of Greater Britain, is described as 'subsided boom.' It was planned

planned on too magnificent a scale, and in its main avenue the traffic of Piccadilly and the Boulevards would be lost. The builders of new cities in the boundless New World should remember that the finest thoroughfares of the Old are not dreary expanses like Sackville Street, Dublin, but comparatively narrow ways like the Toledo of Naples or the Rambla of Barcelona. Winnipeg is reviving, but there are prairie cities in Manitoba which scarcely survived their christening, and the Provincial Legislature passed a Bill indemnifying the corporation of one of them, Portage la Prairie, from its municipal debt. It is, however, to be hoped, for the sake of Canadian financial credit, that the Governor in Council will veto this speculative enactment. We may trust that the days of bankrupt towns in British America are at an end. Sir Charles Dilke forcibly points out how our emigration fails to follow the flag, but at the same time there is no reason that the Dominion should be depressed on account of the prospects of its North-West regions, because of the more rapid progress made in Dakota across the American frontier. The federation of Canada is not a quarter of a century old, and the opening up of this vast tract of country by the Trans-continental railway is only a thing of yesterday. Seeing that the belt of territory on the Canadian side of the frontier, from Lake Winnipeg to the Rockies, consists of much better land than that of the corresponding belt on the American side, and that the winters are not more severe, there is reason to hope that Manitoba and the neighbouring North-West Territories will, before many years, support a population not less considerable than that found in any area of the same size of the United States in the same latitudes.

The fourteen hundred miles between Manitoba and the coast of British Columbia, now traversed by the railway, display some of the marvellous variety and resources of the British Empire: fertile corn-lands on the prairie: rich ranching pastures on the foot-hills: and the most magnificent scenery in the world among the Rocky Mountains and the Selkirks, which are not destitute of mineral wealth. The new and thriving city at the terminus of the line is called Vancouver, a gratuitously confusing example of nomenclature, seeing that it is not on Vancouver Island. At this point has to be decided the great question of the respective merits as naval stations of Burrard Inlet, which runs into the mainland where the Canadian Pacific Railway ends, and of Esquimalt Harbour on Vancouver Island. We do not propose to balance the weighty arguments on either side, because there is no doubt whatever that it is the duty of the Imperial Government to
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make them both strongly fortified places. It is not at all likely that the Dominion of Canada will in our time be annexed to the United States, but, in the matter of providing stations for the fleet, England ought to act as if the loss of Canada were within the bounds of possibility. If the American nation desired to invade the Dominion, there are very few spots on the four thousand miles of frontier on which any resistance could be offered; but it must be borne in mind that the possession of Canada by England is a great safeguard for the United States. If the whole continent were under the Stars and Stripes, Great Britain would lose the chief reasons of policy for remaining on friendly terms with America, the chief motive for maintaining our mutual friendship being that a rupture would entail an immediate and irresistible raid across the Canadian frontier. Improbable as the chance of such a rupture is, it behoves England to make it absolutely certain that in the case of losing Canada we could retain Halifax on the Atlantic and another impregnable station on the Pacific coast, and to that end both Esquimalt on Vancouver Island and Burrard Inlet on the mainland should be made strong places without delay, so that we might have the choice of the two, and perhaps retain both if the dire necessity arose.

The relations of Canada with the United States involve questions of the highest interest. The partisans of a closer union between the two countries may be divided into those who advocate unrestricted reciprocity; commercial union; and political union or annexation. Unrestricted reciprocity need not occupy our attention, as no American Government would ever consent to an arrangement whereby the Dominion Parliament might, by abolishing all customs' duties and giving free entry to British and European goods, enable Canadian merchants to undersell American importers of the same articles. The American Protectionists are not attracted by a one-sided bargain which would give to the Canadians a free market of over sixty million people in exchange for a free market of five million people. The idea of the Commercial Union of Canada and the United States has acquired an importance from its having been taken up by the Opposition at Ottawa as an improvement on the 'national' policy of Protection which has been maintained by Sir John Macdonald. Sir Charles Dilke wisely points out, in reply to the complaint of the Commercial Union party, that it is a crime to shut out Canada from participation in the growth of the commerce of the continent, that it is a still greater crime to shut out Canada from participation in the commerce of the world. Although the best
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friends of the British Empire cannot deny that the Dominion is not in an altogether healthy condition, yet those who have travelled in it cannot fail to recognize that there exists throughout the Federal Provinces a distinctly national feeling which would not easily submit to the adjustment of the tariff at Washington, where the Canadian delegates would have about as much influence as that exercised by the Maoris who sit in the New Zealand Legislature.

There are two distinguished British subjects residing in Canada who, from the prominence given in the English press to their utterances, have a certain notoriety on this side the Atlantic as favouring the annexation of Canada to the United States. Mr. Goldwin Smith, and Mr. Honoré Mercier, the French Catholic Premier of Quebec, not unfrequently deliver sentiments which, in the days when the term was in usage, might have qualified them for the title of rebels; but we are perfectly certain that either of those eminent personages would much prefer to be called a rebel than to be coupled and associated in the minds of men with the other. Of Mr. Goldwin Smith we would at once say that his motives are as disinterested as they are mischievous; but though mischievous his motives, the mischief he effects is infinitesimal,—that is to say, it amounts to the harm which ensues from the printing in large type of his letters, advocating the disruption of the Empire, in London journals which profess Imperialism. Though we reprobate his views, we think that the old Regius Professor is often unjustly treated. People who do not know him derive their impression of the man from Mr. Disraeli's rancorous portrait of him in 'Lothair'; he is there described as talking a language of 'ornate jargon'; as a matter of fact his diction is severe compared to Mr. Disraeli's, and we regret that his plausible sentiments are not veiled in jargon, but are on the contrary expressed in admirable and forcible English. He has lately had his revenge on his limner in a recent oration at New York, when he emphasized his offer of Canada to the American nation by an unearthed quotation from an ancient letter of Lord Beaconsfield, who once seems to have written mysteriously that 'the Colonies, and Canada in particular, were millstones round our necks, but that they would soon be independent.' It is, moreover, unjust to ascribe Mr. Goldwin Smith's disaffection to any disappointments he may have encountered in his Canadian career, as we find Sir George Bowen describing in 1862 his schemes for the emancipation of Australia. It ought, however, to be put on record, for the benefit of those who are perturbed by his letters to the English papers, that
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Mr. Goldwin Smith has no following whatever in Canada, and no disciples across the frontier of his unpatriotic propaganda. Around his home in Toronto he has hosts of personal friends and not one political ally. In the United States an ungrateful lack of warmth greets his harangues, in which he inveighs against the unnatural division of a continent which Providence destined to be one. Not long ago he was about to discourse in this wise to an American audience at a banquet, when the veteran General Sherman, perhaps anticipating, arose and said : 'The American people want not another rood of bad land in Mexico or of good land in Canada.' After that, Mr. Goldwin Smith's customary periods about 'one flag, one language, one literature,' lacked a little of their usual sonority. It is undoubtedly a fact that the American nation feels that it wants no more territory to govern. We have already mentioned that the United States recognize that England's possession of Canada is an insurance of a conciliatory policy on the part of the British Government ; and there is a third potent reason why the Republic would possibly refuse Canada if it were offered to her, namely, because the addition of that vast country would entirely disorganize the electoral balance of the States, and neither party would care to run the risk of utter exclusion from office as the price for the accession of half a continent.

One of the attractive results which Mr. Goldwin Smith promises from the political union of Canada and the United States is the extinction of French Nationality, which he says is breaking the unity of American civilization. Now Mr. Mercier is not a politician who desires to be extinguished, and it may seem strange that this prominent Frenchman should at times threaten to advocate a policy, which would destroy the nationality whose champion he is. The Premier of Lower Canada is considered by many to be a reckless political gamester who plays for his own hand, posing as an annexationist in order that he may point to the wise concessions of the Dominion Parliament as the results of his threatenings. In his heart he no more contemplates the annexation of Quebec to the United States than to Brazil. He knows that, if Canada became part of the American Union, the disestablishment of the French position would follow. Not only would the *habitants* have at Washington none of the privileges of their own language they enjoy at Ottawa, but Quebec, as one of fifty or sixty States, would have an imperceptible influence in the Federal Legislature ; and though the Province were invested with statehood, it would by degrees lose all its characteristics. In the New England States there are 350,000 French Canadians. In Rhode Island they form

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an enormous proportion of the population; they live apart, speaking no English and holding aloof from intercourse with the American inhabitants; yet one might live for a year in the little State, which is scarcely the size of Warwickshire, without necessarily discovering the presence of this great alien community. It is true that certain French Canadians have risen to high positions in New England, but this has only been effected by their divesting themselves of their nationality. Mr. Mercier knows as well as any living man that, if Canada were joined to the United States, Quebec would lose its French character as Louisiana has lost it. The Catholic clergy, moreover, who rule the Provincial Legislature and the Premier himself, are well aware that, if the régime of Ottawa were exchanged for that of Washington, there would be granted no more concessions to their religion, as in the case of the refusal to veto the Jesuits' Estates Bill; no more privileges to their beloved language, as in the instance of the recent vote regarding its use in the North-West Territory.

Other alternative destinies which are proposed for the Dominion are those of Imperial Federation and of independence. Of the former we shall speak hereafter; the latter there is no occasion to dwell upon, as we do not believe that Canada could maintain herself as an independent nation. We agree with Sir Charles Dilke's conclusion when he says that he cannot see why Canada, if she takes those reasonable steps for her own defence, which are a condition of the existence of a self-respecting nation, should not, if she so wishes, work out a prosperous destiny for herself under her present relations with the British Crown.

In the few pages which Sir Charles Dilke devotes to the United States, apart from their relations with Canada, we find more points to take exception to than in all the rest of his admirable volumes. We agree with him that the happy phrase of his invention, Greater Britain, ought to include the most prosperous English-speaking community in the world; but we dissent from his proposition, that though none of the English Colonies, commonly so called, fall under Sir George Cornewall Lewis's definition of a colony, its conditions are fulfilled by the United States. Sir G. C. Lewis, in his 'Government of Dependencies,' said that 'a colony properly denotes a body of persons belonging to one country and political community, who, having abandoned that country and community, form a new and separate society, independent or dependent, in some district from which they expel the ancient inhabitants.' Now, leaving aside the fact that the first settlers
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of the United States included Dutchmen in New York and Frenchmen on the Mississippi, we contend that, even supposing the original colonists had all sprung from the British Islands, in order that the American nation should properly fall under this designation of colony, it would have been necessary for the population to have grown entirely by means of family increase and of immigration from Great Britain and Ireland. The coming Census of the United States will, from its mere record of nomenclature, throw new light on the origins of the American nation, and we believe that it will show that less than two-thirds of the people are of English descent on the paternal side. Chicago is a representative American city. It is not, like New York, a distributing emporium of immigration, and here 400,000 of the inhabitants are Germans or of German parentage. Nevertheless, so strong is the tradition on American soil of the good old Colony-days, that the sons of these Teutons will celebrate the anniversary of Bunker Hill, or will mutilate the monument to Major André, with all the simple faith of an ennobled plutocrat, who, purchasing a pedigree at the College of Arms, glows with pride at his ancestors' prowess at Ascalon.

As the author of '*Greater Britain*' is not an American citizen, he should refrain from quoting rhymes to the effect that 'We were one in the days, When Shakspeare wrote his plays.' For the sake of preserving this graceful fiction, we would let pass the theory of the oneness of the Irish Celts and the English at the period when Mr. Edmund Spenser was Chief Secretary for Ireland; but though Elizabeth was Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and though her successor, who was moreover King of Scots, married a Dane, and gave his daughter to a German, from whom sprang our reigning house, we are constrained to throw a doubt upon the English people having been one with half the other peoples of Europe in the interval between Raleigh's first voyage and the sailing of the '*Mayflower*.' The reason why we have emphasized our objection to this seemingly trivial point is, that it involves the whole question of the predominance of the English race throughout the world. America is the foremost of the nations of Greater Britain. If her people were all sprung from British ancestry, it would be a glory to the English race to have developed such fecundity; but we contend that the English race has performed a much mightier achievement than the mere multiplication of species. We claim that our native stock has not only increased and covered the earth, but that it has imposed its language and its traditions upon other peoples; so that in the great American Republic, men of Teutonic, of Scandinavian, and of Batavian origin, all alike
speak

speaking our English tongue, and hold our literature as a common heritage. Hence it happens that, no matter what the growth of other races, the English language, by the indomitable strength of the English genius, is destined to overwhelm all others throughout the civilized world.

If the foregoing fallacy is of partially American growth, there is another of Sir Charles Dilke's propositions of thoroughly British material, to which also we take exception. In his observations upon the Negro question in the Southern States, he expresses his surprise that 'Christian ministers' should countenance the separation of coloured and white people in 'Christian churches.' We, on the contrary, should express our surprise if they did anything else. It is only twenty-five years since the close of the war, and there are still many clergymen in the South who, in the earlier period of their ministry, not only preached from their pulpits the doctrine of race inequality, but in Methodist Conferences, Episcopal Synods, and Presbyterian Assemblies, officially declared that the institution of negro slavery was not opposed to the law of Christ. The Southern clergy have accepted the change of law; but they cannot be expected to recognize the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox Courthouse as having had the effect of a Decree of a General Council in the regulation of doctrine or of conduct. What we wish to draw attention to is this use of the word 'Christian' in the sense of that which is in accordance with British sentiment at the present day—almost analogous to the modern French expression *fin de siècle*; but even for the sake of terseness it is confusing to have to apply the epithet of Christian to that advocate of race-equality, Mr. Bradlaugh, and to deny it to the Rev. George Whitfield, who introduced slavery into Georgia. Sir Charles Dilke, in his chapter on South Africa, describes with much fidelity the religious basis of the life of the Boers, who in the application of the maxims of Christianity to everyday existence resemble in their terminology the Covenanters. We have no doubt of the sincerity of the rude piety of these Dutch farmers; yet we must deny also to them the title of Christian, if belief in race-equality is an essential to the creed, inasmuch as the Africander places his Kaffirs and Hottentots on a not much higher level than his trek-oxen, though his rule of the natives has been more merciful than ours in Africa, with all our admirable sentiment. The Southerners, who read that the system of reserving separate railway cars for the coloured people ought not to be countenanced by Christians, will turn with interest to the Queensland section of the 'Problems of Greater Britain,' where they will find a vivid description

description of the English or Christian method of dealing with blacks. After all, in reviewing books which record the British conquest of half the world, perhaps we ought not to find fault with an expression which is typical of that splendid audacity of national egotism which is one of the secrets of our mastery.

The increase of the negro-population in the Southern States is probably the most difficult question to be solved within the American Republic; but we cannot pause to discuss it, nor to compare with it the condition of the English West Indies, which are becoming black communities, based upon a peasant proprietary of the African race. We must make our way Westward, across the Pacific to the great British Continent and its neighbours in the Austral seas.

For the first time in the history of Greater Britain it is possible to travel from England to Australia by an overland route, in which that phrase from the proportion of land to sea on the passage has a real significance, without traversing a yard of soil not British. The distance from Vancouver to Moreton Bay, the port of Queensland, or to Auckland, is about the same as from San Francisco; but the competing route between the Australian Colonies and the old country is of course the way by the Suez Canal. Apart from the undoubted strategic importance of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in case of war in which the United States were not hostile, that great thoroughfare ought to be utilized as a link to bind closer to England her dependencies in the Southern Seas. Vancouver stands just half-way between Great Britain and Australasia—the distance thither from Liverpool being about 6000 miles, the same distance dividing British Columbia from New Zealand and the East Coast of Australia. The first half of the journey, across the Atlantic and over the Trans-continental line, is most agreeable, both in matter of comfort and of variety. Our Australian fellow-subjects, moreover, like the idea of traversing on their homeward way a stretch of the mighty Empire of which they are members, which is longer by more than a thousand miles than the space between any two points in their own vast continent of magnificent distances; but more potent than sentiment for the ocean traveller is comfort, and the Canadian Pacific road will have been built in vain as a pathway through one portion of Greater Britain to another, unless there are provided for the Pacific voyage vessels as sumptuous as those which ply by the Mediterranean route.

The group of our Australasian Colonies is about equal in area to Canada, and the points wherein these differ from the Dominion strikingly display the diversity of the possessions of
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the British Crown. The great Continent of Australia is singularly unlike our North-American territory, in that nearly all its population has settled on certain strips of the sea-board. Here there seems to be little prospect of a Trans-continental railway, and the scarcely explored torrid interior corresponds, in a way, to the Arctic solitudes around Hudson Bay. Australia differs from Canada again, in that the tendency of the inhabitants is to crowd into the chief towns of the Colonies. The city of Melbourne, with its suburbs, contains half of the population of Victoria; more than a third of the population of New South Wales reside in Sydney; and of the forty thousand people who inhabit Western Australia, a territory as large as Hindostan, one-third are gathered in a couple of towns. This feature, however, is not found in New Zealand, where the system of separate provincial centres has obtained. All the Australasian Colonies, unlike Canada and the United States, are peopled by a stock sprung entirely from the British Islands; and these vigorous countries, though somewhat worried by alien occupation of neighbouring South Sea islands, are absolutely free from the fear of foreign invasion or complication.

Sir Charles Dilke declares of Canada that a miracle has been wrought by confederation in converting a backward colony into a flourishing power. There are no backward colonies in Australasia, although one or two of them are undeveloped, and the possible application of federation to those flourishing communities is perhaps the most interesting question of Imperial import now being settled in Greater Britain. The doctrine of 'Australia for the Australians' is now put forward by local political leaders who undoubtedly represent not a mere section of Colonial opinion, but an unanimous and powerful sentiment. The problem to be solved is, how to apply that doctrine in a manner which will tend to the consolidation of the Empire and not to its disruption. That Australian, if not Australasian, confederation will be an accomplished fact before the new Governors who were sent out last year have completed their term, seems certain. The chief matters of detail which the Colonies will have to settle among themselves appear to be intercolonial Free-trade and financial federation. One of the most familiar anomalies of the growth of Greater Britain is that, while in England all parties practically are pledged to the doctrine of Free-trade, the most prosperous of our daughter-countries are Protectionist. The Victorians have, by Protection, placed their manufactures in a thriving condition; and though New South Wales has a conspicuous and singular reputation for Free-trade principles, it is a significant fact that that Colony is moving

towards Protection, just at the period when it seems to be passing Victoria in prosperity as a consequence of its old policy. It therefore seems impossible that Australian federation can be brought about except on the base of intercolonial Free-trade and Protection against the world, including the mother-country. As Sir Charles Dilke observes, here again we find ourselves face to face with the same difficulty which met us in the case of Canada, that we retain our Empire by facilitating the imposition of increased taxes on our goods. It may be some consolation to doctrinaires that it is the boast of the United States, with its analogous inter-state Free-trade, that the American Continent is the great exemplar to the world of Free-trade, in spite of its vexatious custom-houses at its ports and on its frontiers, and of its Treasury overflowing with a surplus which the tariff produces.

The question of financial federation is one for the Australian Colonies themselves, and consolidation of loans will probably come with political federation; but there is another matter to be speedily decided which gravely concerns the relations of the Colonies and the mother-country. Sir Henry Parkes urges the right of Australia, without reference to home opinion, to decide the future of every acre of the continent; and though exception may be taken to the form of the expression of the Prime Minister of New South Wales, there can be no doubt that in view of imminent controversies such an arrangement will minimize the chances of friction arising between Great Britain and her Colonies in the Southern Seas. In two parts of the Australian Continent the inhabitants are now engaged in discussion of the further division of their respective territories, and in a third the question is certain to arise, the settlements of which will best be made without the interference of the Colonial Office. In Queensland, the independence of which from New South Wales was completed under Sir George Bowen's rule thirty years ago, there is an active agitation proceeding for the separation of the tropical region in the north from the southern portion which includes Brisbane the capital. The separatist movement in North Queensland was originally based on the 'servile labour' question, the northern people finding it difficult to cultivate sugar without the aid of imported labourers who can endure the climate, while public opinion on the subject at Brisbane was similar to that which has found expression in the anti-Chinese agitation throughout Australia. In Western Australia the point at issue is, whether a handful of settlers, who equal in numbers the population of a minor cathedral town in England, shall administer uncontrolled a huge

huge tract of continent of the area of British India. Although there is no active movement on foot in South Australia for a division of that Colony, its present vast dimensions stretching across central Australia are anomalous, especially as Adelaide in the south and Port Darwin in the north are practically as remote from one another as was Quebec from Vancouver Island in the days before the Trans-continental railway. It should be borne in mind that the powerful Colony of Victoria contains only one 1-34th of the area of the continent, being no larger than Great Britain; while even New South Wales, which is three and a half times as large, is a minute region compared to the relatively unimportant Colonies of South and Western Australia.

The constitution of federated Australia will undoubtedly give the Federal Government power to create new provinces, and it is clear that friction between the mother-country and her great dependency will be reduced, when the Colonial Office has to deal with a Federal Council instead of with a number of separate governments. One matter which has recently strained relations between Great Britain and certain of her Colonies has been that of the nomination of Governors. In Victoria there is comparatively little opposition to the mode of nominating Governors, but very decided opinions are expressed by leading politicians as to their relations with the Colonial Office during their administration; in South Australia the wishes of the people were quietly acceded to when they expressed objection to an undesirable nominee; but in Queensland an unpleasant agitation arose on the announcement that Sir Henry Blake was named as successor to Sir Anthony Musgrave. The general impression in this country was that the objection to Governor Blake was entirely grounded on his tradition as a police-magistrate in Ireland, the Irish being all-powerful in the Colony; but this was not the case. The Irish are numerous in Queensland, but are not relatively half as strong as they are in Newfoundland, where Sir Henry Blake had governed with marked success; and although the Irish party at Brisbane boasted that the withdrawal of his nomination was their work, it is doubtful if the agitation would have obtained support, had there not been in Queensland a strong growth of 'national' sentiment which favours independence from the mother-country, and is fostered by those who are eager for opportunities to display jealousy of home-interference. Those who have the interests of the Empire at heart cannot blind themselves to the existence of separatist feeling in Australia, and it is curious to find its most emphatic expression in Queensland, when we read how Sir George Bowen

gave that name to the young Colony on his Sovereign's behalf as a memorial of the loyalty of the settlers. The demands of the Colonial Governments to be consulted, prior to the nomination of Governors, are sure to be repeated until Federation substitutes, as in Canada, provincial Lieutenant-Governors appointed by the Federal Council. The Governor-General would, as in the case of the Dominion Viceroy, be a personage of such distinction that the Home Government would always know beforehand the feeling with which the Federal Council would regard his nomination. The choice of the site of the capital may occasion some difficulty. In America not even the State capitals, excepting that of Massachusetts, are great centres of population, but in the foremost Australian Colonies the chief town is likewise the seat of government. Melbourne, with all the attributes of a European city of the first class, will vainly lay claim to the position of Federal capital: in vain will the Victorians protest that they have built a Government House with a ball-room twice the size of that in Buckingham Palace, and that no local Lieutenant-Governor will be worthy of such magnificence. Melbourne's claims will be scorned by her relatively venerable rival, Sydney. An Ottawa or a Washington will have to be created. Hobart is spoken of as a possible capital of the United States of Australasia, but though Tasmania is a favourite holiday resort of the inhabitants on the mainland, the long sea-voyage might prove as inconvenient to legislators as the short passage across the Solent to Osborne is occasionally to Her Majesty's Ministers, and the most probable seat of Federal Government is Albury, on the frontier of New South Wales and Victoria.

We have pointed out the important characteristic of the provincial system, wherein the colonization of New Zealand differs from that of Australia. In its political history it likewise stands alone in the Australasian group, in that its settlement has only been effected after severe warfare with the brave native race, and the comparatively unsatisfactory financial condition of the country is a legacy from the years of conflict. The most conspicuous difference, however, between these islands and our other possessions in the Southern Seas is one which has existed from all time. Australia, as a whole, is one of the most unlovely tracts of the earth's surface, whereas New Zealand contains more beautiful scenery and more magnificent variety than any other equal area in the temperate zones. Weird melancholy is the dominant note of Australian scenery, in contrast to the bold severity of New Zealand in the south, and the bright Polynesian picturesqueness of the northern island. There is, however, a general resemblance in legislative and political tendencies

tendencies between Australia and New Zealand. Australasian federation without the adhesion of the land of the Maori would not only be incomplete, but probably also abortive. The views on the subject expressed by the leading public men of New Zealand are sagacious. It is natural that this important Colony should be unwilling to enter any arrangement which would place it in the position of a dependency of the neighbouring continent. The inclusion of New Zealand in the Australasian Federation will be of advantage to the Empire, inasmuch as she will strengthen Victoria in resisting the principle of the right and power of a single colony to secede. This is one of the most important points wherein the federation of Australasia will guard Imperial interests. Supposing that the separatist party in Queensland were, in the present position of the Colony, to become absolutely predominant, and to declare for independence, it would be well-nigh impossible for England to interfere; but under Federation it would be difficult for the Australasian Colonies to admit that a single colony might secede, and possibly establish a Government based on servile labour, hostile to the others, and in alliance with their enemies. Supposing, for example, that Queensland were established as a separate Republic, the passage by Torres Straits might be lost to all the Colonies, and Moreton Bay itself might become a station from which hostile fleets could prey upon the trade of Sydney and of Auckland. Short of the secession of a colony, the difficulty the Imperial Government has in dealing with Australasia as a number of disunited States is great, as for example in the case of the refusal of Queensland to ratify the compact made at the Colonial Conference with regard to the Australian Naval Squadron.

With the increase of population on the east and north-east coast of Australia, a feeling has arisen that the inhabitants have a right to control the settlement of all the islands of the ocean which washes their shores. The proximity of the French Convict Settlement of New Caledonia has been a constant grievance to the Colonists on the eastern littoral, and the British annexation of Fiji has brought 'La Nouvelle' more closely into the Australian system, as it lies just half-way between Brisbane and the Fiji group. The vigorous protest made by the Colonies, including Victoria, against the French claims to the New Hebrides, and the hoisting of the British flag on New Guinea by Queensland, are expressions of the prevailing sentiment, which often finds voice in a complaint that the mother-country is willing to sacrifice the interests of her children to the pretensions of France or of Germany. It is evident that a federated Australasia will

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be a much more redoubtable power to carry out what Sir Charles Dilke calls the 'Australasian Munroe doctrine.'

The voyage from Australia to the Cape takes us once again to a Colony which had a history before its settlement or possession by the British. In some of the older Dutch towns of South Africa we find a picturesqueness as striking as that which characterizes French Canada, and which is sought in vain, from Chicago to Melbourne, in any city or village of Greater Britain which owes its architecture to Anglo-Saxon genius. The questions which concerned Cape Colony only yesterday are no longer of importance: the power of the *Africander Bond*; the rise and decadence of ostrich-farming; the pacification of the natives beyond the Kei; and even the development of the diamond-mines at Kimberley, are all overshadowed by the gold-discoveries in the Transvaal, and the rage thereby engendered for the conquest of fresh lands which may possibly contain the precious metal.

At the conclusion of the disastrous Boer war nine years ago, we were thought to have lost with discredit a province of the area of France, as the penalty of its previous premature annexation. The condition of Cape Colony was precarious; the Dutch party was strong and aggressive; the *Africander Bond* was a formidable organization; predictions were confidently uttered that the days of British rule in South Africa were numbered; and sober-minded Englishmen were calculating how we might retain a place of arms on Table Bay or Simon's Bay to guard our alternative route to India. The sagacious rule of Sir Hercules Robinson aimed at a conciliation, based on community of interest, between Englishmen and Boers; and in his endeavour he was aided by certain prominent Dutchmen, notably Sir John Brand, the lamented President of the Orange Free State, the best friend England ever had in South Africa; Sir Henry de Villiers, the distinguished Chief Justice of the Cape; and Mr. Hofmeyr, the Parliamentary leader of the *Africander* party, the maker and unmaker of Colonial Ministries. The financial condition of the South African Republic was insecure; there were indeed gold-mines at Barberton, but their output would not have warded off for a year the public bankruptcy, which was imminent. All the blunders committed by successive Home Governments were about to be retrieved by the peaceful falling into our hands again of the abandoned Transvaal, when suddenly the destiny of South Africa was changed by the discovery of a reef on Witwatersrand, thirty miles from Pretoria.

The effects of this discovery have been both paradoxical and phenomenal. Where on the high veldt four years ago the only signs of human life were a few scattered Boer farms, whither
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came occasionally a crawling ox-waggon, now stands a city greater than any in Africa south of Zanzibar. It bears no likeness to the quaint Dutch and Huguenot towns of the old Colony, but rather resembles the populous places of America or Australia. It is an entirely English-speaking centre of population; but there is one conspicuous sign to denote that the Anglo-Saxon race are not the rulers in the land, for this great commercial city has been built by British hands in the midst of the African wilderness in the last years of the nineteenth century without the approach of a railway within hundreds of miles. The English-speaking population of the Transvaal, though centred in small areas, now undoubtedly outnumbers the Dutch; and as the Boers have enormous families, while most of the diggers are single men, it is calculated that the adult male English are to the burghers in the proportion of seven to one. Nevertheless there are no real symptoms that the British gold-seekers will throw off the Boer yoke by violent revolution, and reclaim the territory for England. The reason is twofold. In the first place the precious spoil is the chief object of every man who comes to Johannesburg, to the exclusion of all political or patriotic sentiment; in the second, there is in South Africa a bugbear of which the tradition is so strong, that even newcomers are affected by it, the dread of Downing Street. No Transvaaler, English or Dutch, would consent to be subject to Cape Colony; and as the British alternative is Downing Street, the diggers and speculators submit to the exactions, the irksome regulations, and the jobbery, of the rustic government under which they possess no franchise.

The most interesting figure in South Africa at the present time is an elderly, uncouth, half-educated farmer, Paul Kruger, the Autocrat of the Transvaal. His success in resisting the introduction of railways into his domain is one of the most remarkable incidents in the history of colonization. The motives for his policy are manifold. There is the old story of his resentment against the short-sighted Government at the Cape, which refused the exclusive concession to construct a line across the Republic in return for the abatement of the paltry duty on Transvaal tobacco entering the Colony. Then, when the gold on the Rand was discovered, it was not unnatural that the President should favour his compatriots of the 'ox-waggon party,' who would have ceased to profit from the influx of population had the fields been connected by rail with British territory and the sea. The steam-engine is at last approaching the Transvaal boundaries: while the Cape Government has been leisurely projecting its line through the Free State, the little Colony of Natal

Natal has displayed an energy rarely found in a sub-tropical climate, and has pushed its railway close up to the Dutch frontier, beneath the shadow of Majuba Hill of sorrowful memory. It is remarkable how Paul Kruger should have been able, through these years of change, to cling to his resolve, that, until the road to Delagoa Bay is laid, none other shall enter the territory. Obstinate he may be, but his perversity has had a purpose, and it is not supposed that his prolonged adherence to his alliance with the Netherlands Railway Company has been actuated by merely sentimental motives of revenge upon the Cape Government, or of devotion to the interests of the Boer transport riders.

It is a strange anomaly that the centre of Greater Britain in South Africa should now be, not the capital of either of our Colonies; not the diamond city, of the priceless site of which we adroitly deprived the Orange Free State; but a mushroom town, which has sprung up in the heart of the land which, after many blunders and disasters, we restored to the emigrant Boers as their independent territory. Cape Town, its remaining inhabitants lament, has returned to the days of village life. Sir Gordon Sprigg has become, like Sir John Macdonald, a perpetual Prime Minister; but for the dissimilar and singular reason that the leaders of the Opposition have 'trekked' to the Transvaal; and even his Ministry, with its substantial attractions of salary, is being depleted by the same cause. Kimberley, in spite of its double railway connexion with the sea, is already outstripped by the upstart Johannesburg, which in four years has become an imposing city; while the diamond town, which has attained its majority, remains a mining camp—a condition which is not likely to be bettered now that the companies are amalgamated, and the diamond industry practically in the hands of a monopoly. Natal owes its accession of prosperity to its geographical proximity to the Transvaal, which has been taken advantage of by its enterprising white population, a little community of thirty thousand people of English origin, who share the country with the same number of Indian coolies whom they have to import for labour, and an overwhelming and ever-increasing mass of unserviceable natives, who number at least half a million, within the boundaries of the Colony.

The South African Company, which by virtue of its charter is commissioned to bear the British flag up to and beyond the Zambesi towards the Equatorial Lakes, is the offspring of the mineral discoveries in the Transvaal. The possibility of abundant treasure lying beneath the lands of Khama and of Lo Benguela is sufficient reason for England to declare a protectorate over
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the country north of Bechuanaland, lest in the scramble for Africa some European Power stronger than Portugal should lay a claim to it, or lest the Boers of the Transvaal should leave their country to the English incomers and make a further northward migration, just as their fathers 'trekked' from Cape Colony across the Orange River and the Vaal. It is probable that Mashonaland and Matabeleland are rich in minerals; but though the new enterprise has our warm approval as likely to expedite the destiny of Africa south of the Equator, which we profoundly believe will one day be a vast English-speaking continent, we must enter a mild protest against the high-flown descriptions which are current concerning this last addition to the British Empire. The recently-founded Association has been compared to the East India Company, and the region between the Transvaal frontier and the Zambesi has been spoken of as if it rivalled in wealth the Empire of the Moguls; but we feel constrained to point out that Lo Benguela is not precisely an Aurungzebe, nor are the dazzling splendours of Delhi to be found at his kraal at Buluwayo. The sooner that English people realize that South Africa is a wilderness, the better;—a magnificent desert, the wealth of which lies beneath its surface. Hitherto its vegetable products have only supported its hordes of savage inhabitants by reason of their constant migrations, and its most successful European settlers, the Dutch, have succeeded in sustaining themselves by apportioning innumerable acres to each inhabitant. Undoubtedly, the high table-land included in the British Protectorate is remarkably favoured by climate, considering its situation within the tropics; but only a visionary or a prospectus-writer believes that this territory can be serviceable for agricultural emigrants in the sense that Manitoba and the Dakotas are. The maps with which Sir Charles Dilke has illustrated his volumes are unusually accurate; but his draughtsman's representation of South Africa gives the impression that the land is irrigated by rivers as noble as those of France or of the Eastern States of America; while in reality there is not a navigable water-way south of the Zambesi, and some of the streams which give their names to provinces are in the dry seasons arid beds of stone.

South Africa, we repeat, is a desert, dotted with fruitful oases. One of the most genial tracts is the country round about Cape Town. For more than two centuries it has been cultivated by Boers and Huguenots, and their successors; it has been most accessible to immigrants; the soil is fertile and the climate perfect; and after two hundred years of history the commercial port of this region, the capital of a great colony,
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has grown to half the size of an English country town like Norwich; while in a quarter of that period Melbourne is approaching the proportions of Glasgow or of Liverpool. Supposing that the plains of Matabeleland are as fertile as the region around the Cape, it must be borne in mind that even a railway towards the Zambesi will not entirely dissipate the thousand miles which lie between that district and the immigrants' port of landing. The future of the interior of South Africa depends entirely on its mineral wealth; and though abundance of precious metal attracts crowds of settlers, they will amass their wealth deprived of the amenities of life. Johannesburg, though not destitute of verdure, is subject to seasons of disastrous drought. Kimberley, though provided with effective waterworks, is a desolate encampment in the desert, in which no one could endure existence for a year save for the hope of great gain. We do not anticipate in the new Protectorate any difficulty with the Boers: their anxiety for Swaziland demonstrates that they will no more set their faces northwards, and, moreover, with the depletion of Africa of its game, the Dutch are ceasing to be formidable riflemen. With the natives there may be difficulties, because British settlement puts an end to internecine wars, which in Africa have been the chief means of keeping down the black population. The position of the people of Natal among the Zulus, who have been disorganized as a military nation, is not altogether comfortable; and the settlers in the new Protectorate, who will not at first be numerous, may find formidable foes in the warrior tribes they are supplanting.

We are not among those who believe in German intrigue in South Africa. All who know that country are aware that the Boer farmers and German squatters are so unsympathetic to one another as to put beyond the bounds of possibility any combination between the two peoples against English predominance. Nor have we any faith in rumours as to German designs upon Delagoa Bay. It was the President of the French Republic who decided against British claims to that fine roadstead, and France would take good care that Germany did not establish herself at the entrance of Mozambique Channel, in dangerous proximity to Madagascar. At the same time we deeply deplore that the exigencies of European politics have compelled successive English Governments to consent to German annexation on the West and on the East Coasts of Africa. The Germans are the best settlers in the world, and the worst colonists. German colonization schemes are a sham, which are believed in as little by the German people as they were by Prince Bismarck, who unwillingly yielded to the pressure of certain
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mercantile circles in Hamburg and other commercial centres. If the German people settled in the so-called colonies of the Fatherland, England, as the great pioneer of civilization throughout the world, might rejoice in the co-operation in Africa of her European ally; but German emigrants decline to settle under their country's flag. Millions of them have become most serviceable citizens of the United States; thousands of them are pouring into the British Colonies; while the regions which Germany has annexed are occupied by a handful of officials and military police. When Lord Derby permitted Germany to take Namaqualand and Damaraland on the coast north-west of the Cape, German inhabitants of that Colony were frequently asked when they were going to move up into their national territory, and the reply invariably was, that they had not left their native land in order to find new homes at the other end of the world, under the restrictive discipline of the German flag. Consequently there are German colonies on the shores of Africa in which there is no other sign of German possession than a flag run up on the house of a Moravian missionary, who is thus invested with official status. On the West Coast the Germans will probably disappear, but our partition with them of the littoral which runs from the Mozambique boundary to north of Zanzibar is unfortunate. The trade of all the East Coast between Delagoa Bay and the Equator is in the hands of Indians who are British subjects, and from an Imperial point of view the bombardment of certain villages by German gunboats, and the destruction there of the property of Bombay merchants, is more prejudicial to our interests than the demonstrations of the Portuguese against the Scottish missionaries on Lake Nyassa—which region, hemmed in as it is by the Mozambique coast, to which Portugal has unhappily an unimpeachable title, we might have provided with an outlet to the sea had we not agreed to the German annexation of the coast below Zanzibar.

German colonization is a sham, and German colonies are almost as obstructive to civilization as are those of Portugal, because German industry and enterprise prefer to make their way to lands where liberty is enjoyed under the British or the American flag; nor will Teutonic sentiment change in this regard even though the new Emperor be tempted to follow for a few years a policy of adventure; but however regretfully we may regard the occupation of lands by people who occupy them neither beneficially nor profitably, we must bear in mind that the awakening of England to the desirableness of increase of tropical territory is only a matter of yesterday. Sir Charles Dilke

Dilke points out how we had allowed the French to occupy New Caledonia and other Pacific islands which had been discovered, named, and taken possession of by British navigators; how we declined a protectorate over Zanzibar, and refused to ratify the annexation by the Australians of half New Guinea; how we refrained from taking the Congo Basin and the Cameroons when offered to us; both political parties at home following this policy. In Australasia we have noted the existence of soreness of feeling because England seems sometimes to prefer to conciliate Germany or France rather than her own Colonies; but as we have permitted those Powers to obtain a foothold in the Pacific and in Africa, our successive Governments are bound to remember that we are part of the body politic of Europe as well as members of the world-wide British Empire. It would be well for those who are inclined to attack the policy of a Government, which may seem to make undue concession to our stronger neighbours in Europe in the matter of their distant annexations, to ponder well the wise words which are written in the introduction to the 'Problems of Greater Britain': 'The danger in our path is that the enormous forces of European militarism may crush the Old Country and destroy the integrity of our Empire before the growth of the newer communities that it contains, has made it too strong for the attack.' That the British race is bound to dominate the world, and that the English tongue is destined to be the universal language of civilization, we have no doubt whatever; but supposing Great Britain were within the next few years to be drawn into war, and receive at the hands of a coalition a defeat which would involve the loss of India, the civilization of the globe would receive a blow which all the vigour of the Anglo-Saxon race in North America and in an independent Australasia would not retrieve for a century. It therefore behoves us to proceed cautiously, never losing faith in the destiny of our race, while we follow a policy of conciliation with the great Power of Central Europe. Africa, south of the Equator, is certain in time to become an English-speaking continent, provided its resources are sufficient to sustain a European population. The failure of the premature attempt to federate South Africa threw back for a generation the union of the countries below the tropic of Capricorn, yet we are not without hope that before the coming century has lost its youth, all the expanse which stretches from the Highlands of Nyassa to Table Bay may be governed by a Confederation of British States.

We have now passed in rapid review the three chief groups
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of our Colonial Empire. The communities of British North America and of Australasia enjoy the most advanced developments of representative institutions, which are likewise established in a portion of South Africa. Some of the most valuable sections of '*Problems of Greater Britain*' are devoted to descriptions and comparisons of the political experiments and social economy of these great self-governing daughter-lands of England. Within the limits of an article not entirely devoted to their consideration, it would be impossible to deal with even one set of questions which the people of Greater Britain within their separate territories have set themselves to solve. The subjects of State-socialism, franchise limitations, labour-laws, education, local government, and religion, have been treated in a masterly manner by Sir Charles Dilke, and on certain constitutional points it would be interesting to illustrate his conclusions by the opinions and actions of Sir George Bowen during his successive administrations; but it would be useless to touch upon those great topics with a superficial glance. Nor can we linger among the Crown Colonies with their varying characteristics, attractive though it would be to follow Sir George Bowen to Mauritius and to compare the French population of that island with the people of Lower Canada, or to proceed with him to Hong-Kong, with its population of the Chinese race which Sir Charles Dilke places side by side with the Russian as the only possible rivals of the Anglo-Saxon in the possession of the earth.

The portion of the British Empire, which rises in the minds of all Englishmen when British supremacy among nations is threatened, is India. That wondrous land comes not under the appellation of Greater Britain as an English-speaking country, yet even now English is the only language throughout the peninsula which is in any sense the national tongue of India. There is not only no community of race in India, but no feeling of nationality except among a few educated men of native birth. In our interior policy in Hindostan there are problems of the highest importance to be settled, in which the development of national feeling will play an important part, but it is not our purpose to deal with them. Our concern here is with the British Empire as a whole, of which we conceive India to be the keystone, and we are glad to see the prominence given to the subject of Indian defence by Sir Charles Dilke, who dedicates his book in words of patriotic friendship to Sir Frederick Roberts, the greatest Indian Captain of our generation.

We cannot here discuss in detail any scheme for the defence
of

of India, though we must congratulate Sir Charles Dilke upon his emphatic condemnation of the folly of which we should be guilty if ever we consented to a partition of Afghanistan with Russia, an idea which has proved attractive to inexperienced theorists who have to be taught that our proper policy in Central Asia is to keep Russia at arms' length. Our purpose is to show how the preservation of our Indian Empire concerns the position of all England's possessions. There can be no doubt that, if we lost India, our rule would be succeeded there by a period of anarchy, or by the domination of a Protectionist Power, either of which eventualities would inflict a deadly blow on our commerce. If India did not at once become a Russian province, it is likely that the thirst for distant empire, which we have seen has urged Germany to attempt to settle parts of Africa, and which has driven France into her enterprises in Tonquin and Madagascar, would impel those nations to strive to conquer or to divide the great peninsula. Apart from the commercial ruin which would follow our loss of India, it is certain that the destruction of our prestige would be such that a rapid growth of separatist feeling in Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, would ensue, with a general break up of the British power. Some of our Colonies are fond of declaring by their mouthpieces of opinion, that the small price they pay for their connexion with Great Britain is too burdensome; but we believe, on the contrary, that there is a great feeling of pride among colonists in the fact, that they are the citizens of a mighty Empire, a feeling which is not, however, sufficiently disinterested to survive a great disaster. The Indian problem is distinct from the general problem of Imperial defence. Although, as we have seen, the British Empire has of late become coterminous with Germany and France in different parts of the world, yet if we command the seas we can cut off those Powers from their possessions in Africa, in Polynesia, and in the East. But in India we have Russia as a continental neighbour in the sense in which the United States is our neighbour on the Canadian frontier; with the difference that the United States is not a military Power, and would not invade the Dominion except on the invitation of the Canadians or in retaliation of some hostile action on our part. We cannot here enter into the elaborate and highly technical questions of the vulnerability of India, but we commend to all who are interested in the integrity of the British Empire the closely reasoned arguments and the skilful array of facts contained in the chapter upon Indian Defence which opens the second volume of the '*Problems of Greater Britain.*'

The

The great subject of Imperial defence is, however, germane to that of the defence of India. In our survey of the Colonies we have incidentally mentioned the importance to us of certain strong places in different corners of the Empire, but the question is in our opinion of such supreme interest that it is not possible to deal with it in a few brief sentences. The chapter in 'Problems of Greater Britain' upon Imperial Defence, read by the light of our own knowledge of the forces which the Empire has at its disposal, does not add to our peace of mind. We entirely agree with the author, who is in no sense of the word an alarmist, that a survey of the Defences of the Empire makes clearly manifest the potential strength of the British Empire, and our stupendous carelessness in organizing its force. Our ambition is not for offensive strength, but only to be safe from the ambition of others, and the first step towards security must be the arrangement of consistent plans for supporting the whole edifice of British rule by the assistance of all the component portions of the Empire. It is, we believe, on some such basis as this that the only possible fabric of Imperial Federation can be reared. It is easy to be fascinated with a phrase, and if we refuse to express enthusiasm for the idea of the confederation of the Empire, it is because our anxiety is too keen to be solaced with empirical theories. It is to be hoped that the time is past for it to be seriously suggested that the consolidation of the Empire is to be brought about by a Council of Agents-General or the representation of the Colonies in the House of Lords. It is to be feared that an Imperial Customs Union is an idea beyond the range of practical politics. The present generation must be content to see the Colonies prospering and gaining strength in the imposition of tariffs hostile to the mother-country. We have noted how this anomaly is likely to be aggravated by the coming federation of Australasia; yet we feel bound to welcome that arrangement, as we believe that the separate unifying of our great groups of dependencies will make it easier for them to unite in drawing nearer to the mother-country for purposes of common defensive action.

Although we have not dissembled our anxiety for the near future of the British Empire, the volumes before us, while profoundly impressing us with the seriousness of the problems to be solved in these last years of the century by the English race, afford stronger reasons for cheerfulness than for despondency. The record of Sir George Bowen's honourable career is of high interest to all who have travelled in the lands of Greater Britain, and have witnessed the admirable work of strengthening the Empire which is being achieved all over the world

world by servants of the Crown, not only by successful Governors and administrators of Colonies and provinces, but also by humbler men who in less conspicuous situations worthily fulfil their unobtrusive duty to the State. Sir George Bowen, in his retirement after a lifetime of distinguished service, can look with satisfaction not only on the material progress of the communities of which he helped to lay the foundations, but also upon the livelier interest which is now taken at home in the affairs of the Empire, in contrast with the lukewarmness which in his recollection was the normal condition of feeling in England for the Colonies. At the same time there are too few of our leading statesmen and politicians who have acquired a real acquaintance with Imperial affairs; a facility in debate on a domestic topic of passing interest profits a man more than the perfect mastery of problems on the solution of which the destiny of the Empire depends. The day may arrive before the century closes when matters such as now chiefly occupy the energies of Parliament will seem to be of local triviality or of personal concern; and if the British Empire falls on troublous times, there is satisfaction in knowing that we have statesmen to look to for action and advice, whose knowledge is equal to their patriotism.

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